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FRIDAY, MAY 23, 1975

GENERAL NEWS SUMMARY FROM THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MAY 23, 1975

World-Wide

LAOTIAN LEFTISTS freed some Americans; U.S. aid is being reduced.

Students in the south-central city of Savannakhet released Agency for International Development officials and their dependents after nine days of house arrest, and U.S. Air Force planes flew the 18 Americans to Thailand. The Communist-dominated Laotian government accepted a student demand that it ask the U.S. to phase out all AID operations in Laos. The U.S. agreed to close AID offices in the provinces, the Laotians said.

Three Americans, including two Marines, remained trapped in an aid compound in Vientiane taken over by leftists Wednesday.

Hundreds of Americans in Laos will be withdrawn within the next month under an accelerated reduction in the U.S. presence of about 1,000 persons. Secretary of State Kissinger, in Turkey, said the withdrawal can't be considered a complete evacuation "at this time."

* * *

Turkish officials warned Kissinger that U.S.-Turkish relations and the security of the eastern Mediterranean will be seriously imperiled unless U.S. military aid to Turkey is restored. In Brussels, meantime, Defense Secretary Schlesinger warned NATO allies about cutting defense spending while, he said, Russia is raising its military budget 8% to 5% a year in real terms.

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Tanzanian authorities have arrested a suspect in the kidnapping of three Stanford University students and a Dutch woman from a primate research station in the east African country, a Stanford professor said in Palo Alto, Calif.

* * *

A bill letting states spend noninterstate highway money newly freed from impoundment without putting up matching funds was sent to the White House, where it may face a veto. On road projects started between Feb. 12 and Sept. 30 of this year, the 30% that states normally must provide would be lent them by Washington.

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Congress adjourned for a 10-day recess without passing a $15 billion supplemental appropriation for fiscal 1975, a third of which is needed for jobless benefits. The House and Senate couldn't agree on whether to include $700 million to create jobs repairing railroad beds.

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The Detroit suburb of Ferndale was accused by the Justice Department of violating a court order to desegregate its schools. The suit also charged the state of Michigan

(See NEWS SUMMARY, Pg. 2)

WASHINGTON POST
23 MAY 1975 Pg. B-7

Commissary Presence Hit In Big Cities

By Steve Gerstel
United Press International

The General Accounting Office said yesterday that military commissary stores, considered a major fringe benefit by active and retired servicemen, cannot be justified in major metropolitan areas.

GAO, Congress' auditing agency, said in a report the commissary stores—where groceries and other goods can be purchased at reduced prices—should not be allowed in metropolitan areas because enough commercial food stores are in reasonable proximity.

Locating commissaries in these areas, the GAO said, violates the congressional intent that these stores should be located only in remote stations.

Overall, during fiscal 1974 the armed services operated 279 commissaries in the United States with sales totaling $2.2 billion.

Food and goods are sold at cost plus a surcharge of 3 to 5 per cent. The GAO said at least $226 million in appropriated funds were used in fiscal 1974 to support the stores, mostly to pay employees.

The report said that "since commercial food stores in metropolitan areas are very competitive and operate on a low profit margin, their prices are reasonable."

As an example, the GAO noted the services maintain 27 commissaries in San Diego San Francisco, San Antonio, Norfolk, Honolulu and Washiotngn, D.C.

The GAO said it found at least eight large commercial food stores within a five-mile radius of 25 of the commissaries and at least four commercial stores with the same radius of the other two commissaries.

The report said the services consider commissaries warranted because they have

(See HIT, Pg. 2)

NEW YORK TIMES
23 MAY 1975 Pg. 12

NATO Ministers Concentrate On Joint Arms Purchasing

By PAUL KEMEZIS
Special to The New York Times

BRUSSELS, May 22—The defense ministers of the Atlantic Alliance countries agreed here today that there was a need to increase the joint development and purchasing of arms.

But Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger was said to have been wary of making specific commitments to increase United States weapons buying in Europe, which has been small up to now.

Also at the meeting, which was the first among North Atlantic Treaty Organization Ministers since the fall of South Vietnam and Cambodia, Mr. Schlesinger said that the United States put a high priority on NATO, but that the Europeans would have to bear more of the burden of the alliance in the future.

The United States also pressed for acknowledgment by NATO of the strategic importance of Spain to the alliance, particularly in light of the situation in the Mediterranean area. The American effort was to get a passage making this point into the communiqué that is being drafted for publication tomorrow. Several European countries were resisting any mention of Spain in the communiqué.

For a number of years, the United States has been trying to have Spain admitted to the alliance, but some European nations refuse to consider that so long as Generalissimo Francisco Franco remains in power in Madrid.

European officials also said that during the meeting a suggestion was raised for a NATO radar base in South Africa to help guard the Cape of Good Hope tanker route against Soviet naval power. But the Netherlands in particular strongly opposed any link to South Africa. "They would gain a base but lose a ally," the Netherlands Defense Minister, Henk Verdeling, told newsmen afterwards.

The meeting of defense ministers, which continues tomorrow, is a routine semiannual event usually held just before talks by the foreign ministers

(See NATO, Pg. 2)

BALTIMORE SUN
23 MAY 1975 Pg. 2

U.S. resists Europeans on arms

By GENE OISHI
Sun Staff Correspondent

Brussels—The attempt within the Western military alliance to increase efficiency through arms standardization remained snagged yesterday as the United States continued to resist European pressures for a firm commitment to buy more weapons in Europe.

After the first-day session of the spring meeting of the defense ministers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, U.S. officials said only that "there was a widely shared general agreement that purchases both ways across the Atlantic would and should be substantially increased above present levels."

While the U.S. accepts in principle that weapons procurement should be a "two-way street," James R. Schlesinger, the American Secretary of Defense, was not prepared to make the sort of specific commitments that the Europeans sought.

Europeans expressed some disappointment in not getting a more positive American response, particularly in view of the tentative NATO desision to buy the Boeing E-3A, a converted 707 equipped with radar and other electronics gear to be used as an airborne early warning system.

The E-3A would supplement the NATO ground early warning system against advancing hostile aircraft. It would be able to detect aircraft attempt-

(See ARMS, Pg. 2)

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NEW YORK TIMES
23 MAY 1975 Pg. 14

SIHANOUK CRITICAL OF U.S. IN INCIDENT

HONK KONG, May 22 (Reuters)—Prince Norodom Sihanouk said that his Royal Cambodian Government of National Union was not informed of any deplimatic steps by the United States Government to obtain the release of the American freighter Mayaguez last week, the North Korean press agency reported today.

The agency, monitored here, said that Prince Sihanouk made this statement at a banquet given for him and his wife by President Kim Il Sung in Pyongyang.

In his speech, the agency said, the Cambodian also alleged that United States forces attacked his country for three days starting on May 13, the day after the Mayaguez was seized by Cambodian gunboats in the Gulf of Siam.

"This was a combat between elephant—the United States—and ant — Cambodia — which shows the extreme dastardliness of the American superpower," the agency quoted the Prince as having said.

He charged the United States with "savagely bombing our city, port, oil refinery and railway of Sihanoukville and the airport and a small naval base in the Gulf of Siam three hours after we let the American ship Mayaguez and her crew safely go back."

WASHINGTON POST
23 MAY 1975 Pg. 11

'Paper Tiger' Label Revived by Chinese

Reuter

PEKING, May 22—China States today, claiming that the sharply attacked the United American image has been thoroughly blackened by the smoke from its own gunboats.

A report from the official New China News Agency, which referred for the first time in months to the United States as "a paper tiger," scorned what it described as an attempt to depict the Mayaguez incident as an American victory.

"This is a typical farce in self-consolation, written and staged single-handed by the very superpower which the small Indochina countries completely defeated," the agency said.

NATO (CONTINUED)

of the alliance countries. This spring, however, the second conference is to be held at the heads-of-government level, with President Ford meeting the other NATO leaders in Brussels next week.

Regarding joint arms purchases, a key topic in NATO discussions because of the economic slump in most alliance countries, the Europeans complain that they buy a much greater amount of arms from the United States than the United States does from them.

After today's discussion a high American official said that there was general agreement that there should be a "substantial increase" in arms purchases in both directions across the Atlantic. Reportedly, however, the United States wants a strong system of checks set up before entering into large-scale purchases in Europe to make sure that such joint projects are actually cost effective and properly managed.

The United States suggested that a new agency on joint arms purchases be set up inside NATO. The alliance's Secretary General, Joseph M. A. H. Luis of the Netherlands, was assigned to draw up an official proposal on such an agency before the next defense ministers' meeting in December.

The British Secretary of State for Defense, Roy Mason, who was the spokesman for the European ministers, said that he found Mr. Schlesinger's response favorable.

But European officials said privately that they had hoped for a more concrete indication at this time of how much the United States was prepared to buy. The European defense ministers plan a special meeting in the fall to prepare further proposals on the subject.

HIT (CONTINUED)

become ingrained as an economic benefit" and play an important role in recruiting and retaining servicemen.

The services also consider they have a moral commitment to retired military personnel, which the GAO estimated accounted for about 25 per cent of the patrons.

The GAO said Congress may want to consider whether it wishes to allow DOD (Defense Department) to continue to operate commissary stores in competition with commercial grocery stores at added expense to the taxpayer."

ARMS -- CONTINUED

ing to penetrate ground defenses by flying at low altitudes.

The plans call for the purchase of 30 such aircraft for a total price tag of $1.7 billion, which would be a sizable boost to the U.S. aircraft and defense industry. It was said to be the largest joint procurement program that NATO ever has undertaken.

The defense ministers are expected to authorize today a study on how the cost of the project would be divided among the participating countries.

There also were strong indications that the Dutch Cabinet, when it meets in The Hague tonight, will choose the General Dynamics F-16 as the new lightweigat fighter for its Air Force.

Denmark and Norway also have chosen the F-16 over the French Mirage, with only Belgium among the four-country consortium still undecided and leaning toward the French aircraft.

European countries also are intent on maintaining and developing their own defense industries. They therefore are attempting to work out an agreement with the U.S. to share weapons development and production on some rational basis that would avoid costly duplication and waste.

According to a U.S. State Department study, the Western allies waste between $10 billion and $20 billion a year through duplicating weapons programs.

Some progress appeared to have been made toward a common procurement system in that, according to NATO sources, a new NATO agency will be formed to try to coordinate future weapons purchases by individual countries.

Another area of discussion among the defense ministers was the deteriorating political situation in NATO's southern region. In this connection, the U.S. was said to be trying to get some NATO recognition for Spain's importance to the Western alliance, but most European countries appeared reluctant to associate themselves with the fascist regime of Gen. Francisco Franco.

The U.S., on the other hand, would like to get more recognition for Spain in view of current negotiations to renew American base leases in the country, though it generally is acknowledged that NATO membership for Spain is not possible as long as the current regime is in power.

NEWS SUMMARY -- CONTINUED

with violating civil rights requirements for use of federal revenue-sharing funds.

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Antiperspirant sprays with zirconium are expected to be classified soon by the Food and Drug Administration as new drugs, a move that will prohibit further marketing until makers present new evidence to convince the FDA the products are safe. Studies have shown that zirconium can cause lung inflammation when inhaled. Procter & Gamble is the chief maker of products that would be affected.

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A joint effort to cut car thefts was started by the Justice and Transportation departments. It will concentrate on improving lock systems and making it harder for thieves to get titles for stolen vehicles.

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Richard Thornburgh, U.S. Attorney for Western Pennsylvania, was nominated to succeed Henry Petersen as Assistant Attorney General for the Criminal Division.

* * *

Charles "Pete" Conrad Jr., the former astronaut, apparently is Ford's choice to succeed Alexander Butterfield as head of the Federal Aviation Administration.

* * *

Ford wants a science adviser and will ask Congress to reestablish the Office of Science and Technology, abolished by Nixon three years ago.

* * *

Lebanese Phalangist militiamen fought with Palestinian guerrillas in Beirut's suburbs for a third day despite a reported cease-fire agreement and the first intervention by the Lebanese army. It was ordered to shoot truce violators. Palestinians claimed scores were killed when one of their refugee camps was shelled by artillery.

Ford received a petition from 76 Senators urging adequate military and economic support for Israel. Press Secretary Ron Nessen said the President "welcomes all suggestions from all sources" as the U.S. continues to reassess Mideast policy.

* * *

About 500 right-wing Spaniards marched through Madrid demanding that Premier Carlos Arias Navarro resign for failing to crush the Basque separatist movement. Antigovernment demonstrations ordinarily aren't allowed in Spain, but the police, who have lost seven men in gunfights with the Basques this year, aided the protesters.

* * *

Portugal's Socialists drew tens of thousands to a rally in Lisbon as the party leader, former Foreign Minister Mario Soares, accused the military leaders of letting the country drift toward a Communist dictatorship.

* * *

Alexander Shelepin, a former rival of Soviet Communist Party chief Leonid Brezhnev, was stripped of his post as trade unions chairman in an action that apparently ended his political career. A month ago the former secret police chief was dropped from the Politburo.

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A federal jury was seated in Cleveland to hear the Kent State damage suit against Gov. James Rhodes, three former Ohio officials and 40 former National Guardsmen. Nine persons who were injured and parents of four killed by shooting during a May 1970 antiwar rally are asking $46 million.

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Maserati, the Italian producer of high-performance cars, decided to go out of business. It said it was hurt by the recession, high fuel costs and lower speed limits.

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FRIDAY MORNING, 23 MAY 1975

Analysis

BALTIMORE SUN
23 MAY 1975 Pg. 2

U.S. facing test at NATO summit

By HENRY L. TREWHITT
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—A crescendo of American efforts to rebuild political status abroad is approaching a crash of rhetorical symbols in Brussels. Above all else the United States hopes to generate in the summit meeting of the Atlantic Alliance a deeper sense of Western unity

Even after the fact it may be hard to judge the results. No dramatic announcements are expected from the two-day conference of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or President Ford's following four days in Madrid, Salzburg and Rome.

But the NATO meeting will be the first critical political test of a United States campaign to restore credibility after the fall of South Vietnam and Cambodia to communism The outcome will have a bearing on a broad range of later meetings, most notably the prospective European Security Conference and the often-delayed meeting between Mr Ford and Leonid I. Brezhnev the Soviet leader.

Seldom has the preparatory campaign been conducted with greater care and vigor It began even before the Communist victories in Indochina, most obviously in Mr. Ford's so-called State of the World address to Congress April 10.

Painstakingly the President began then to define areas of primary national interest in the post-Indochina period: South Korea, Japan, NATO, continued detente with the Soviet Union and China.

With several variations of language he assured the world that the U.S. would live up to its commitments. By May 6, at a press conference after the fall of Saigon, his definitions became even more explicit. .

After Europe, he said, "It is my aim to tie more closely together South Korea with the United States, to reaffirm our commitments to Taiwan, to work more closely with Indonesia, with the Philippines and with other Pacific nations."

At that point a number of Mr. Ford's advisers said, "Oops." It had not been planned that the President would risk irritating China with a gratuitous reference to Taiwan. None the less, the general point was valid.

All the while Henry A. Kissinger, the Secretary of State, and James R. Schlesinger, the Secretary of Defense, were emphasizing the same theme. Mr. Schlesinger underscored the need for strong defenses as the U.S. role in the world changed. Mr Kissinger spoke more in terms of an orderly political transition into that new role.

There was more than a touch of irony in this process. For in some respects Mr. Kissinger is believed to be more inclined to the use of force than the secretary of defense. But the main themes remained consistent.

Cambodia's seizure of the SS Mayaguez added the substance of action to the rhetorical framework. Inside the government the consensus to use force to retrieve the Mayaguez and rescue its crew was reached quickly and overwhelmingly.

In the end the Mayaguez operation must be judged in purely political terms. By statistical standards, the rescue surely cost more men—at least 38 dead in connection with the rescue, plus 3 missing—than the 39 Mayaguez crewmen in jeopardy.

As a test of will, it demonstrated at least that the U.S. was not immobilized in the face of a flagrant provocation by a small country Whether it convinced anyone in broader geopolitical terms doubtless will be debated. The final conclusion may be a paradoxical one: That the U.S had much to lose by not responding savagely, not so much to gain by doing it.

In any event the incident was very much a background reinforcement for Mr Kissinger this week as he pursued final preparations for the NATO meeting. In Vienna he cautioned Andrei A. Gromyko, his Soviet counterpart, against thoughts of exploiting U.S. weakness.

At the same time he appeared to have made some progress with Mr. Gromyko on Mideast considerations. In Berlin he vigorously restated the U.S. commitment there and in the rest of Europe. In Ankara he restated the message to what remains of the Central Treaty Organization.

Back in Brussels, Mr. Schlesinger both promised to strengthen the U.S. commitment to NATO and briskly criticized its allies for not doing more.

There was some specific, visible progress even early in the undertaking. Valery Giscard d'Estaing, the president of France, made a gentle gesture of reconciliation with NATO by agreeing to go to Brussels next week for a meeting with Mr. Ford, though he would stay away from the NATO meeting.

At best the summit can only move the process of U.S. reaffirmation another step forward. But it is an important step In that sense the forthcoming summitry may be much like the Mayaguez affair: Though the potential concrete benefits may be modest, the cost of not trying could be enormous.

NEW YORK TIMES
23 MAY 1975 Pg. 9

Cairo Paper Says Libya Gives Soviet Military Facilities

CAIRO, Friday, May 23 (Reuters)—The semiofficial newspaper Al Ahram said today that Libya and the Soviet Union had signed an agreement under which the Soviet Union would set up land, air and naval bases in Libya.

In return, the Soviet Union reportedly agreed to provide Libya with $4.4-billion in arms.

The Al Ahram report, datelined Beirut but quoting no source for the information, said the agreement had been signed by the Libyan leader, Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, and Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin, who visited Libya last week.

Al Ahram said the Soviet Union would provide Libya with thousands of tanks and rockets and advanced arms, including modern weaponry withheld by the Russians from Egypt and Syria.

The Soviet Union, the Cairo paper said, told the Libyan leaders that the stationing in Libya of Soviet military experts was a condition for signing the pact.

Libyans to Be Trained

Mr. Kosygin told Colonel Gaddafi that the Soviet experts would form new divisions in the Libyan Army and train its personnel to use Soviet weapons, Al Ahram said.

The pact stipulated, according to Al Ahram, that the Soviet Union would supply Libya with large quantities of weapons to serve the political and strategic aims of the Soviet-Libyan alliance in the southern Mediterranean.

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER - 23 MAY 1975 Pg. 5

U.S. Criticizes Allied Arms Cuts In Light of Soviet Defense Increase

From Inquirer Wire Services

BRUSSELS—Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger assailed America's North Atlantic allies yesterday for reducing their military spending while the Soviet Union is increasing its defense budget, officials said.

Officials attending a two-day conference of NATO defense ministers said Schlesinger had contended that the Western allies had underestimated the ability of the Soviets to expand their military spending, which, he said, they are doing at the rate of 3 to 5 percent a year.

In an article for the "NATO Review," released in advance as the meeting opened yesterday, Schlesinger said the United States already had begun deploying two more combat brigades, plus additional ground and air strength for the 300,000 American troops in Europe.

The semi-annual meeting is being held at a time when the allied position has been weakened in southern Europe.

For the second time, Greece was boycotting the session and Portugal's leftist government was represented not by its defense minister but by a member of its "Revolutionary Council," Adm. Jose Baptists Pinheiro de Azevedo.

The NATO ministers, agreed yesterday to set up a new agency to help standardize arms production and increase weapons sales both ways across the Atlantic Ocean.

The ministers agreed also that the political situation in NATO's southern flank had deteriorated in recent months as the result of the Greek-Turkish conflict over Cyprus, the Greek withdrawal from NATO's military structure and the cutoff by the U. S. Congress of arms aid and sales to Turkey.

Debate on the most difficult problem — the crisis in Portugal — was put off until today.

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WASHINGTON POST 23 MAY 1975, Pg 18

Stephen S. Rosenfeld

Canal Zone: A Test of Leadership

I went up to the Senate to see Strom Thurmond, leader of the forces opposing an eventual negotiated return of the Panama Canal to Panama, wondering whether, in this stick-figure symbol of American jingoism, there is any redeeming streak of sensitivity to enlightened national self-interest.

I detected none. There is a case to be made that the restoration of Panamanian sovereignty in that part of Panama burglarized by Teddy Roosevelt must be done in a careful way, protecting the great American interest in the transit, security and modernization of the Canal.

But that is not the case made by Strom Thurmond. He believes that the Canal and Canal Zone are American property ("we bought it"), that the Panamanians are too unstable and too vulnerable to communism to be given back sovereignty, and that the Panamanians as well as ourselves will be better off if the United States hangs on.

If such views strike you as combining all of the narrow commercialism and patronizing moralism of the golden age of American empire-building, then you understand just how inappropriate and downright dangerous those views are at a time when the United States ought to be adjusting its Canal position to the realities of contemporary Latin nationalism.

Thurmond, though, is something else. Gracious in personal manner, he struck me as more than simply a throwback to another, simpler time. He struck me as, well, (apologies, Senator) a mean-minded man, someone who enjoys squeezing a little country such as Panama, who feels an indifference bordering on contempt for people who get in the way of American power.

His reserve general's stars adorn his desk nameplate. Military plaques cover his four office walls. With Thurmond when he received me were no fewer than five aides. All of them laughed on cue at his jokes: Might there not be sabotage? "You can't afford to surrender your house when someone breaks in." Two of the aides, well versed in Canal and treaty affairs, filled in the gaps on the several occasions when Thurmond's recollection of fact or argument faltered.

Like other children of the right who resent that the United States cannot just have its way in the world, Thurmond regards American diplomats essentially as agents planted by hostile governments within our own. That President Ford should even consider negotiating a new Canal treaty with Panama he attributes, darkly, to "the influence of the State Department."

From the ranks of the Americans who live and work in the Canal Zone and from some parts of the military and other special interests that enjoy the status quo, Thurmond apparently runs a formidable intelligence network, which seems to feed him all manner of tips and information on what the enemy—that is to say, the State Department—is about.

In April he came upon something worthy enough to produce a phone call from Henry Kissinger. Thurmond repeated to Kissinger his long-standing warning against sending up a new treaty to the Senate. Kissinger replied, by Thurmond's chortling account, that he might have to send it up just to get the government off the spot with the Panamanians.

In fact, the new treaty is still under negotiation with Panama and no decision seems yet to have been taken on the final terms or on when to submit it to the Senate. Because the return of American property would also be involved, legislation will have to be submitted to the House as well as the Senate at the same time under Article IV, Section III, Clause 2 of the Constitution. That clause gives Congress "power to dispose of . . . the territory or other property belonging to the United States."

Thurmond has mustered 37 senators, enough to block ratification of a new treaty, behind a resolution enshrining his own principles in the matter. To the suggestion that some signatories may not be so devoted to it in the clutch as he, he responds that other non-signatories, such as Foreign Relations Committee Chairman John Sparkman, have told him they will go along.

So what is the President of the United States to do when he is confronted on a key regional foreign-policy issue by a powerful legislator who not only promises a very tough fight on the particular issue but who disposes of considerable influence in a narrow but politically sensitive part of Mr. Ford's election-year constituency?

It was easy by comparison to send the Marines after the Mayaguez. Gerald Ford's decision on the Panama Canal will be a much sterner and more revealing test of his capacity for leadership in the White House.

WASHINGTON POST 23 MAY 1975, Pg 20

NATO Sets Anti-Waste Practices

By David Fouquet
Special to The Washington Post

BRUSSELS, May 22—NATO today moved to eliminate wasteful and duplicate defense purchasing practices that experts for years had said were sapping the alliance's resources and military capability.

Against a background of major weapons negotiations, the United States and its allies agreed to try to implement the high-sounding promises they have long been making to one another.

The United States said it would increase its purchases of European and Canadian hardware and the European members of NATO made plans to work out a shopping list for the United States by the end of the year when defense ministers meet again. The NATO staff was instructed to study creation of an organization within the alliance to plan, develop and purchase equipment jointly.

While these economic issues dominated the first day of the semiannual two-day meeting of NATO defense chiefs here today, the gathering also considered NATO's deteriorating southern flank and prepared for next week's meeting here between President Ford and most of his NATO colleagues.

The discussion of the Mediterranean flank touched on such sensitive issues as the feud between Greece and Turkey, the American cutoff of defense equipment to Turkey and Spain's connection with the alliance.

With the cost of weapons spiraling, and pressure to trim outlays increasing, most delegations here acknowledged that changes had to be made in procurement procedures. A study for the U.S. government estimated that the 15 countries wasted $10 billion to $20 billion annually. A source said that an expert told the ministers today that "The military has its teeth into this issue and won't let go."

American Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger met with British Defense Minister Roy Mason, who told Schlesinger that the European members—four of whom are considering a billion-dollar purchase of American aircraft—insist that the United States increase its purchases abroad. Sources here said Europe suffers a 10-to-1 trade deficit in its military commerce with the United States.

Sources said that Mason "got what he came for" in his discussions with Schlesinger. American officials added "There was a widely shared general agreement that purchases both ways across the Atlantic could and should be substantially increased."

In other matters today, the ministers noted that some progress has been made in reconciling Greece and Turkey, that Italy is modernizing its navy and that France, which does not participate in NATO military operations, has nevertheless moved part of its fleet from the Atlantic to beef up the Mediterranean defense.

According to sources in the meeting, there was a debate over the American proposal that Spain's contribution to the Western defense be acknowledged. Spain, which is not a member of NATO, is negotiating with Washington on continued presence of American bases and has pressed the United States to seek some connection for it with the alliance.

WASHINGTON POST
23 MAY 1975
Pg G7

Recruiting Blitz

EL CAJON, Calif—Inside the Granite Hills High School gymnasium, students cradled automatic weapons. Outside, helicopters droned overhead, disgorging Navy skydivers and Marine commandos.

This wasn't an international crisis unfolding. It was all part of a one-day recruiting blitz Wednesday at the school.

More than 100 members of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines set up displays, put on demonstrations and talked to students about military careers.

The Navy Parachute Team from Coronado, Calif., and members of the elite 1st Marine Reconnaissance Battalion at Camp Pendleton, Calif., put on displays of skydiving and rappelling from hovering helicopters. A Navy rock band also entertained the students.

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WASHINGTON POST - 23 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Arms Ban Threatens U.S. Ties, Turkey Says

By Murrey Marder
Washington Post Staff Writer

ANKARA, May 22 — Turkish Foreign Minister Ihsan Sabri Caglayangil warned today that failure to lift the U.S. arms embargo on Turkey quickly will "seriously imperil our relations," but he stopped short of setting a deadline on closing any American bases here.

His blunt warning was delivered this morning at the opening session of the Central Treaty Organization's annual meeting, which Kissinger attended for the first time to try to reassure U.S. allies of American steadfastness after the defeats in Indochina.

Turkey is the most aggrieved U.S. ally here because Congress cut off its military supplies on Feb. 5 as a result of the Greek-Turkish clash over Cyprus.

There was no public sign that Turkey was significantly mollified by Monday's 41-to-40 Senate vote to resume arms sales and aid. The narrowness of the vote followed by assertions that House backers of the arms cutoff have enough votes to kill the Senate bill registered strongly here.

Kissinger had counted on getting new diplomatic leverage out of the Senate action to help resolve the Greek-Turkish snarl over Cyprus. He told Caglayangil in private that without some move toward compromise with Greece the Senate bill is headed for defeat in the House.

Kissinger hopes to make some headway here in setting the stage for compromise between the prime ministers of Turkey and Greece when they meet with President Ford at the North Atlantic Treaty Organization summit conference next week in Brussels.

The Cyprus conflict led Greece to pull out of NATO's military organization on the ground that NATO had failed to prevent Turkish troops from landing on Cyprus last July, and Congress cut off military supplies to Turkey because it used American weapons against a NATO ally.

The continuing Cyprus dilemma, American officials fear, could lead to the dismantling of the 25 U.S. bases in Turkey, including some considered important to the defense of the United States. These bases include a new link in the American early warning system for detecting the launching of Soviet missiles at the American continent.

Diplomatic sources indicated that Turkey is not eager to close any American bases, but has been hinting of this possibility in private discussions.

U.S. officials are concerned that out of exasperation Turkey might start cutting off U.S. base facilities directly affecting the United States but of less importance to Turkey and other NATO members.

The Turkish base network, the most extensive in the NATO defense network for gathering intelligence about the Soviet Union, has numerous electronic eavesdropping centers. It also includes a major air base system that is vital for traffic to the Middle East.

While the Cyprus dispute is not technically at issue at this CENTO meeting, in reality it dominates the scene. Turkey is a member of CENTO; Greece is not. The United States, while not a member, is attending the meeting as an observer-participant.

As Kissinger listened from a seat near by, Turkey's Caglayangil told the CENTO foreign ministers that "The attitude of the U.S. Congress to link the Cyprus problem with the military aid and military equipment supply to Turkey created a very regrettable situation that would entail inevitable negative effects on the close cooperation and friendship between Tukey and the U.S.A. While the U.S. is furnishing and selling arms to more than 90 countries, it is extremely difficult to explain the reasons of this attitude to Turkish public opinion."

"I regret to say," Caglayangil went on, "that if the U.S. position on this matter does not change within the approximate future, this situation will gain proportions that would seriously imperil our relations."

His prepared text said that serious U.S.-Turkish problems would develop "within the immediate future." The slight softening to "the approximate future" appeared to be gesture to Kissinger's presence. Caglayangil said, "We are appreciative of both President Ford's and Dr. Kissinger's efforts to correct this situation, which would have negative repercussions not only on Turkish-U.S.A. relations but also on our defense preparations and consequently on the security of the region."

Kissinger, in his formal statement to the council, reiterated that "The United States regards Turkey as a valued friend and ally," and said Washington will "make every effort for further progress in restoring our normal defense relationship with Turkey."

"The United States strongly supports efforts aimed at ending the disputes between Turkey and Greece," he said, "for we consider their relationship important to the security of both countries, to the security of the Mediterranean, and to the security of Europe."

Kissinger said the United States will "continue to do our utmost in the Cyprus dispute to encourage a just and durable solution that promotes the welfare of the people on the island and maintains the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence of Cyprus."

Turkey landed about 35,000 troops on Cyprus in the name of preserving the rights of the Turkish minority there from the Greek majority, and still occupies about 40 per cent of the island. At the height of Turkish military activity on the island there were about 40,000 troops there, but now, according to both Turkish and American sources, the Turkish troop level has been reduced to about 25,000.

Turkey is insisting on creating a two-zone federal state on Cyprus. Greece protests that this would virtually man two separate nations, with Turkey getting through force a disproportionate amount of territory.

Kissinger's main theme before the CENTO member nations—Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and Britain—was that the United States" is determined to reaffirm its ties to its allies," especially after "some months of trials" for America a clear allusion to setbacks for U.S. policy in Indochina and the Middle East.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
23 MAY 1975 Pg. 2

Schlesinger sees Warsaw Pact buildup

Brussels

Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger said Thursday that the United States plans to strengthen its forces in Central Europe, where the Soviet-led countries of the Warsaw Pact have been building up their military strength "despite detente."

Mr. Schlesinger also cited "significant reductions in overall U.S. force levels since 1969."

Here to attend a two-day conference of North Atlantic Treaty Organization defense ministers, Mr. Schlesinger made his comments in an article written for NATO's monthly magazine made available here in advance of publication.

The NATO alliance, he said, must overcome pressures to reduce its forces if it is to keep a strong negotiating position with the Warsaw Pact countries on East-West forces reductions.

WASHINGTON POST
23 MAY 1975 Pg. 6

Weapons Debate

The Senate began debate on a $30.3 billion weapons bill with Sen. John Stennis (D-Miss.) arguing against "a military letdown" in the aftermath of South Vietnam's loss to the Communists.

Stennis, chairman of the Armed Services Committee, said, "The Communists are not going to rest on their laurels."

He spoke after Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) said that "excessive military spending is heading us tward financial bankruptcy or a nuclear war — whichever comes first."

Cranston said that at least 20 amendments will be offered to cut the funds authorized by the Armed Services Committee for the purchase of weapons and for Pentagon research and development.

However, no votes are to be taken until after the recess, when what has been billed as "a great debate" on foreign and defense policies is scheduled.

Stennis said he welcomed the forthcoming debate, but said many of the proposed amendments "already have run the gauntlet in the House and been defeated."

The House-passed bill authorizes a total of about $32 billion.

Opposing any "drastic drawdowns" in the nation's military forces, Stennis said, "We should have the strength and power to do what is best for our interests."

Cranston said the United States "should be a peaceful world neighbor instead of a militant world meddler. . . . One of these days our tendency to resort to military forces to resolve our national frustrations will lead to total disaster, for us and all mankind."

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NEW YORK TIMES
23 MAY 1975
Pg 9

IRAN SAYS KILLERS WILL NOT ESCAPE

Leads in Assassination of U.S. Officers Reported

By ERIC PACE
Special to The New York Times

TEHERAN, Iran, May 22—Well-placed Iranian and foreign sources said today that Iranian security forces were following up several leads in their hunt for the terrorists who shot to death two United States Air Force colonels here yesterdaBy.

The newspaper of the Shah's political party asserted, without elaborating, that the killers would doubtlessly be captured soon.

The Teheran press seemed to be trying to rebut and allay any lingering anti-Americanism here. It cited the killings in countering charges by foreign critics that the Shah's regime was overly harsh.

No arrests or further acts of political violence were reported today. The reportedly intensive search for the assassins did not disrupt the staccato pace of life here.

It was in the wealthy northern sector of the city that Col. Paul R. Shaffer Jr. of Bryan, Ohio, and Lieut. Col. John H. Turner of Christopher, Ill., both 45 years old, were killed. They were ambushed at 6:30 A.M. yesterday as they were being driven to their offices at the Iranian ArmBed Forces headquarters here. They were members of the 200-man Military Assistance Advisory Group.

Embarrassment the Goal

At least three terrorists were said to have been involved. Anonymous telephone callers told Iranian journalists yesterday that the ambush was the work of a clandestine group, the Iranian People's Fighters Organization, and that it was an act of retaliation for atrocities by the Iranian Government against political prisoners.

"There is no doubt that in the near future the terrorists will be arrested and brought to justice," the newspaper Rastakhiz said in an editorial today. The paper represents Iran's sole legal political grouping, the Rastakhiz, or National Resurgence, party.

Iranian officials have indicated that undermining and embarrassing the Shah's Government was the terrorists' aim in killing the two officers, who are said to have worked on Iranian armed forces planning and personnel matters.

Well-placed informants, including Iranians, Americans and other foreign officials, said the leads being followed up by the Iranian authorities included the following:

¶An unidentified witness took down the license number of the car that the terrorists used to get away, after trapping the officers' car between two others, and killing the men. But whom the getaway car belonged to, whether it was found, and if so, where, and whether it yielded fingerprints or other clues—none of this was disclosed.

¶Another witness, a gardener named Yadollah Jalali, who had worked for one of the officers, saw the whole ambush and has been cooperating with the security authorities as, presumably, the officers' Iranian chauffeur has. Iranian officials say that those who plotted the killing have been identified with virtual certainty.

¶At least one mimeographed document found in a car at the murder scene was said to have provided investigators with useful information.

NEW YORK TIMES 23 MAY 1975, Pg 2

Mansfield Forcing Fight Over Indian Ocean Base

By JOHN W. FINNEY
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 22—The Administration is facing an open challenge from Senator Mike Mansfield over whether the United States, in the period after the Vietnam war, should establish a military presence in the Indian Ocean by constructing a naval and air base on the island of Diego Garcia.

To the Administration, the issue is whether the United States' ability to support military operations in the Indian Ocean should be enhanced by what it describes as a "modest naval facility" on the small British island 1,000 miles south of India.

To Senator Mansfield, who has been pressing for a reassessment of American foreign policy, the proposed base presents a symbolic test of whether in the post-Vietnam period the United States is going to extend or contract its global commitments.

Through various maneuvers, Senator Mansfield, as chairman of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Military Construction, has posed a challenge that the Administration had hoped to avoid by slipping construction funds for the Diego Garcia base through Congress.

Last fall, Senator Mansfield attached an amendment to the military construction bill providing that no construction funds could be spent on the base until the President certified that it was "essential to the national interest of the United States." The Mansfield amendment also provided that the project could then be blocked by a resolution of disapproval adopted by either the House or Senate.

The Certification Came

With no publicity, President Ford on May 12 sent a one-paragraph letter to Congress certifying that construction of the Diego Garcia base was essential. The Presidential certification, according to Congressional aides, had been delayed as the State Department argued that it was not a propitious time to debate the American role in the Indian Ocean.

On Monday, Senator Mansfield introduced a resolution of disapproval that was referred to the Senate Armed Services Committee. The committee must report back to the Senate within 20 legislative days, setting the stage for a floor fight this summer or early fall.

The Defense Department wants to deepen the harbor and construct, repair and supply facilities on the island—at an eventual cost of at least $175-million—so that it could support a carrier task force in the Indian Ocean. Plans also call for extending the runway to 12,000 feet so that it could handle reconnaissance aircraft and aerial tanker planes, thus making it possible for B-52 bombers to operate in the area.

A Communication Station

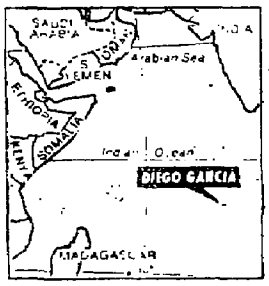
The Defense Department now operates a small communications station on the island. In proposing over the last five years that the island be expanded into a Navy support facility, the department has offered the following combination of political and military explanations:

¶The base is needed to ease the logistic burden of supporting naval operations in the Indian Ocean. The Defense Department has been conducting such operations since the 1973 Arab-Israeli war.

¶The United States must offset a growing Soviet naval presence in the Indian Ocean—a presence that is expected to increase with the reopening of the Suez Canal, scheduled for early next month.

¶That a projection of United States military power into the Indian Ocean would promote stability in the region and protect the sea lanes leading to Middle Eastern oil supplies.

In a statement accompanying his resolution of disapproval, Mr. Mansfield, the Senate majority leader, suggested that the Administration position represented "an extension of a policy of the United States trying to be policeman for the world in the face of our bitter experience in Vietnam."



The New York Times/May 23, 1975

Senator Mansfield questioned whether the United States had "vital interests" in the Indian Ocean. He noted, for example, that having a naval task force in the Indian Ocean "had no effect" in preventing the Arab nations from cutting off the flow of oil in 1973.

The Senator argued that the Diego Garcia base could be the stepping stone to "a three-ocean navy," with an Indian Ocean fleet used by the Navy to justify the maintenance of 15 aircraft carriers instead of the currently planned force of 12.

On the political side, he asked why the United States should "show the flag in an area of the world where the nations have requested that we not have our Navy there in force." He noted that last November, nations bordering on the Indian Ocean issued a policy statement opposing the construction of the United States naval base on Diego Garcia.

Senator Mansfield concedes that in the wake of Vietnam there is a greater Congressional reluctance to reduce the defense budget or foreign military commitments. But Senate aides believe that Mr. Mansfield may still be able to prevail on the Senate floor with the argument that this is no time to make a major new commitment in the Indian Ocean when the Administration and Congress are engaged in a reappraisal of American foreign policy.

NEW YORK TIMES 23 MAY 1975, Pg 3

North Vietnam and Thailand Begin Talks on New Ties

BANGKOK, Thailand, May 22 (Reuters)—North Vietnam and Thailand began talks here today toward establishment of normal relations, but gave no indication how the discussions were going.

A morning session was spent working out an agenda, Thai officials said. Later the two sides met for a two-hour working session. Hanoi side led by Deputy Foreign Minister Phan Hien and the Thai side by Foreign Minister Chatichai Choonhaven.

Mr. Hien said on arrival last night that he thought the time was right for establishing good relations, now that the Indochina war was over.

BALTIMORE SUN
23 MAY 1975, Pg 8

Ford ponders women cadets

Washington (AP)—President Ford is reserving judgment on whether it would be a good idea to admit women to the U.S service academies.

The White House press secretary, Ron Nessen, was asked yesterday for Mr Ford's reaction to a House vote Tuesday to admit women to the military, naval and Air Force academies.

"He wants to think about it a little bit," Mr Nessen said

Legislation clearing the way for women cadets was passed by the House and sent to the Senate.

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FRIDAY MORNING, 23 MAY 1975

Pentagon Aide, Thurmond Tangle

By Jack Anderson and Les Whitten

Inside the Pentagon, it doesn't pay to mess with one of Strom Thurmond's boys.

Lt. Col. Wilfred Ebel found this out. He conducted a study, which rapped one of Thurmond's cronies as a lazy incompetent. There was a snort of annoyance from Old Strom. All of a sudden, Ebel's military career began collapsing around his ears.

Strom Thurmond, of course, is the strait-laced senator from South Carolina, a very model of a reserve major general, the Army's senior retread on Capitol Hill.

He helped to win World War II, and he has five battle stars and 18 decorations to prove it, including the Belgian Order of the Crown and the French Croix de Guerre.

At age 72, he marches through the Senate corridors, ramrod straight, as if to a military cadence. He is a power on the Senate Armed Services Committee where he fights for the Army with the same star-spangled fervor that he demonstrated on the battlefield.

Certainly, Thurmond is not one for a mere lieutenant colonel to tangle with. The unfortunate Ebel made the mistake of criticizing Maj. Gen. Milnor Roberts, the Army reserves chief, who happens to be one of Thurmond's World War II buddies.

Ebel was ordered to make a confidential study of Roberts' operation. His orders, Ebel has sworn, were to write a "no-holds-barred report."

This is precisely what the foolhardy lieutenant colonel did. He charged that Roberts, in his capacity as head of 730,000 reservists, was given to "intrigue," "indifference" and "lethargy." Roberts also lacked courage on tough decisions, wrote Ebel.

Subsequently, Ebel received a commendation for his "tremendous service" and "personal integrity." But this was before Old Strom spoke to Army Secretary Howard (Bo) Callaway about Ebel.

Callaway has assured us that Thurmond's approach was "low key." The senator passed on some allegations against Ebel. "He just said, 'Look into it,'" recalled Callaway. "There never was a case with less political influence."

Thurmond won't say who cooked up the charges against Ebel and slipped them to him. A classified Army document suggests that Roberts, the subject of Ebel's unflattering report, "may have been the source in this matter."

The Army reserves chief, although conceding he had spoken with both Thurmond and one of his aides about Ebel, denied he was the original purveyor of the rumors.

But from the moment Old Strom gave Ebel the evil eye, the world of the 44-year-old lieutenant colonel began to crumble. Here is the swift sequence of events:

• Callaway turned Thurmond's allegations against Ebel over to the Army inspector general to investigate.

• Astonishingly, the inspector general issued a report condemning Ebel for writing a "derogatory" report about Roberts. Yet Ebel's Pentagon superiors had ordered him to prepare a frank report. The inspector general also made some nitpicking charges about Ebel's putting in voluntary time and misleading the Army on a minor matter.

• Citing the inspector general's report as an excuse, Callaway dropped Ebel's name from the promotion list. He conceded that he had been "tougher" on Ebel than the inspector general had recommended but insisted this had nothing to do with Thurmond's intervention.

• Ebel had given up a top civil service job to return to the pentagon. But after he landed on Thurmond's blacklist, he found the Defense Department didn't want him.

When the Army began investigating Ebel because he put in free time at the Pentagon, this was the last straw. He retained an attorney, Frank Bartimo, the Defense Department's former assistant general counsel, to file charges.

At a closed-dooor meeting with Pentagon investigators, Bartimo charged that "this horrendous case . . . affects the very core and heart of the reserve forces."

Now the tables are turned, and the Justice Department is being asked to look at Thurmond, Callaway and company.

Footnote: Both Callaway and Roberts denied any impropriety. Roberts also insisted that Ebel's criticism of his operation was unfair and inaccurate. Thurmond couldn't be reached. But the strong-willed old soldier has said in the past that he has the duty to present any allegations that are brought to his attention. The inspector general said he had received no pressure from Callaway but had called the shots as he saw them.

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WASHINGTON POST - 23 MAY 1975 Pg. 2

Ford to Name Science Adviser

By Victor Cohn
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Ford said yesterday that he will name a White House science adviser, a job abolished by former President Nixon in January, 1973.

Among issues Mr. Ford is seriously concerned with, one aide said, are whether aerosol sprays are depleting the ozone layer that protects the earth from the sun's harshest rays and whether catalytic converters on cars cause more dangerous air pollution than they eliminate.

Dr. H. Guyford Stever, head of the government's National Science Foundation, said the President also wants scientific advice on "the many issues in the confrontation between energy, the environment, and the economy."

Stever is considered a leading candidate for the new job. Whoever is named, said James Cannon, director of the Domestic Council, the new adviser's main role will be to sum up advice of civilian and government scientists.

Yesterday Mr. Ford told eight members of Congress who have pressed for some new White House science apparatus that he will soon send them a draft bill to create both a science adviser and a 15-member staff.

He acted on advice of Vice President Rockefeller, whom he asked last fall to examine the issue.

A White House science adviser, the Office of Science and Technology, and the President's Science Advisory Committee were first created by President Eisenhower. He did so after the 1957 Soviet Sputnik, the first space satellite, showed Americans that other nations were catching up technologically.

When President Nixon abolished the office his aides called it a move to reduce bureaucracy. But scientific groups said the decision was unwise.

Scientists noted that Nixon, like President Johnson, was unhappy with science advisers who argued against projects like the anti-ballistic missile and supersonic transport plane—and whose advice surfaced in public debates.

In 1973, after abolishing the science office, Nixon gave Stever the additional duty of being a science adviser as well as NSF director. But being both a presidential counselor and an agency head asked too much of one person, it was decided in recent weeks.

Some scientists have also argued that a presidential science adviser should again start providing independent assessment of new weaponry, a role Nixon reassigned to the National Security Council. Whether a new adviser will advise on military matters has not yet been decided, a source said yesterday.

Several bills have been introduced to re-establish a White House science office. Yesterday two of Mr. Ford's visitors—Sen. Frank Moss (D-Utah), Senate Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee chairman, and Rep. Olin Teague (D-Tex.), House Science and Technology Committee chairman—said they plan hearings on the issue. The House hearings are to start June 10.

"We welcome very much" the President's recommendations, Moss said, indicating there could soon be an agreement.

WASHINGTON POST
23 MAY 1975 Pg. 26

• Informed sources in Manila said Moslem rebels in the southern Philippines attacked a platoon of marines on Jolo Island, killing 11 and wounding 17.

BALTIMORE SUN
23 MAY 1975
Pg. 2

Apollo-Soyuz flight is okayed

Moscow Bureau of The Sun

Moscow—Senior American and Soviet space officials decided here yesterday that the joint Apollo-Soyuz space flight is all ready to go July 15.

Glynn S. Lunney, the American technical director for the project, said after an exhaustive review that "no issues or problems remain to be resolved" before the flight.

Konstantin Bushuyev, the Soviet technical director, said that the final checking of the spaceships and rockets is now beginning and that a final simulation flight would be held in late June to improve coordination of the control centers' work.

American officials said they were satisfied with the Soviet explanation of the April failure of the last Soviet manned space flight and were confident that similar problems would not interfere with the joint mission in July.

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CAMBODIANS 5-23
DAY LD
BY WARREN TALBOT
NEWPORT, R.I. (UPI) -- THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAS GRANTED POLITICAL ASYLUM TO 20 YOUNG CAMBODIAN NAVY OFFICERS WHO CAME TO THE UNITED STATES BEFORE THE COMMUNIST TAKEOVER OF THEIR COUNTRY.
THE STUDENTS, ALL LIEUTENANTS JUNIOR GRADE, RECEIVED PERMISSION THURSDAY TO STAY IN THE UNITED STATES FOR AN INDEFINITE PERIOD OF TIME, ACCORDING TO FRANK CASTELNOVO, DISTRICT DIRECTOR OF THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION.
"IT WAS FINALIZED TODAY. THEY CAN REMAIN HERE FOR AN INDEFINITE PERIOD," HE SAID THURSDAY IN PROVIDENCE.
THE SAILORS HAVE COMPLETED AN 18-WEEK COURSE AT INTERNATIONAL OFFICER CANDIDATE TRAINING SCHOOL WHICH IS BASED AT THE U.S. NAVY EDUCATION AND TRAINING CENTER. THEY RECEIVED CERTIFICATES OF GRADUATION TUESDAY IN PRIVATE CEREMONIES.
THEY HAVE BEEN LIVING IN BARRACKS AT THE SPRAWLING NAVY BASE BY THE SEA. THEIR GRADUATION CEREMONY WAS HELD THREE DAYS AHEAD OF TIME TO AVOID PUBLICITY. THEY HAVE REFUSED ALL REQUESTS FOR INTERVIEWS, FEARING REPRISALS ON THEIR FAMILIES AT HOME.
"IT'S UP TO THE NAVY NOW TO TURN THEM LOOSE. WE'VE GIVEN THE NAVY THE GREEN LIGHT TO LET THEM GO. THE NAVY DIDN'T WANT TO HOLD THEM FOR A LONG PERIOD OF TIME," CASTELNOVO SAID.
HE SAID HE "PRESUMES" ALL OF THEM HAVE SPONSORS TO HELP THEM RELOCATE IN NEW HOMES AND JOBS.
"THE NAVY WAS TAKING CARE OF THAT END. THE DECISION TO ALLOW THEM TO STAY HAS A LOT TO DO WITH WHETHER THEY HAVE SPONSORS. AS FAR AS I KNOW SOME WILL BE STAYING IN THE RHODE ISLAND AREA, AND OTHERS WILL BE MOVING AWAY TO DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE COUNTRY," HE SAID.
"THE ONLY THING WE ASK IS THAT THEY KEEP IN TOUCH WITH US SO WE WILL KNOW WHERE THEY ARE IF WE HAVE TO GET A HOLD OF THEM," CASTELNOVO SAID.
CASTELNOVO SAID HIS DEPARTMENT HAS RECEIVED DIRECTIVES NOT TO "PROCEED WITH THE FORCEABLE RETURN OF CAMBODIANS AND SOUTH VIETNAMESE."
HE SAID INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE CAMBODIANS BEGAN LAST MONTH, BUT THAT IT WAS NOT UNTIL LAST WEEK THAT THEY FORMALLY SOUGHT ASYLUM.
UPI 05-23 05:18 AED

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LAOS 5-23
1ST LD A047
BY FREDERICK H. MARKS
VIENTIANE (UPI) -- COMMUNIST-LED LAOTIAN TROOPS TRIED TO ENTER A U.S. HOUSING COMPOUND OUTSIDE VIENTIANE TODAY, DELAYING THE START OF A MASS EVACUATION OF AMERICANS FROM LAOS.
TWO DOZEN LAOTIAN SOLDIERS BOARDED EVACUATION TRUCKS GOING INTO THE KILOMETER 6 AMERICAN COMPOUND, BUT WERE TURNED BACK BY U.S. GUARDS AT THE GATE.
THE TRUCKS WERE TO TAKE THE AMERICANS TO VIENTIANE AIRPORT FOR THE START OF AN AIRLIFT OF HUNDREDS OF U.S. OFFICIALS FROM LAOS. THE FLIGHT WAS DELAYED WHILE NEGOTIATORS TRIED TO BREAK THE IMPASSE.
THE SENIOR U.S. DIPLOMAT IN LAOS, CHARGE D'AFFAIRES CHRISTIAN CHAPMAN, SAID THE COMMUNIST-DOMINATED GOVERNMENT HAD GRANTED PERMISSION FOR ABOUT 80 AMERICANS TO LEAVE TODAY ABOARD A CHARTERED AIR LAO JETLINER.
"WE HAVE ASSURANCES FROM THE GOVERNMENT THAT A PLANELOAD CAN LEAVE BUT THE SOLDIERS ARE NOT OBEYING THOSE ORDERS," CHAPMAN TOLD NEWSMEN.
HE DEFENDED THE DECISION TO BAR THE TROOPS FROM THE COMPOUND, SAYING ENTRANCE OF THE LAOTIANS WOULD HAVE BEEN A BREACH OF DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITY.
"THIS IS A COMPOUND THAT HAS DIPLOMATIC STATUS," HE SAID. "IT IS UNACCEPTABLE TO HAVE PEOPLE GO ON OUR COMPOUND WITHOUT OUR AUTHORIZATION."
LAOTIAN FORCES LED BY THE COMMUNIST PATHET LAO HAVE BEEN RINGING THE COMPOUND FOR THREE DAYS, KEEPING HUNDREDS OF AMERICANS VIRTUAL PRISONERS INSIDE.
"THIS IS A PERIOD OF TURMOIL AND INEVITABLY THE LINES OF AUTHORITY AREN'T VERY CLEAR, BUT I HAVE NO EVIDENCE THERE WILL BE VIOLENCE AGAINST AMERICANS," CHAPMAN SAID.
HE SAID THE UNITED STATES WOULD CLOSE DOWN ALL AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OPERATIONS IN LAOS AND MOST OF THE 850 AMERICANS IN THE COUNTRY WOULD BE EVACUATED.
U.S. OFFICIALS SAID THE AMERICANS AT THE 140-HOME KILOMETER 6 COMPOUND -- MAINLY AID EMPLOYES -- HAD PLENTY OF FOOD AND WATER.
LAOTIAN MAIDS WERE ALLOWED TO LEAVE THE COMPOUND TO BUY SUPPLIES. THEY PASSED THE FOOD BACK ACROSS THE WIRE FENCE TO THE AMERICANS INSIDE.
UPI 05-23 04:37 AED

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CURRENT NEWS

PART II - MAIN EDITION - 1130

THIS SUPPLEMENTS PART I-EARLY BIRD EDITION

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THURSDAY, MAY 22, 1975

NEW YORK TIMES - 22 MAY 1975 Pg. 12

Kissinger, in Berlin, Affirms U.S. Defense of Allies

By LESLIE H. GELB
Special to The New York Times

BERLIN, May 21—Secretary of State Kissinger stood at the rostrum of West Berlin's House of Representatives today to confirm the past and to repledge the United States to this city's future.

"As Berlin was the greatest symbol of the heroism of the immediate postwar period, it is also the acid test of the period we now hope to enter," Mr. Kissinger said.

In 1963, outside the building in which Mr. Kissinger spoke, the Schöneberger Rathaus, or City Hall, President John F. Kennedy identified himself with the people of West Berlin and symbolically linked the security of Berlin with the security of the United States.

Mr. Kissinger did the same today, saying, "the security of West Berlin remains a vital interest of the United States."

The Secretary of State spoke inside the gray and lumbering 1914 romanesque building and told his listeners: "This city is enjoying greater security than at any time in the last 30 years." He then talked about the 1971 agreement on Berlin, which validated the Western position in Berlin and the city's links with West Germany.

In the more troubled time of Mr. Kennedy's visit, the President spoke outside the building to crowds who were seeking American reassurance.

Mr. Kissinger on arriving and leaving Tegel Airport in West Berlin, spoke in German and in English.

At lunch, his German hosts paid a compliment to the Secretary's German origin and his policies of diplomacy serving him Prince Metternich Champagne.

While Mr. Kissinger's visit to West Berlin was planned months ago, he saw this moment—in the wake of the collapse of the American position in Indochina—as the right time to make another symbolic gesture of assurance. He said that Washington "will never seek peace by abandoning principles or sacrificing friends."

Earlier in the morning, at the United States headquarters in West Berlin, the publicity stol-

See ALLIES, Pg. 2

WASHINGTON POST - 22 MAY 1975 Pg. 22

U.S. Decides to Speed Up Laos Pullout

From News Dispatches

The United States has decided to speed up its pullout of Americans from Laos following recent attacks on U.S. personnel in Vientiane and Savannakhet, the State Department said yesterday.

Spokesman Robert Funseth said, however, that the State Department had no report from the embassy in Vientiane about whether the stepped-up evacuation had begun or how many of the estimated 1,000 Americans still in Laos would be removed.

The U.S. Charge d'Affaires in Laos, Christian A. Chapman, met with two Communist Pathet Lao Cabinet ministers last night in an attempt to resolve the most recent confrontation—the student occupation of the U.S. Agency for International Development compound in Vientiane with two Marines and a civilian inside it.

In the southern city of Savannakhet, a dozen Americans and six other persons began a second week under loose house arrest but reportedly were in no immediate danger.

Chapman, who met at the U.S. embassy with Culture Minister Maha Khou and Planning Minister Soth Pothrasy after an earlier meeting with Premier Souvanna Phouma, said many American families in Vientiane were "virtual prisoners," since they were stopped by policemen from going in and out of an American housing area.

Arrangements were being made in Vientiane for a chartered DC-6 to fly out some U.S. AID officials, their dependents and the dependents of other U.S. officials expected to leave soon, Jacques Leslie of the Los Angeles Times reported from Vientiane. He said it was probable that the charter would be the first of several in coming weeks to take out U.S. officials and their personal belongings.

Funseth indicated that the State Department's decision to speed up the evacuation was at least partly spurred by "the continuing situation in Savannakhet and this most recent incident in Vientiane."

He said the U.S. government would "thin out" its presence in Laos "in the next several weeks." He said the State Department did not know whether the U.S. embassy in Vientiane had advised nonofficial Americans to leave the country.

The students demonstrating against the Americans have demanded the immediate dissolution of AID in Laos and the departure of all of its U.S. employees. They also demand that the agency turn its facilities over to the Laotian government, including personal goods that have been imported tax free, and that taxes be paid on personal property of Americans before they leave the country.

The U.S. embassy said in a statement Monday that it was ready to "modify, reduce or eliminate" AID operations to meet the demands.

The political situation in Laos has changed rapidly in recent days, as the precarious three-way coalition government has lost most of its rightist representation through resignation and exile, leaving the Communist-led Pathet Lao in virtual control.

In the latest demonstration, about 200 students and some employees of AID climbed over the fence of the Aid compound in Vientiane and took it over early yesterday morning. The demonstrators also seized an AID warehouse five miles outside Vientiane and pre-

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WASHINGTON POST
22 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Senators Support Israel

By Stephen Isaacs
Washington Post Staff Writer

Seventy-five members of the Senate have signed a letter to President Ford that in effect demands that the United States continue its strong support of Israel, The Washington Post learned last night.

The letter was delivered to the White House yesterday evening and will be released publicly at a press conference in the Senate this morning.

The 75 signers constitute the largest number of senators ever to sign a pro-Israel letter or resolution. The previous high was 73, the number of members who signed a letter to then-Secretary of State William P. Rogers urging the administration to sell Phantom jets to Israel in 1970.

Senators involved in the signature-gathering said that the letter is particularly significant, coming just before the President's trip to meet with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and, later, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

Mr. Ford is due to leave early Wednesday for Brussels and will meet Sadat in Salzburg, Austria, on June 1 and 2. He will see Rabin in Washington later in June.

The senators also said it was significant that so many of

See ISRAEL, Pg. 2

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NEW YORK TIMES - 22 MAY 1975 Pg. 12

KENNEDY ASKS HALT TO A-ARMS TESTING

Special to The New York Times

Geneva, May 21—Senator Edward M. Kennedy called on the United States and the Soviet Union today to halt all nuclear weapons testing to give other nations a "real incentive" for renouncing the development of nuclear arms.

The Massachusetts Democrat also urged the two powers to begin "real reductions" in their own nuclear arsenals, addressed delegates to a 65-nation conference reviewing the effectiveness of the treaty banning the spread of nuclear weapons.

Many of the nonnuclear nations represented at the conference have also urged such action on Washington and Moscow as the most effective step to get more countries to accept the treaty.

The review conference is being held under the provisions of the five-year-old pact by which nonnuclear nations renounce the acquisition of nuclear arms and the nuclear powers pledge not to assist other countries to obtain such weapons.

ALLIES ... CONTINUED

al Secretary of State showed brief emotion. Faced with an honor guard dressed in blue, with American flags flying and with a band playing "The Star Spangled Banner," Mr. Kissinger's face reddened.

Minutes later when he informally addressed Americans assembled in the courtyard, he came close to echoing the old Kennedy words.

"All of those who doubt what American has stood for should visit Berlin," Mr. Kissinger said. They should come to this city, he continued, "where basic issues do not require explanation."

Berlin 'a Great Principle'

His listeners were moved, as seemingly were those who heard his last line at the House of Representatives: "We are confident that history will record Berlin as not merely as a great city but as a great principle in the story of man's struggle for freedom."

After his visit here, Mr. Kissinger left for Turkey to attend a meeting of the Central Treaty Organization.

For Mr. Kissinger, since his days as a professor, Western Europe has meant primarily West Germany and West Berlin.

"To Henry, Washington and Bonn are the two key players," a Kissinger aide said. Bonn is the capital of the mightiest conventional military power in Central Europe and the deutschmark is the centerpiece of the European economy.

There is particularly high regard for Chancellor Helmut Schmidt among State Department officials dealing with European affairs.

These officials and Mr. Kissinger himself, it is said, view Mr. Schmidt as a transitional leader of West Germany — as the last in an old line and the first in a new. Konrad Adenauer rooted West Germany in the West and Ludwig Erhard consolidated this process. Willy Brandt opened the door to the East to legitimize Bonn's borders.

Mr. Schmidt is considered in the words of one official, "a new breed of cat." He is seen as more expressive of the new strong Germany, and as a man who will not follow the established pattern that whatever burdens are to be borne by the Western allies, West Germany must pay.

High State Department officials judge him to be an independent force to be reckoned with and regard his brand of nationalism as a healthy sign.

Support Appreciated

They particularly liked Mr. Schmidt's quiet but clear backing of the American position at the recent consumer-producer conference on energy in Paris. Mr. Kissinger is taking special care that the Soviet position calling for a reduction of West German forces in the early stages of any mutual force reduction agreement in Europe does not lead to Bonn's isolation.

For when Mr. Kissinger and his aides privately express concern about Germany's future it is no longer couched in terms of renascent German militarism. Their expressed concern is of "a free-floating West Germany."

Such a West Germany, in their eyes, would result in an anti-American, French-style policy at best and at worst, an unhinging of a Western Europe oriented toward the United States.

LAOS ... CONTINUED

vented traffic from entering or leaving a residential area where many AID officials live. The demonstrators carried away goods from the AID compound and warehouse.

AID now has stationed in Laos slightly fewer than the 162 officials tabulated during the last count, at the end of April.

Students who seized the compound hung signs from the chain-link fence around it saying, "Americans Leave," and "CIA Go Home."

No Americans were allowed to enter the compound, although three stayed from the beginning of the seizure.

By mid-afternoon yesterday, students had broken into many of the dozen buildings inside the compound, but they had not entered the two main office buildings where the two Marine Guards were. The Marines were in radio contact with officials at the nearby U.S. embassy.

Tension throughout the rest of Vientiane's American community appeared to increase substantially.

The embassy issued a press release stating that Chapman met with Laotian Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma and Foreign Minister Phoumi Vongvichit "to protest these illegal actions."

ISRAEL ..... CONTINUED

them signed, indicating, they said, that there has not been an erosion of support for Israel in Congress, as some reports have indicated.

The letter states that the Senate wants to have a voice in the reassessment of American policy toward the Middle East, which Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger announced late in March when his latest peace-making effort in the Middle East failed.

The letter also threatens Mr. Ford's foreign aid bill, saying:

"Within the next several weeks, the Congress expects to receive your foreign aid requests for fiscal year 1976. We trust that your recommendations will be responsive to Israel's urgent military and economic needs. We urge you to make it clear, as we do, that the United States acting in its own national interests stands firmly with Israel in the search for peace in future negotiations, and that this premise is the basis of the current reassessment of U.S. policy in the Middle East."

Notable among those 24 senators who did not agree to sign the letter is Sen. Charles H. Percy (R-Ill.), who until five months ago had been a staunch supporter of Israeli policies.

He spent from Jan. 3 to Jan. 28 in the Middle East and declared that Israel ought to be more flexible, and ought to deal with the Palestinians and, in specific, with Yasser Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

One Senate source who had a hand in drafting the letter said it has two main points, one explicit and one implicit.

"Explicitly," he said, "it says, 'Mr. President, we've heard of your reassessment. It is not a unilateral activity to be undertaken in the State Department.

"'Here's our view on reassessment — i.e., all the main outlines of American policy stand. We wanted to make it very clear, Mr. President, where the Congress stands. Whatever you're doing, we want you to take this into account.'

"Secondly, implicitly, the fact that 75/99th of the Senate are taking this stand at this time refutes the whole idea that there's erosion. In fact, there's more support than before.

"The so-called erosion is a myth created by the media, and some elements of the administration have been quietly suggesting it was so in various quarters."

A key word in the Senate letter is "defensible" in connection with Israel's borders.

"Since 1967," the letter says, "it has been American policy that the Arab-Israeli be settled on the basis of secure and recognized boundaries that are defensible, and direct negotiations between the nations involved. We believe that this approach continues to offer the best hope for a just and lasting peace."

"... We believe," the senators said, "that a strong Israel constitutes a most reliable barrier to domination of the area by outside parties. Given the recent heavy flow of Soviet weaponry to Arab states, it is imperative that we not permit the military balance to shift against Israel.

"We believe that preserving the peace requires that Israel obtain a level of military and economic support adequate to deter a renewal of war by Israel's neighbors. Withholding military equipment from Israel would be dangerous, discouraging accommodation by Israel's neighbors and encouraging a resort to force ..."

Those besides Percy who did not sign the letter include: James Abourezk (D-S.D.), Howard H. Baker Jr. (R-Tenn.); Dewey F. Bartlett (R-Okla.); Henry L. Bellmon (R-Okla.); Quentin N. Burdick (D-N.D.); Harry F. Byrd Jr. (Ind.-Va.); Carl T. Curtis (R-Neb.); James O. Eastland (D-Miss.); Paul J. Fannin (R-Ariz.); Robert P. Griffin (R-Mich.); Clifford P. Hansen (R-Wyo.); Mark O. Hatfield (R-Ore.); Jesse A. Helms (R-N.C.); Ernest F. Hollings (D-S.C.); J. Bennett Johnston Jr. (D-La.); Russell B. Long (D-La.); John L. McClellan (D-Ark.); James A. McClure (R-Ida.); Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.); William L. Scott (R-Va.); John J. Sparkman (D-Ala.); John C. Stennis (D-Miss.), and Milton R. Young (R-N.D.).

Fifty Democrats and 25 Republicans did sign.

Nineteen senators solicited their fellow members for signatures, with the staffs of Sens. Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) and Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) taking the lead.

Pro-Israel lobbyists were particularly pleased by the fact that all 10 freshmen senators signed.

In a related development yesterday, six senators and 45 congressmen sent a telegram to the director general of the World Health Organization in Geneva, threatening a cutoff of American financing of WHO if the organization constricts Israel's participation. Some reports have indicated WHO is considering such a move.

"In light of the recent experience with UNESCO, we would not want to see any action which would inevitably lead to a diminution of U.S. support for your organization in Congress," the telegram said.

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FEATURES COLUMNISTS

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 22 MAY 1975

Congress backs up Ford's defense stance

By Richard L. Strout
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Nations of the world take note: Congress is supporting President Ford's defense posture.

Assassination of two U.S. Air Force officers in Tehran will only strengthen congressional support, it is believed.

The Vietnam episode, paradoxically, has increased, not diminished, legislative backing for President Ford in certain critical international areas, all signs indicate.

"This is no time to diminish U.S. troop strength abroad," Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D) of Montana, a long-time supporter of reducing overseas American military strength, told Congress, in effect, this week.

The Senate, which cut off weapons shipments to Turkey Feb. 5 because they were used in the Cyprus dispute with Greece, relaxed the ban May 19 by a narrow vote, 41-40.

Congress is sending a signal abroad: It is telling the world not to overdiscount America's will to act resolutely.

It is, in a way, a negative signal: there is no policy deadlock in Washington.

Congress often plays a slow-moving but profound part in American foreign policy. It tilted its support from Turkey to Greece in the Cyprus question. It angered the White House by restricting trade agreements with the Soviet Union in the absence of Russian concessions on Jewish emigration.

Less capriciously, after 10 years of almost undeviating support of the executive in Vietnam, in August, 1973, it limited the President's discretion to send troops, shell or bomb and, in the final agony of collapse, rejected President Ford's appeal to appropriate $720 million in additional military aid.

Congress moves deliberately but knows when it has had enough, it is noted here. But now the signal is different.

With Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger talking to Russian Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko in Vienna and then traveling to Ankara, and with President Ford just about to attend the NATO meeting in Brussels May 29-30, Congress feels, judging from repeated assertions on and off the floor, *that this is a time to support the executive. It must not foster a* mistaken notion abroad that the United States is a paper tiger.

Senator Mansfield, in an impassioned speech on Turkish aid, told the Senate that the vote was expressly scheduled to allay Turkish resentment, and that it was designed to strengthen America's good offices on the Cyprus question and thereby to strengthen the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance. He asked for *support "at this moment of history."* He got a hairline victory.

The House took its turn, May 20. By an overwhelming vote, 311-95, it rejected an amendment to cut the 416,500 U.S. troops abroad by 70,000. The meaning of the one-sided vote was plain to many here — Congress does not want the Vietnam episode to be misinterpreted. Instead of weakening the executive's hand, Vietnam has strengthened it, in this particular situation.

Last year a proposal to cut U.S. troops overseas by 100,000 lost by 240-163 — a considerably less-lopsided vote than now. Some had thought that the 75 freshmen Democrats might tip the balance the other way. House Majority Leader Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. of Massachusetts, however, summed it up. This is the "wrong time" for such action, he said.

WASHINGTON POST
22 MAY 1975

Chalmers M. Roberts

What Role for America?

In thinking about America's post-Indochina relations with the rest of the world it may be better to look at problems in categories rather than by making a country by country survey. With this in mind we might well consider armaments, economic resources and home-front perceptions of how to conduct foreign policy.

Since basic policy is to prevent major wars the first priority is to avoid nuclear conflict. Here the continuing strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) are critical. At the moment this Soviet-American negotiation is hung up on intricate technical problems. Secretary Kissinger will meet again with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko to try to resolve these issues. The Ford-Brezhnev meeting, postponed at American request, depends on bringing the SALT II talks to the point of an agreement.

Even as SALT inches forward, a second level of the nuclear problem has assumed increasing, even alarming, proportions. This is the growing number of states possessing nuclear weapons, beginning with India (however much she says she is engaged only in peaceful pursuits) and quite possibly to be followed by several more nations. The weapons grade material that is the by-product of nuclear power plants is getting close to being uncontrolled or uncontrollable. The one hope here is that the Non-Proliferation Treaty review conference in Geneva may find some new devices to rein in this charging nuclear horse.

If nuclear war seems unthinkable (although we should not accept that as a premise), then conventional war is growing more and more frightening in its potential. As the International Institute for Strategic Studies recently noted, a new family of "precision guided" or so-called "smart" bombs has "dramatically" increased the potential damage and may also impinge on the nuclear control problem. One need only imagine another round in the Middle East with such new weapons involved to hope that diplomacy can head it off. Yet in Europe the mutual force reduction talks between NATO and Warsaw Pact nations has yet to achieve a breakthrough to reduction of rival forces.

The United States, more or less against its will, has been drawn toward a summit conference finale of the European Security Conference without any substantive concessions from the Communist side. It would seem to make sense to avoid that finale until or unless there is some meaningful progress on the arms talks. If there ever were a case for linkage, this is it. Furthermore, the United States has no option but to keep its forces in Western Europe (and in South Korea as well) until both sides agree to mutual scaling down. Given these and other uncertainties, the United States must continue a high level of armaments, something Congress seems willing to do with minimal cuts. Kissinger is certainly right when he says that "as a basic relationship detente has never meant the absence of competition."

The economic problems are more diffuse and more difficult to grasp than even the military problems; witness the struggle over both a domestic and an international energy program. Most Americans, like Kissinger, probably have been repelled by the demands put forward by Algeria and many other so-called developing and underdeveloped nations for a larger share of the existing pie of world resources; that is, by producers of raw materials (which we are more and more running out of ourselves) for higher prices and for some price level tie, called indexing, to the costs they pay for our farm and manufactured goods. For the last couple of decades this has been a growing problem, now brought front and center by the effectiveness of the OPEC oil cartel. While it is true, as Kissinger says, that global expansion of the prosperity pie is essential if all are to have more, the time has come when we can no longer blithely escape these demands.

Economic problems, of course, have domestic causes, as witness those in Britain. When Federal Reserve Board Chairman Arthur Burns made that remark about Britain going down the drain (he later apologized to the British ambassador—for saying it out loud), he was thinking of our own internal imbalances. Our legislative-executive gulf remains wide but at least there are efforts to bridge it.

If there are efforts to resolve, or at least move forward, in the arms control and economic fields, both nationally and internationally, the same

(See ROLE, Pg. 2-F)

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 1 May 1975

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION 1 MAY 1975 (22)

Viet War Weapons Were a Mixed 'Bag'

By CHUCK BELL

Indeed, there was no end of the contrivances to which they resorted against each other.—Thucydides

Every war in history has produced a flood of new weapons and clever devices and the Indochina war was no exception.

One new weapon that was forged on the battlefields of Southeast Asia was the attack helicopter.

The U.S. Army already was experimenting with the attack helicopter concept when the United States became involved in the war but there was no attack helicopter in existence, although the Lockheed Co. was at work on the design for the AH-56A Cheyenne.

The lack of a helicopter designed primarily for the attack role was keenly felt, especially after experience with makeshift armed helicopters showed how effective they could be in suppressing ground fire during helicopter-borne assaults and casualty evacuation operations.

The Bell Helicopter Co. filled the void by developing, on its own initiative, an armed version of its highly successful UH-1 utility helicopter. Called the AH-1 Huey-Cobra, Bell's creation was little more than a flying gun platform and, in that respect, was reminiscent of Bell's World War II P-39 Airacobra.

About two thousand Huey-Cobras, in several different configurations, were built during the war. They were armed with a variety of weapons, including 7.62mm Miniguns, rapid-fire cannon, grenade launchers and air-to-ground rockets.

The UH-1 wasn't the only non-combat aircraft that was turned into a combat aircraft for service in Indochina. Some of the most unlikely airplanes were transformed from peaceful critters into ferocious beasts of prey by the simple expedient of attaching guns to the wings or fuselage and adding an "A" to the designation.

Thus the T-37 jet trainer equipped with guns and bombs became the A-37. The aging C-47 cargo plane of pre-World War II vintage had three Miniguns installed and became the AC-47—better known as "Puff the Magic Dragon." The versatile Lockheed C-130 Hercules got a similar treatment and became the AC-130.

Even some combat aircraft were pressed into roles they were not designed for. The B-52 heavy strategic bomber, designed originally for carrying nuclear bombs into the Soviet Union, was adapted to carry conventional "iron bombs" to targets in Indochina. One B-52 could carry 60,000 pounds of high explosive (HE) bombs—as much as 30 World War II B-17s could carry.

Not all the weapons and techniques used in Indochina were new, however. The Navy's role in Vietnam, for example, consisted largely of launching air strikes from aircraft carriers in the Gulf of Tonkin against targets in North and South Vietnam. Except for the fact that the planes carrying the bombs were modern, jet-propelled F-4s and A-7s instead of the old propeller-driven SBD Dauntlesses, these operations were quite similar to the kind of thing the Navy did in World War II.

At one point, the Navy reached even further back into its bag of tricks and recommissioned the battleship *New Jersey*. The presumably obsolete vessel lurked several miles off the coast and used her nine 16-inch guns to hurl tons of HE shells at targets on the shore, with pinpoint accuracy and devastating effect.

The Navy introduced one new wrinkle to the war in the form of high-speed river patrol craft that saw extensive service on the Mekong River. The enemy quickly learned to respect these fast and impressively armed boats.

On the ground, the foot soldier found himself being equipped with a variety of devices designed to increase his range and striking power. The Indochina War was the first conflict in which the infantryman's primary weapon was an assault rifle. Developed by the Germans in the closing days of World War II, the assault rifle came to fruition in Southeast Asia with American troops and their allies armed with the much-maligned but quite effective M-16 and the Communist troops toting the equally effective AK-47.

Some American troops used the new M-79 40 mm grenade launcher, in effect a shoulder-fired light artillery piece.

For positional defense, the Americans and South Vietnamese used the Claymore mine, one of the most fiendish weapons of mass slaughter ever developed. The Claymore consisted primarily of a convex-shaped charge with thousands of ball bearings lining the convex face. It could be triggered either by a trip wire or by a remote control switch and proved highly effective in halting human wave attacks.

ROLE -- CONTINUED

cannot be said for our home front perception of how to conduct foreign policy or what the scope and reach of that policy should be. In many ways this is our most pressing categorical problem, and one-shot show-we're-tough exercises like the Mayaguez affair provide no answer.

More than 40 years ago President Roosevelt said to Francis Perkins: "Remember how Wilson lost the League of Nations, lost the opportunity for the United States to take part in the most important international undertaking ever conceived. He lost it by not getting Congress to participate. They have a sense of their responsibility, and they can't have sincere convictions unless they are given a chance to examine the situation at close range."

We are back at square one on that. Kissinger now perceives a contest in America between "a more radical" and "a more conservative trend" and he complains that the administration "is more naked to day-to-day pressures of public opinion than has been the case throughout the entire post-war period." On the other hand, a leading senator sees "the country's mind" open to a debate on America's role if only the administration is ready. The time is ripe to begin, perhaps with a "foreign policy summit" discussion before TV cameras as Columbia Professor Brezinski has suggested.

Conservative political challenges to both President Ford and the liberal Democrats by such as Ronald Reagan and George Wallace may seem to be essentially domestic in nature; both have strong foreign policy overtones. A presidential campaign can be a very useful way to sort out national attitudes, but the country first of all needs some less heated discussion of basics before we get to that climactic round.

Americans may be exhausted by war and all the rest, but there is no escaping a role in the world. We had better decide what it should be, and reasonably soon.

THE ECONOMIST
5 MAY 1975 (22)

Seizure at sea

President Ford took a nicely calculated risk over the Mayaguez, and pulled it off. On Monday this American merchant ship, carrying a mixed cargo from Hongkong to a port in Thailand, was stopped by a Cambodian naval vessel, boarded and forced to anchor. Mr Ford ordered an aircraft carrier and other warships to enter the Gulf of Thailand and had some Marines flown to an air base in Thailand, in the face of protests from Bangkok. But he also sought to make diplomatic contact with the new regime in Phnom Penh and to induce China to help get the ship and its American crew released.

He was clearly not spoiling for a fight with Cambodia's new rulers—or with Congress. The Cooper-Church amendment could be seen as barring him from using American forces in Cambodia without congressional approval, and many congressional figures had painful memories of the way the Administration had misled them about the facts of the Tonkin Gulf incident in 1964. The Mayaguez had been seized when it was well away from the Cambodian mainland but close to some islets claimed by Cambodia and thus arguably within its territorial waters. But Mr Ford was also not minded to bow to "an act of piracy".

Diplomacy having yielded no quick results, he authorised air attacks on Cambodian gunboats when they looked like trying to move the captive crew to the mainland, and then landed Marines on the island nearest to the ship. By Thursday the Mayaguez and its crew were in American hands; the Thais might still be indignant, but Mr Ford was riding high after his brief venture into brinkmanship.

This was a fresh reminder that brinkmanship is sometimes necessary and sometimes works—even when it is hard on the nerves.

NEW YORK TIMES
22 MAY 1975

Cosmos 731 Launched

MOSCOW, May 21 (Reuters) —The Soviet Union launched today a new earth satellite called Cosmos 731, the 30th since the beginning of the year in a predominantly military-oriented series.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 22 May 1975

Joseph Kraft

WASHINGTON POST 22 MAY 1975

Mayaguez Post-Mortems

In the two hours before the rescue of the Mayaguez and its crew began, the White House notified 22 congressional leaders that the President had ordered a limited military operation to achieve that end. Not one of the leaders posed a serious question about the nature or scope or necessity of the impending action.

I cite that information, which was originally disclosed by Saul Friedman of the Knight newspapers, as a caution against the spate of post-mortems on the Mayaguez affair. Whether critical or favorable, the inquests have ignored a central feature of the whole operation. As the unwonted silence of the congressmen indicates, it was a fast-moving, highly operational affair intrinsically resistant to second guessing or kibitzing.

Consider first what seems to be the most plausible of the criticisms. That is the argument that President Ford should have waited before taking military action.

Perhaps so. But a special characteristic of the Mayaguez affair was that the Cambodians did not immediately move the captured ship and its crew to a mainland port. Since the ship was anchored at Koh Tang island and the crew was presumed to be with it, the opportunity for rescue presented itself.

But there was no reason to think the opportunity would last long. On the contrary, the normal supposition had to be that the ship and crew would soon be taken beyond the reach of American amphibious forces.

So there was intense pressure on President Ford to move with dispatch. The case of the Mayaguez, in other words, fit that rare category governed by the famous words of Macbeth: "If it were done when 'tis done, then 'twere well it were done quickly."

The idiosyncratic character of the action is even more cogently illustrated by the charge that the United States has somehow set a new and fearful precedent. According to this charge, President Ford is now wantonly asserting the right to attack any nation which, whether legitimately or not, apprehends an American vessel. It is suggested that, on the basis of the Mayaguez affair, the United States should be attacking Ecuador for the seizure of American fishing boats off its Pacific coast.

But the seizures off the coast of Ecuador have a long and involved history. American boats have been fishing, and perhaps overfishing, those waters for years. The government of Ecuador has repeatedly protested, and repeatedly threatened action, against the fishing boats. Only against that background did the seizures take place.

There was no such history in the Mayaguez affair. The capture came as a bolt from the blue without any warning. No discussion between the two governments was under way. Neither was there any advance claim of a Cambodia right violated by American shipping. Indeed, cheese resembles chalk more than the Cambodian seizure resembled those of Ecuador, and to make one a precedent for the other smacks to me of deliberate scaremongering.

Far worse than the criticisms, however, are the exaggerated claims made out for the Mayaguez rescue. Particularly suspect is the claim that the United States proved something which ought to make us proud to be Americans. In reality, the Mayaguez is far too special an incident, and Cambodia far too tiny a country, for one to believe that anything was proved.

It is suggested that the most egregious claims are advanced by Vice President Nelson Rockfeller and Secretary of State Kissinger. They are the ones who wanted to use B-52 bombers against Cambodia as a punishment. That proposal was no mere "option."

In fact, the bombers were ready, with the bombs in place, when the rescue got under way.

If post-mortems have to be made, the truly outrageous proposal to use strategic bombers against Cambodia strikes me as the measuring rod. Perhaps President Ford did act too hastily. Perhaps there was an element of punitive action in his decision, as well as a determination to get back the ship and crew. Still the very nature of the episode should induce caution about second-guessing. The more so since, except for the moderation of the President, the Secretary of Defense and the military chiefs, the outcome could have been far worse.

WASHINGTON STAR 21 MAY 1975 (22)

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Ford Acted Admirably In Ship Piracy Incident

The morning the marines were dispatched to Cambodia to free the pirated vessel and rescue its American crew, it happened that I was testifying, at the invitation of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, on the impact of detente on United States policy in the United Nations. Suddenly the charming chairman of this body, Sen. Sparkman of Alabama, zigged off the subject and asked: "What would you do, if you were in command, about the imprisoned ship in Cambodia?" To which I replied, with characteristic self-effacement, that if I were in command, there wouldn't be an imprisoned American ship in Cambodia. Having said this, I thought, really, that my reply sounded like unadulterated rodomontade and attempted elaboration.

Listen now to some hard facts about the Mayaguez affair.

The general feeling of exultation, outside the columns of those writers whose day is ruined by any successful American show of force, is endemic. It was a most cheerful antidote, after months of bad news. Peter Drucker wrote in a recent book that the only thing a government can do successfully is inflate the currency and make war. We had begun to doubt that it could even do the latter. But President Ford gambled — and he won.

But he was very very lucky. The marines might easily have landed on that little island only to find the American crew departed, destination unknown. If the FBI cannot find Patricia Hearst in our own country, it is unlikely that we could have found the 39 crewmen in Cambodia, a hostile totalitarian country whose leaders have been acting not only as Communists, but like the tribe that lost its head.

What, then, would we have done? What can one do to Cambodia? You could, without too much trouble, close down the port of Sihanoukville: we did that once. But this would have been at once a major international provocation with a long, long fuse, and a minor inconvenience for a country that could easily have been provisioned by its friendly nieghbor, North Vietnam, together with its satellite, South Vietnam.

Would we then have started mass bombing? Of what? There are a few airfields we could have dumped on, but there isn't, in Cambodia, that concentration of military fortifications that is specially vulnerable to our B-52s; besides which, action on such a scale would have required consultation with Congress, and before long, ambiguity would have set in — such ambiguity as surrounded the Pueblo incident and paralyzed Lyndon Johnson. And that was back before we repealed the Imperial Presidency.

The only way, then, to keep our ships from being pirated is to create an atmosphere in which it simply does not occur to any major power, let alone mini power, that these are games which nations can safely play. Henry Kissinger once told a friend that when the North Koreans shot down our spy plane over the neutral waters of the Sea of Japan, the Cabinet was summoned for a discussion of what to do. Nixon had been in office only a few weeks, and decided to temporize with North Korea rather than face the country with a split cabinet. On reflection, Kissinger said, it was clear that the North Koreans were testing the waters. It is not fantasy to say that what happened off Cambodia — and everything in between — might have been affected by our failure to react sharply — conclusively — against North Korea in January 1969.

The fact of the matter is that little countries like North Korea and Cambodia don't go about stopping Russian ships in the middle of the ocean and dragging them in. Well, you say, that is because they are natural allies. But little countries like Chile, and even bigger ones like Brazil, don't go out dredging the waters for Russian ships. It is not diplomatically cool to specify what happens to countries that try such imprudent things. It is better left to them to wonder what would happen, to know only that something quite dreadful would happen, so that the course of prudence is to respect the sovereignty of other countries. As I say, Cambodia wouldn't have tried it if, over the years, our foreign policy had made such escapades unthinkable.

Still, even in an adverse context, President Ford behaved admirably.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 22 May 1975

May 19, 1975 (22) Aerospace Daily

HOUSE DEFENSE DEBATE DRAWS ATTENTION TO MAYAGUEZ RESCUE

In House debate on the defense authorization bill last week, floor managers for the measure pointed to the rescue of the freighter Mayaguez off the Cambodian coast as evidence of U.S. strength and will that must be maintained.

Rep. Bob Wilson (R-Calif.), ranking minority member on the Armed Services Committee, declared that the Mayaguez episode should be "a signal to our friends and potential enemies." He added that it would be a "very reassuring" further signal if the House votes down any cuts in the authorization request beyond the $3.7 billion already pared off by the committee.

Armed Services Chairman Melvin Price (D-Ill.) said in his statement opening general debate that he would oppose further reductions because they would cut into the "muscle and bone" of the nation's defense. The Constitution requires Congress to provide for both defense and the general welfare, he noted, and "we can't pump continually from defense into welfare."

Wilson said he was "concerned over the attitude of some on the committee" that the panel had not cut enough from the request. He said he believed that, in fact, the committee might have cut too far, and the full House "perhaps" should add funds rather than subtract further.

Rep. Charles Bennett (D-Fla.), chairman of the committee's seapower subcommittee, praised President Ford's "positive and effective" action in the Mayaguez operation, and said it underlined the importance of maintaining the freedom of sea lines of transportation and communication, the "more important" assurance that international law will be upheld, and the necessity for strong nuclear-powered naval strike forces.

U.S. Naval Power Was Key

Bennett agreed with Rep. Samuel Stratton (D-N.Y.), a senior member of the committee, that the rescue off Cambodia was possible only because of the power and availability of U.S. naval force. He also concurred in Stratton's statement that the Mayaguez incident, together with the U.S. withdrawal of forces from Thailand at the request of the Thai government, argued for the Navy and Air Force to proceed with their plans to expand the U.S. installation on the British-owned island of Diego Garcia.

"Yes, I think that the modest extension of Diego Garcia is essential," Bennett said. (President Ford earlier last week formally notified both houses of Congress that he had determined that "construction of such facilities is essential to the national interest." The certification was required under a provision of the fiscal year 1975 military construction bill passed last year, before DOD could proceed with the work.)

The House was to wind up general debate on the authorization last week. Today, it will turn to consideration of amendments, including a substitute bill in the form of an amendment to be offered by six junior Democratic members of Armed Services, the "some on the committee" Wilson referred to, who voted against committee passage of the bill last week. The substitute would trim the request by $4.8 billion.

Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) said in remarks prepared for delivery on the Senate floor that more than $800 million in outlays could be eliminated from the FY '76 defense budget by cutting or delaying the following from the DOD request: Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS)--$285.6 million; Site Defense--$132.4 million; SAM-D missile system--$118.1 million; XM-1 tank program--$53.2 million; civil defense (non-personnel)--$72 million; and selective service--$47.9 million.

Cranston included these weapons programs in discussing a list of "debatable assumptions" during an appearance Wednesday before the Senate Appropriations defense subcommittee chaired by Sen. John L. McClellan (D-Ark.). He said these and other programs are included as necessities in the budget presented by the Defense Department, but should be studied further by Congress because "our national needs are too great, and our national resources too limited, to accept this huge Schlesinger turn-around budget uncritically."

Sen. Lawton Chiles (D-Fla.), who had also asked to appear before the McClellan subcommittee, said he agreed with those who want to cut the defense budget "to eliminate the still enormous waste and duplication. But I think we have to mature beyond 'knee-jerk' reactions that make the defense budget an annual whipping boy in some people's minds."

Sen. Henry Bellmon (R-Okla.) told McClellan that he believed that the Administration's request of $94 billion for FY '76 defense spending is "close to the absolute minimum the Congress should appropriate to help assure peace and stability in the world." At the same time, he said "the time has come for America to reassess our peace-keeping methods in an attempt to develop alliances and methods which will ultimately reduce the back-breaking costs for these economically unproductive military expenditures."

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LOS ANGELES TIMES - 21 MAY 1975 Pg. 2/4 (22)

Ex-Officers Sue Over Early Discharges

39 Navy Men, 9 Marines Narrowly Miss Retirement Benefits

BY KAY COOPERMAN
Times Staff Writer

After 19 years, 8 months and 29 days of active duty in the Navy, Lt. Robert Ballard involuntarily became a civilian late last week.

He was passed over twice for promotion, and according to a federal statute, that is cause for discharge.

Thirty-eight other Navy lieutenants and nine Marine Corps officers have found themselves in similar positions, some having been discharged May 1, others awaiting their discharge some time before June 30.

All were just short of the length of duty required to receive retirement benefits.

But on April 7, the 48 officers filed suits charging that many of the promotion procedures employed by the Navy and Marine Corps are archaic and unconstitutional. Age discrimination also was charged.

Ballard, 37, an Alpine resident, thinks it is unfair that he should come so close to the 20-year mark and be discharged with no retirement compensation.

He first received his notice of discharge in 1972. At that time, he filed suit against the Navy on a sex discrimination charge.

A U.S. District Court issued a temporary restraining order allowing him to continue in active duty during litigation.

There are provisions in the U.S. Code guaranteeing women a minimum of 13 years in the service once they achieve officer status, Ballard said.

If this were applied to men, he argued, it would have enabled him to serve the 20 years required for receiving retirement benefits. He was victorious in the lower court, but lost when the Navy appealed to the Supreme Court.

Ballard said he became an officer in 1962 after seven years of enlisted duty because of the retirement program he understood commissioned service included.

"Having studied the normal promotion flow charts, based on the federal government's time and grade requirements," Ballard said, "I could anticipate 13 years in commissioned service before being eligible for lieutenant commander," the level of promotion for which he was just passed over. The 13 years added to his previous seven enlisted years would have given him his 20.

When Vietnam broke loose in 1964, the promotion schedules were accelerated and instead of the 13 years he thought he had coming to him before having to apply for promotion, he ended up with nine.

When he came before the selection board for promotion, it was peacetime and the Navy was cutting back on its officer corps.

Ballard said the selection board selected the most qualified men to be promoted. He added, "I'm not surprised I failed the selection" because of his age and relative lack of education.

He said he requested a transfer back to enlisted or reserve status so he could meet the retirement quota, but for unknown reasons his request was denied.

When Ballard received his discharge papers dated Thursday, the effective date was listed as June, 1972. This means the two years, 10½ months he served under the temporary restraining order had not been counted by the Navy for retirement purposes.

"It implies that I was retained on active duty pending some disciplinary action," Ballard said. Such a notation on his discharge papers, he expects, will hurt him in his future job hunting.

It was this point that caught the interest of U.S. Sen. John Tunney's aide in San Diego.

Jim Skelly is investigating the reasons behind the promotion failures and also the basis for including the information about serving time under a court injunction on the discharges.

Of the 48 involved, Skelly said, "They're all guys with outstanding military service." He thinks the reasons the officers failed to obtain promotions could center on their age.

The Navy and Marine Corps, he said, "are orienting the services now toward a younger, more stable officer corps."

"The situation is really awful. They're really patriots, these guys. They were working-class people who thought they were getting a good deal" when they enlisted, he said.

Peter Bowie, the attorney from the San Diego district U.S. attorney's office handling the Navy's defense, said he does not see any constitutional question or example of unfair play.

Bowie said the Navy followed statutes set down by Congress permitting little room for question. If anything, Bowie suggested, the officers should question the Congress on its statutes, not the Navy.

Congress, he continued, specifies the numbers of officers the different branches of service should have at each level.

As the level of officer gets higher, the number of men needed decreases, he said.

Once an officer reaches a certain level, he is guaranteed his 20-year quota and the corresponding retirement benefits. None of the 48 officers, he said, has reached this level and therefore, had no guarantee.

Bowie also pointed out that the Pension Reform Act of 1974, which decreased the minimum working years for private industry pension plans to 15, specifically states it does not apply to the armed services.

A lawyer for the officers, Lawrence Baldauf, said his case involves constitutional guarantees of equal protection under the law, as well as an age discrimination question.

Baldauf said he believes the Pension Reform Act should apply to servicemen as well as private workers based on the constitutional guarantee of equal protection under the law.

Other causes of action he lists include the fact that officers are not given the opportunity to plead their cases before the selection board and that their failure to obtain promotion was based on "dollars and cents" (referring to the peacetime cutback) and not on the officers' fitness.

Concerning the age discrimination charge, the Navy said the percentage of officers in line for promotion with "birthdates of 1940 or earlier" is similar to the percentage of those in that age group who received promotions.

"The selection percentages are essentially the same, indicating no discrimination by the selection board because of age," said naval headquarters in Washington.

The $16.8 million suit ($350,000 per officer) is filed in federal court in San Diego where the already delayed initial hearing is scheduled today. All parties involved expect the suit to take several years.

WASHINGTON POST
22 MAY 1975 Pg. 6

Mayaguez Report

BOGOTA, N.J.—The radio operator whose SOS alerted U.S. forces to the capture of the Mayaguez yesterday said a Cambodian officer told him the crew of the merchant ship would have been held at least two months had it not been for the American military action.

Wilbert N. Bock, 51, who said he broadcast distress signals for 10 hours after the Cambodians seized his ship May 12, said, "I know we wouldn't have been freed without the attack."

WASHINGTON POST
22 MAY 1975 Pg. 6

Stranded Cambodians

NEWPORT, R.I.—A U.S. Immigration officer yesterday said some of the 20 Cambodian naval officers who seek political asylum apparently have been offered jobs and places to live in the United States.

The Cambodians, all lieutenants junior grade, have completed an 13-week course at the International Officer Candidate School at the U.S. Naval Education and Training Center. They were stranded here after Cambodia toppled to Khmer Rouge insurgents last month.

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Part II--Main Edition--22 May 1975

SAN ANTONIO EXPRESS-NEWS 18 MAY 1975(22) Page 30-C

AF chief says air power stall U.S. mistake

By JESSE HENRY JR.

Frequent restrained use of air power translated to the enemy a lack of decisiveness in the Vietnam War and was thus a mistake on the U.S. military's part.

That observation was put forth Saturday by U.S. Air Force Gen. George S. Brown, chairman of the joint chiefs of staff.

The general apoke at the annual awards dinner for the Order of Daedalians, a national fraternity of military pilots. About 400 members and wives attended the banquet at Villita Assembly Hall.

"Our repeated bombing pauses, which were politically designed to give the leadership in Hanoi an opportunity to alter its course, were instead taken by the enemy as evidence our leaders were not sure of their strategy," Gen. Brown said.

He noted that such "restrained use" of air power was not only politically ineffective but also in violation of basic militatry principles.

"But once the rules that restricted its employment were relaxed . . . air power contributed decisively to the negotiations which led to the return of our prisoners and ended our direct participation in that tragic war," Brown commented.

He said although it is our country's national objective to "deter any and all wars," "we must maintain a strong and effective defense structure.

Brown explained, "The principal burden of maintaining a worldwide military balance, which is the basis for the security and survival of the free world, rests squarely on the United States."

The U.S. currently has formal commitments for mutual defense with 41 nations either by multi-lateral or bi-lateral agreements, the joint chiefs head said.

Concerning U.S. trustworthiness abroad as an ally in the wake of the Southeast Asia tragedy, Brown offered:

"In my opinion, we have got to face this issue head on and re-establish our national credibility with our allies, with our adversaries and especially ourselves."

We must begin to do this, he urged, by building up our economic and military strength with allocation of the "necessary share of our gross national product to national security."

Daedalian award winners were the 29th Supply Squadron, Craig AFB, Ala.; Phoenix Missile System, Phoenix, Ariz.; 119th Fighter Interceptor Group Hector Field, Fargo, N. D.; Capt. William W. Moss and Flight 841 crew, Pan American World Airways; Department of Undergraduate Flight Training, Army Aviation Center, Fort Rucker, Ala.; Training Squadron 19, NAS, Meridian, Miss., and Tactical Air Command, Langley AFB, Va.

WASHINGTON STAR 21 MAY 1975(22)

Hill Bides Time As Martin Rests

By Henry S. Bradsher
Washington Star Staff Writer

The last American ambassador in Vietnam, Graham A. Martin, is going on vacation in Europe and has not yet decided when to come back to the United States.

Some members of Congress have expressed interest in questioning Martin on the way instructions from Washington were carried out in the final days before Saigon fell. Handling of the evacuation has been particularly controversial.

But staff members on both the House International Relations Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee say that no formal request has been made from Martin to appear on Capitol Hill.

As U.S. officials who worked under Martin in Vietnam trickled back to Washington, harsh comments are being heard about the ambassador's direction of American affairs, especially in the final weeks from the Communist capture of northern South Vietnam until the American evacuation April 29.

ONE OFFICAL said yesterday he was bitter about the failure to make arrangements for the evacuation of Vietnamese who worked for the U.S. government. Only about one-third of those under his supervision who had wanted and expected to be evacuated were taken out.

Other stories which have come out involve delays in making evacuation arrangements until it was too late to set up a workable plan. As a result, many Americans, including U.S. government officials, were left to their own devices.

Martin had already been controversial for the way he ran the embassy after becoming ambassador to Vietnam in June 1973. Some independent-minded American diplomats were replaced with sycophants, for instance, and Martin distorted evidence to protect the image of former President Nguyen Van Thieu's regime.

The Ford administration had thought to put all that behind it now to avoid a rehashing of what went wrong in Vietnam. The lessons have been learned, Ford said two weeks ago without specifying what the lessons were.

THAT DID NOT satisfy some members of Congress. But Congress has been absorbed lately in business which has been delayed by the long argument over extra military aid first for Cambodia and then Vietnam.

One congressional expert on foreign affairs said yesterday the Vietnam question might not be dead yet. When Congress returns from recess June 2, some members could raise again the question of Martin's conduct.

Martin is believed to have up to three months of accrued vacation time which he might now take. A spokesman at the State Department said the attitude is that Martin has earned a chance to relax.

"No one feels there is any pressure to have him come back — no one wants to push him," a spokesman said.

After he was flown by a Marine helicopter to a U.S. Navy ship in the South China Sea just before Saigon fell to the Communists, Martin went to the Philippines. He was reported recovering there from pneumonia and general exhaustion.

NOW HE HAS recovered enough to have gone to Bangkok.

As ambassador to Thailand from 1963 to 1967, Martin was responsible for making the agreements with Thailand that enabled the United States to use Thai air bases to bomb Vietnam, Laos, and later Cambodia.

Martin's old embassy in Bangkok is now having an awkward time over American use of those bases in the Mayaguez affair and is under pressure to close them.

Word reaching Capitol Hill was that embassy officials felt unhappy about Martin's presence at this time. He is unwanted there, according to this report.

The State Department said Martin is going to Europe soon. He owns a home in Italy, where he was ambassador from 1969 to 1973.

Some sources report that Martin hopes to be appointed to a new ambassadorship, although at the age of 62 and with 42 years of government service, he could retire.

HIS NOMINATION to another post would require Senate approval. That probably would reopen the argument which raged last month over his handling of affairs in Saigon. Senate members in particular were angered by his slowness in reducing the U.S. presence in South Vietnam when evacuation became a likelihood.

Because of the controversy, it was considered possible on Capitol Hill that Ford would decide not to nominate him to a new post.

The other American ambasssador who lost a country last month, John Gunther Dean, came home from Cambodia after the U.S. Marine evacuation from Phnom Penh. Dean had the normal State Department consultations after leaving an ambassadorial post and is to take vacation pending a new assignment.

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Part II--Main Edition--22 May 1975

EDITORIALS

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
22 May 1975

Keeping U.S. troops overseas

The massive House vote against withdrawing 70,000 American troops from overseas was the right decision at the right time. It does not preclude reassessment or future reductions.

But the suitable moment for any reduction is somewhere down the road, beyond the world's shaky mood after the events in Indo-China. For Congress to support the administration in this reading of the situation is to signal all nations that the U.S. Government is united in the will not to abdicate its military role in the aftermath of Vietnam.

Certainly there must be understanding of the position of the congressional sponsor of the proposed cuts, Ronald Dellums. He argued that, in view of the nation's limited resources, the Congress ought to begin reducing American commitments abroad "to address mounting human problems at home." The President and Congress need to convey to the country that they are just as much concerned to meet these problems of their own people as they are to pursue national objectives overseas.

But the solutions to problems at home require security for the freedom to seek them democratically. To ensure this security, the House has ratified the administration view that now is not the time to cut 70,000 troops from the Far East, where it had been suggested that most of the cuts could be made. Nor would it be the time to cut American troops in Europe, as is perennially proposed.

In Europe withdrawals would need to be part of East-West "mutual balanced force reductions." Eventually America's allies should be able to take over more of the burden. But many are more hard-pressed economically than the U.S. at the moment.

They can become more effective by improving the quality of their effort, not simply adding troops (which West Germany could not do anyway without violating treaties). Standardization of military equipment in NATO could also enhance effectiveness and economy without adding men. The U.S. is increasing combat strength by converting some 18,000 noncombat slots to combat roles.

Meanwhile, through European buying of U.S. planes and other offsetting measures, the U.S. balance-of-payments problem in keeping forces in Europe is largely met.

Also part of the new context for American military decisions is the judicious rather than rubber-stamping manner in which Congress is responding to administration requests. It is not like the 1950s when there was a feeling of running scared and going along with all sorts of expenditures that are now seen to have lacked cost-effectiveness. The legislators support the B-1 bomber, for example, but they keep a rein on expenditures.

With the government united on defense objectives — but implementing them with a tough eye on any recklessness or waste—the U.S. could make this postwar period a model of peacetime military realism.

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Terrorism in Iran

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
22 May 1975

Two United States Air Force officers were murdered in the streets of Tehran Wednesday, apparently by Iranian revolutionaries who want to drive a wedge between the United States and the government of Shah Reza Pahlavi.

This, at least, is the government's explanation, and there is every reason to believe it. The assassination was carried out by three carloads of gunmen as the officers were being driven to work at the American military aid mission, and was followed by an anonymous telephone call telling the Associated Press that the murder was "in retaliation for the execution of nine Iranian revolutionaries in prison last month."

The caller said that the murders were committed by the "Iranian People's Warriors Association" and that the shah is "a stooge of the Americans; therefore we murder Americans."

The Tehran murders came as Americans were being harassed in many parts of the world. Three American members of a zoological team have just been reported kidnaped in Tanzania, and in Laos two Marines and a civilian are being held captive by anti-American students. The only apparent link between the three incidents is that in all of them, the perpetrators seem to think that they can accomplish their goals, whatever they are, by using terrorist methods against the U. S.

The important thing for the U. S., therefore, is to do nothing to encourage this belief and everything within reason to prove that terrorism won't succeed.

We are cooperating with the shah because it is clearly in our national interest (and very likely the interest of most Iranians as well) to do so. This doesn't mean that he is our ideal as a ruler. He is widely accused of tyranny and cruelty; and while we don't believe all of the charges against him, neither do we wholly accept his reply that nobody is in jail except proven terrorists. We must add, tho, that the latest incident makes the shah's position more credible than it was before.

And so we must not allow this act of terrorism to deter us from the course we have chosen. Our relations with the shah should continue unchanged.

But neither should we allow the terrorists the satisfaction of seeing us defend whatever methods the shah may use to bring about justice as he would like to see it. He should certainly do all he can to track down and prosecute the assassins, as his government has promised to do. But to cooperate with the shah does not mean endorsing all of his procedures.

So if the culprits are found—and considering the reported efficiency of the shah's police this shouldn't be beyond their capacity—it will be in both the shah's interest and ours to see that the trial is held openly and honestly, so that the critics will have no occasion to charge a frameup.

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER 21 May 1975 (22)

Welcome to the Vietnamese

"To be honest is to realize that the ultimate measure of a man is not where he stands in moments of convenience and moments of comfort, but where he stands in moments of challenge, in moments of controversy."

It is now eight years since the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. spoke those words in behalf of putting an end to the Vietnamese war and to the suffering of the Vietnamese people. Now such a moment has arisen. The war has ended, at long last, and more than 125,000 of those people have fled to the U. S.

Fortunately, the better instincts of the American people seem to have triumphed over the initial hostility, with its ugly undertones of racial prejudice, to the Vietnamese. That could be seen in the 79-2 vote by the U. S. Senate for $405 million to aid resettlement of the refugees, the two dissenters being conservative Republicans Jesse A. Helms of North Carolina and William L. Scott of Virginia. Earlier, the House by a similarly overwhelming vote of 381-31 approved an authorization measure.

Now, with the announcement that as many as 15,000 refugees will be processed at the Indiantown Gap Military Reservation near Harrisburg, Pennsylvanians will have a challenge of their own.

The processing will be handled by Federal personnel, but the Shapp Administration is gearing up to help coordinate private aid in uniting refugees with American sponsors. Most of the refugees will be dispersed around the northeastern states, but it may not be amiss to note, as did Lt. Gov. Ernest P. Kline in making the announcement, that quite a few jobs will be created in renovating the federal military post and in taking care of the refugees. "I can only see from an economic standpoint positive things happening," he said.

We trust we all will see positive things happening also from a moral standpoint. This commonwealth was founded by refugees, and immigrants —English, Irish, Germans, Italians, Poles, Swedes, people of all races and religions — have contributed to it. These refugees, however, are a special charge on us, for most of them would not have fled their country had it not been for our intervention there. We owe them a welcome, as we owe it to our conscience.

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WASHINGTON STAR 21 May 1975 (22)

Easing Up on Turkey

Monday's 41-to-40 Senate vote to lift the ill-advised embargo on military aid to Turkey is legislatively insignificant without House concurrence, which is ruled out in present circumstances. But half a congressional loaf is better than none as Turkey teeters between shortsightedness and wisdom in its policies toward the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and toward a settlement with Greece and the Greek Cypriots on Cyprus.

The Senate action at least creates a somewhat more pleasant climate for Secretary of State Kissinger's visit to Ankara tomorrow, for a foreign ministers' review of the Central Treaty Organization. Ideally, the congressional gesture toward ending the three-and-a-half-month-old arms-aid ban could be followed by some Turkish movement toward a Cyprus agreement, justifying a House reversal on Turkish aid and greatly increasing this country's leverage for encouraging Cyprus concessions by the Turks.

This sounds too pat, and it is, especially since Prime Minister Demirel and his associates hold power by the slimmest of margins in Parliament and are in no position to take initiatives that might tread on the nationalistic, anti-Greek feelings of their constituents. But it should be evident, as Kissinger hears out the once staunchly allied Turks, that the playing of Greek ethnic politics by some congressmen not only hurts this country's effort to play a helpful role in Cyprus negotiations, but places the eastern Mediterranean flank of NATO in additional jeopardy.

The arms ban, besides, represents a disturbing commentary on the stability of the United States' relations with its allies in general. This is the worst possible time for the reinforcement of such doubts, following the debacle in Southeast Asia and the widespread questioning of the reliability of American commitments. It is too bad that Kissinger, on his current trip, is not rid completely of the handicap that Congress unnecessarily placed the nation's policy under last February.

BALTIMORE SUN 22 May 1975

The Senate's Reversal on Cyprus

The Senate made a timely diplomatic gesture by giving its tentative approval to a resumption of arms aid to Turkey. Many strings were rightly tied to this reversal of position. Not only did the decision pass by only a one-vote margin, but the Senate acted in the certain knowledge that the House of Representatives will in no way go along until the Turkish government makes tangible concessions toward a settlement of the Cyprus problem.

Whether the Senate gesture will help break the impasse that has caused so much damage in the eastern Mediterranean remains to be seen. But it will not hurt. During the next three weeks all parties to the dispute will at last be talking, and talking in a way that could bring progress. Secretary of State Kissinger is in Ankara this week for a meeting of CENTO. President Ford is expected to confer at the NATO meeting in Brussels next week with Greek Prime Minister Constantine Caramanlis and Turkish Premier Suleman Demirel who, in turn, have agreed to meet face to face. Representatives of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities are to resume negotiations June 5 under the aegis of U.N Secretary General Kurt Waldheim.

The Senate vote should be a signal to all parties that the executive and legislative branches of the United States government are not themselves hopelessly deadlocked on matters of Turkish-Greek-Cypriot policy. Profound disagreements exist, to be sure. The majority in Congress is highly critical of Mr. Kissinger's whole performance—his coddling of the Greek colonels, his acquiescence in their abortive coup on Cyprus that led to their own downfall, and his failure to prevent Turkey from using U.S.-supplied arms on Cyprus itself. The Secretary, in turn, believes the Congress needlessly complicated a difficult situation by imposing its arms embargo in the November-February period. At the time the embargo was enacted, some Kissinger critics strongly suggested it would make Ankara more compliant. Instead, Ankara became more adamant in Cyprus negotiations and more insistent it would review its NATO commitments, including the status of U.S. bases on its territory.

If the Ankara government can find a way to relinquish its hold over a disproportionate sector of Cyprus and bring about the resettlement of tens of thousands of refugees made homeless by its military action, we believe the House might reciprocate by voting to endorse the Senate's gesture of goodwill. The United States and Turkey have a powerful common interest in maintaining the southeastern flank of NATO. This is vital to the U.S. position in the eastern Mediterranean and to Turkey's security from attack or undue political pressure from the Soviet Union. These considerations, and the humanitarian needs of both the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus, cry out for a solution.

NEW YORK NEWS
22 May 1975

Armed Viets Worry Reds

m Paris, May 21 (Special) — a spokesman for South Vietnam's Provisional' Revolutionary Government said tonight that the nation was trying to cope with soldiers of the old regime who had not surrendered their weapons.

"There are 1 million South Vietnamese soldiers roaming free around the country, and some of them are armed," the spokesman said. "As long as they have not found jobs, they will present a serious manace which we are trying to curb now."

—Bernard Valery

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
22 May 1975

Military commissaries

Congressional investigators say the Pentagon is operating military commissary stores in metropolitan areas without justification bucause servicemen could get the same products from commercial stores.

Lisbon's press assault

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 22 May 1975

The closing of the newspaper Republica — the only Lisbon paper that has held out against Communist worker-group pressures — is an ominous indication of the ordeal that could lie ahead for free political expression and civilian democratic rule in Portugal. It is the kind of act that feeds concern in the West about intentions of Portugal's new leaders.

Republica editorially was the organ of the Socialists, the party which won the largest share of votes in last month's election. A dispute between the Communist-controlled printers union and Socialist editors on the paper was used as an excuse by the Information Ministry to "temporarily" sidestep the confrontation by closing Republica's doors.

The Socialists saw the move as another tactical loss to the Communists, who registered only half as many votes in last month's tally but have more influence within the ruling Armed Forces Movement. The Socialists' threat to pull their two ministers out of the government, because of the Republica seizure, shows just how serious the incident is.

A Socialist pullout would not have so much effect on the running of the government, which is effectively in the hands of the military men, as it would on the pact for public order among the parties during the current "revolutionary" phase. The Maoist faction in Portugal already is inciting demonstrations to challenge the military men's authority.

Within the movement itself a struggle is going on between leftists and moderates. Given this thick layering of political conflict in Portugal, a noncontrolled forum for discussion and information is essential. Communist usurpation of the media can only raise the temperature of civil frustration nearer the flash point.

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LOS ANGELES TIMES 21 May 1975 (22)

The 'Z' List Gets Longer

The Export Administration Act of 1969 provides the United States with a powerful economic weapon—the authority to deny all trade to another nation.

As a kind of ultimate weapon short of war, this law, you just might think, would be reserved for significant threats to American security and sovereignty. But not at all. For the moment, at least, it is applied only to the relatively puny. Cuba, North Vietnam and North Korea are long-standing members of the "Z" list. Cambodia and South Vietnam were added Friday.

We wondered why.

There was a possible explanation for Cambodia. The secretary of state may have felt it justified by the Mayaguez affair.

But South Vietnam? And just after the rulers in Saigon had made a conditional proposal for opening diplomatic relations with the United States.

We called the State Department. Well, came an admittedly hesitant answer, didn't we understand that South Vietnam was a hostile regime?

An acquaintance who studies things like this had a more sophisticated explanation. Perhaps the State Department ordered the trade embargoes so that there would be something to negotiate away once Washington and Saigon get down to the brass tacks of whatever new relationship they are going to develop. The old bargaining-chips theory.

But we were not impressed.

In fact, we were left with a dull suspicion that Henry Kissinger was still having trouble with his priorities, the same trouble that led him to prolong too long the American commitment to Indochina.

The secretary of state and the President, too, have been concerned lest the American withdrawal from Saigon be misunderstood. They have suggested that they welcome the rescue of the Mayaguez as a fortuitous opportunity to demonstrate that "there are limits beyond which the United States cannot be pushed," as Kissinger put it.

We have thought the anxiety of the President and the secretary of state misplaced. It was not the American withdrawal from Indochina but the American commitment to Indochina that seemed most likely to telegraph to friend and foe alike a failure in the American evaluation of foreign policy priorities. That same failure seems reinforced by this arbitrary and unnecessary decision to prohibit trade with these battered, bleeding nations of Southeast Asia.

Furthermore, the sanctions against Saigon risk delaying the offshore oil development already started by Americans, a project of world consequence in the face of the global energy crisis.

If the United States wants to communicate its own self-confidence, its reliability as an ally, it should get on with the normalization of relations with all nations, including the small and desperate. To pour truck factories and computers into the Soviet Union while denying all trade with Vietnam is only to invite doubts about American leadership.

As President Ford himself told Congress April 10: "Our use of trade and economic sanctions as weapons to alter the internal conduct of other nations must also be seriously reexamined. However well-intentioned the goals, the fact is that some of our recent actions in the economic field have been self-defeating."

He was speaking of congressional limitations on Soviet trade. But he could just as well have been anticipating the additions to the "Z" list.

DALLAS MORNING NEWS
9 May 1975 (22)

Beleaguered Bomber

Out once again come the axes that foes of the B1 bomber program are continually whetting. A liberal-consumerist coalition says it is mounting a nationwide campaign to do in the bomber once and for all. Common Cause, Americans for Democratic Action, Environmental Action and the National Taxpayers Union argue that the B1 is a waste of money, not to say a potential danger to the environment. Let us go on building B52's.

The cost of the B1, which is presently undergoing extensive flight testing, is for a fact monumental: About $65 million per plane in 1975 dollars and sure to get costlier with inflation.

Yet the money will buy a potent aircraft—smaller than the B52, more adaptable to short runways, able to deliver more than twice the payload. Moreover, it will be new; B52 technology dates back to the late 1940s and early '50s.

Congress, if it keeps its wits about it, will let the B1 program roar full speed ahead. No militarily consequential nation freezes weapons development, the less so in times of national danger.

Bad enough is that the United States, in the aftermath of Vietnam, must reestablish its military credibility, in order that the Soviet Union and Communist China may understand we are no more than ever to be trifled with. Worse would be for us, at such a time, to scrap the best, most powerful bomber Americans have ever designed.

The B1 has got to be built; and the sooner, the better.

NEW YORK NEWS 22 May 1975

A SIGN OF THE TIMES

The House has approved a $26.5 billion authorization for military arms procurement, handily beating back efforts by a die-hard anti-defense faction to make significant trims.

This is the chamber, filled with a "freshman class" of go-go liberals, which was boasting only last January about how it was going to tear huge chunks out of the Pentagon budget.

That feisty mood has pretty much evaporated in the wake of the Vietnam disaster and the worldwide nervousness about U.S. foreign policy that resulted from it.

In its place, we have a sober awareness of the international situation best expressed during the House debate by Rep. Robert Daniel (R-Va.), who said:

> "If nothing else, events of recent months should remind us that diplomacy, detente, peace and national security are all based on reality, and the ultimate reality is military power."

That it is, Congressman, that it is.

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SAN DIEGO UNION
27 April 1975 (22 May)

U.S. Role Still Strong

President Ferdinand E. Marcos is saying that the "national interest" of the Philippines may dictate that his country discard its mutual defense treaty with the United States of America and take over U.S. bases at Clark Field and Subic Bay. This is startling word from one of America's closest allies in the Pacific.

Or is it really surprising? The Philippines lie close to the hot breath of the Communist advance through Southeast Asia. After watching the performance of the United States as chief backer of the effort to stem aggression against Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam, the Filipinos can hardly be blamed for wondering whether their "national interest" is really being served by relying on the Americans as defense partners.

This is typical of the quandary facing U.S. allies around the world. If they are thinking in the same direction as President Marcos, they are in trouble, and so are we.

Scores of countries around the world have entered into security arrangements with the United States which rest on the principle that our national interest runs parallel with theirs. Now they have seen the United States identify its national interest in the survival of South Vietnam, and then abruptly change its mind. If this leads many of our allies to consider going it alone—or even warming up to Communist powers seeking influence in their regions—it could be disastrous for them and disastrous for U.S. security as well.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger is insisting that the "Basic cornerstones" of our foreign policy have not changed because of the Indochina debacle. "Our nation is uniquely endowed to play a creative and decisive role in the new order which is taking form around us," he says. He is right, in terms of the leadership which a country as strong as the United States is capable of exercising. However, the divergence that developed between the White House and Congress on aid to Vietnam, and other symptoms of weakness in our bi-partisan foreign policy, suggests we are faltering in our resolve to play the creative and decisive role in world affairs that history has assigned to us.

As an historian, Mr. Kissinger can see a "new order" emerging from the diplomacy of detente, from the new economic power of Western Europe and Japan, and from the aspirations of the Third World to accelerate their development by striking a better bargain for the resources they supply to the industrial nations. That view may be accurate, but it is by no means certain who will be in the role of architect for that new order.

One blueprint is that supported by American policy—nations working out their destiny within secure borders, striving to give their people the freedom, justice and the opportunity for self-determination. The other is the blueprint of totalitarianism sponsored by Moscow and Peking which locks people into systems not of their own choosing.

What Kissinger seems to be telling us is that we are at a watershed of our history and now, more than ever before, we must avoid any sign of weakness or vacillation in U.S. foreign policy when those ideologies are bidding to design the future.

SAN DIEGO UNION 3 May 1975 (22)

Detente Is A Delusion

As we raise our eyes from the embers of Vietnam and look in other directions we must concur with the wag who said, "The whole world is a rat race and the rats are ahead."

A case in point is NATO, the grand alliance that has held Soviet imperialism at bay for 25 years. Now, NATO is in trouble, partly because of the dynamism of Soviet diplomacy and the size of the Soviet's military buildup, and partly because of misplaced American priorities as to the relative importance of the thing we call "detente."

The Soviet power has grown with almost dramatic speed. The Russians are spending more on military defense by far than the United States, and their progress is almost terrifying. They have developed a massive and modern fleet, and are procuring the bases necessary to make it a worldwide strategic force.

The NATO European command is now faced with a formidable force of 26,000 Warsaw Pact tanks, an array of tactical nuclear weapons and armies at least twice the size of the NATO forces.

NATO, itself, is in tragic disarray. Great Britian is impoverished, suffering brutally at the hands of a leftist government that is disinterested in defense. Portugal is turning slowly leftward, as is Italy. Greece and Turkey, former stalwart anchors of the NATO flank on the Mediterranean, are totally disenchanted. Turkey can no longer be regarded as a United States base in that area and Greece, suffering brutal internal political and economic problems, is about to leave NATO completely.

It is against this backdrop that the United States should hasten to re-examine its attitude on detente.

If our interest in mollifying the Soviet Union through detente suggests a corresponding disinterest in our relations with NATO, the alliance could very well collapse, with the NATO nations trying, one way or another, to accommodate with the Soviet Union.

It is time for the leadership of our country to see detente as an abstraction, simply a theatrical camouflage on the Soviet Union's part, for pursuing its political war.

Stripping off the camouflage, we see that detente did not keep the Soviets from arming the North Vietnamese in violation of the Paris Peace accord. It did not cause the Soviets to work for peace during the October, 1973, Middle East war. It has resulted in the two Strategic Arms Limitation meetings, SALT I and SALT II, which actually limited nothing and, since the Soviet Union is ready and willing to spend far more on arms than is needed for defense, it has moved her clearly into the position of No. 1 in the nuclear world. In that world, it might be observed, being No. 2 is no better than being No. 20.

Detente, it is plain, has helped our enemies and has done us no good whatever. Furthermore, it has shaken the confidence of our allies. Now, in the wake of Vietnam, we would be well advised to ask ourselves if it is not, in the long run, better to have a meaningful detente with our friends than a worthless detente with our enemies.

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SAN DIEGO UNION 27 APRIL 1975 (22 MAY)

Soviets, U.S. Study Nuclear Options

By ROBERT BETTS
Copley News Service

World holocaust, with cities lying in smoking ruins, populations wiped out, perhaps a whole civilization ended—that is what nuclear war means to most people.

But what about a limited nuclear exchange?

"Unlikely, but possible," say Pentagon strategists.

"The likelihood of a nuclear exchange starting with a selective strike, however low, is still higher than the likelihood of such an exchange starting with a strike at the urban industrial centers of the United States," Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger has told the Senate subcommittee on Arms Control, International Law and Organization.

The hearing took place several months ago, but a report entitled "Briefing on Counterforce Attacks" only recently has been made public.

A limited attack might result in "relatively few civilian casualties," said Schlesinger — meaning perhaps a million or less, compared with the estimated 95 million to 100 million "prompt plus fallout fatalities" that would result from a massive strike.

Schlesinger told the committee: "The ability of the United States to respond to such an attack contributes to the deterrence of such an attack.

"If our only option were to be able to launch massive strikes against the Soviet urban industrial base, the Soviets in these hypothetical circumstances . . . might believe that the United States might be self-deterred and that, therefore, they could with relatively low risk selectively attack the interior of the United States.

"If the United States possesses the ability to respond in kind, then the Soviet planner is faced with the prospect that the United States would respond and leave him in a no-gain situation and, therefore, he would continue to be deterred. Deterrence remains the name of the game."

Schlesinger reported that the Soviet Union had proceeded with a set of development initiatives "that are surprising in their depth and strength. Their new land-based missiles possess throw-weights which on the average are three times that of the previous array of missiles.

"They appear to be acquiring on the order of 7,000 or 8,000 MIRVs (multiple independently targetable reentry vehicle) just in their ICBM (intercontinental ballistic missile) force, let alone their SLBM (submarine launched ballistic missile) force."

The Department to Defense also has information that "the Soviets have achieved or will soon achieve, accuracies of 500 to 700 meters with their ICBMs . . . that would repre-

(See BETTS, Pg 6-F)

SAN DIEGO UNION 27 APRIL 1975 (22 MAY)

Pacific Fleet Readiness Impaired, Admiral Says

By DAVE POLIS
Military Writer
The San Diego Union

HONOLULU — Pacific Fleet readiness remains impaired as a result of years of Vietnam operations based on expediency, the commander of the Pacific Fleet said, and the Navy is still attempting to return to good maintenance and overhaul habits.

Adm. Maurice Weisner said in an interview "We drove our ships at a tempo that they hadn't been designed to be driven from the standpoint of repair and spare parts, and it meant we didn't have the normal time in shipyards and for other repair activities."

HABIT FADES

Weisner, who commanded the 7th Fleet and was Yankee Station commander in 1969, recalled the Navy was forced to defer a great deal of maintenance and overhaul, and "we sort of got out of the habit of good operating procedures that we have used over the years.

"Now we have to get back to good procedures of maintenance and operations — and we are doing that

"Readiness is being improved, but it is something you do not turn around overnight. It takes a lengthy period to correct things once you have a trend going that you do not want, and you have to reverse it," he said.

However, not all of the changes are within the fleet's budget. The Navy had to defer 10 ship overhauls during the current fiscal year because Congress eliminated money for them, a spokesman said.

Weisner said it takes six to 10 years to build a fighting ship, "and if something isn't appropriated by Congress to take care of inflation, then you have to eat that out of your hide."

Readiness of the Pacific Fleet also is being impaired by the lack of skilled petty officers, Weisner said.

"Certain ratings are perfectly satisfactory, but in other ratings like engineer and electronics operation specialists, we are in considerable trouble. The number of people in middle management rates in these areas is as low as 50 per cent of the need," he said.

Recent testimony by the chief of naval personnel, Vice Adm. David Bagley, indicated 42 per cent of fleet units were marginally ready or unready for combat in terms of personnel at the end of 1974.

The solution for the present, Weisner said, is to train men "faster than we would like to and try to get them up to a reasonable level of efficiency in doing their job."

A Navy spokesman said it takes six to 10 years to train a 1st class petty officer.

With less than desired manning, Weisner said, "you have to consider what you can do with your operational tempo. You might figure with no constraints, with optimum manning, you could operate "X" number of days, 24 hours a day, with no deferment.

"With a lesser number of people in certain skills you can't go that far, you have to reduce your operational tempo," he said.

The Navy has retired about half of its Vietnam-era fleet, prefering to use money saved on maintenance and overhaul of older ships to build a new fleet.

However, despite the new ships, aircraft and weapons systems being added as part of this modernization program, Weisner questions whether the Pacific Fleet will be able to carry out its mission in another five or six years.

"Even with the newer types of aircraft and ships," he said, "the Soviets are bringing in new types of equipment too.

"We can't assume that a small number of ships can achieve superiority and control. The problem is that while we are building new and good ships, the Soviets are building new, good ships at a much faster rate than we are.

"If this continues over a period of maybe five or six years, we are going to be in critical condition in so far as being able to defend ourselves in the areas of the world we feel we must."

Weisner said some of the new weapons will give the Navy new capabilities, while others will be " covering, to a certain extent, deficiencies."

Some of these new systems include the F-14 Tomcat, a twinengine, swingwing fighter-interceptor with a long-range missile system capable of intercepting enemy cruise or antiship missiles.

The Navy's new S-3 Viking carrier-based subhunter is described by Weisner as a "quantum jump" over the Navy's existing submarine patrol aircraft, the S-2 Tracker.

"Because of its radar, its speed and its ability to search out a given area in a shorter time, it has a volume of time to area capability five or six to one over other means," he said.

The F-14 is being introduced to the fleet at Miramar Naval Air Station, making its first deployment aboard the carrier Enterprise. The S-3 is being introduced at North Island, and is scheduled to make its first deployment in the Mediterranean aboard the carrier John F. Kennedy.

HARPOON TESTING

The Navy's long-awaited Harpoon antiship missile, to be put aboard virtually all surface combatants and many aircraft and submarines, is about to begin operational testing, the final step before McDonnell-Douglas Astronautics Co. of St. Louis begins producing operational missiles.

Weisner said the new missile will give surface ships their own offensive capability, and give operational commanders more freedom in using ships without the support of air cover from an aircraft carrier.

The Harpoon missile, in an encapsulated form, is being developed for use aboard submarines. Shot from a standard torpedo tube, it will give a submarine commander an antiship weapon with three times the range of the Navy's newest torpedo, the Mark 48, according to a spokesman.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 22 May 1975

The Washington Merry-Go-Round · THE WASHINGTON POST · Thursday, May 22, 1975

Files Show Martin Waited Too Long

By Jack Anderson and Les Whitten

President Ford's own files dispute his statements and confirm our charges about Ambassador Graham Martin's handling of the Vietnam evacuation.

After we reported that Martin had badly 'botched' evacuation effort, the President defended him. Martin did a "good job" and directed a "successful evacuation," said Mr. Ford.

This is not what the confidential White House records show. We have had access to some of these documents. We have also interviewed key people who were involved in the evacuation, including some of the refugees themselves.

The President outlined his objectives at a secret strategy session April 9 in the conference room next to the Oval Office. His first concern, he said, was to save "about 6,000 Americans now in South Vietnam."

But he also declared firmly: "A large number of South Vietnamese have worked for the U.S. at great personal peril. Roughly 175,000 to 200,000 will be the first to suffer . . . I think here's a moral responsibility for us to help those people who helped us."

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, according to the confidential minutes, stressed that the "removal must be handled so as to avoid panic." He reflected the views of his man in Saigon, the implacable Graham Martin, who kept dragging his heels.

A few senators, privy to the developments in Saigon, became alarmed over the slow pace of the evacuation. In response to their inquiries, the President invited the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to the White House on April 14 for a briefing, which he stressed 'must be an executive secret] session."

"Mr. President," pleaded Sen. Charles H. Percy (R-Ill.), "could you order that every seat be filled on every outgoing plane?"

Mr. Ford said Kissinger had already given Martin orders that "should achieve that."

"We felt the President should be sure through some agent other than Martin that your orders are being urgently carried out," interjected Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y). "Our first priority must be to bring every American out and such Vietnamese . . . as can be brought out."

"The orders that we have given will be carried out," the President promised. Then, referring to the Vietnamese, he pledged: "As far as I can, within the law, I'm going to do all I can to help those people . . ."

But it was too late; Martin had waited too long. He was unable to process all the Vietnamese who clamored to escape. The State Department, for example, wanted to cable Saigon a list of intellectuals who were vulnerable to Communist retaliation and should be rescued.

But Martin, incredibly, refused even to accept the list. He informed the State Department icily that the embassy was making the decisions and had matters in hand.

Meanwhile, on April 21, the Vietnamese who thronged outside the embassy to save their families were greeted with this poignant notice: "PETITIONS FOR RELATIVES. Due to the press of business, we have temporarily suspended acceptance of petitions for parents, brothers and sisters. DO NOT WAIT IN LINE IF YOU ARE HERE FOR THIS PURPOSE. We hope to be able to accept petitions for parents, brothers and sisters in the near future."

The next day, according to White House minutes, Kissinger reported that it was "not realistic to count on the release of large numbers of South Vietnamese."

There was little more President Ford could do except joke about the crisis. The confidential minutes quote him as telling about one man who "showed up with four wives."

"Which one do you want out?" he was asked. His quick response, said the President, was: "I want the youngest one."

There was nothing funny, however, about the scramble by desperate Vietnamese to get their loved ones on the exit petitions. The petitions provided spaces for the names of relatives. Refugees have sworn to us that U.S. embassy employees sold the spaces like carnival barkers.

This profiteering in human distress was done by the Vietnamese employees, seldom by the American staff members, according to the refugees.

One refugee's story is typical of the several we have heard. He asked us not to use his name, because he is afraid of the consequences. But he alleges that he had to pay $3,000, two-thirds of it in gold, just to be introduced to someone who could place him and his family on an exit petition. Then it cost him another $3,000 to be listed.

He was told to wait for a call. It came at 3 a.m. on April 27. He was instructed to have his family at the airport by 5 a.m. Yet the curfew didn't end until 7 a.m. Anyone appearing on the streets earlier could be shot on sight.

He bundled his family aboard a 7 a.m. bus for the airport, where he was told he had missed his flight and would have to return to the end of the line. It took some frantic arguing and appealing for him to get his family aboard a later flight. Since the $6,000 bribe money had wiped out their entire life's savings, they arrived in the United States penniless.

At a secret White House meeting on April 29, Kissinger reported that of the 175,000 Vietnamese whom the President had hoped to rescue, the paperwork had been completed for 130,000 but that only 45,000 made it.

It is clear from the available documents that the man who is chiefly to blame, as we have reported in previous columns, is Graham Martin.

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BETTS -- CONTINUED

sent about a fourth to a third of a nautical mile."

At the present time the Soviets have a couple of thousand warheads, Schlesinger said. He added: "As you look out beyond 1975 they probably will start a process of deployment of MIRVed missiles which we would expect to number about 200 ICBMs a year if they conform to previous trends. So, roughly seven or eight years from now they could have on the order of 7,000 MIRVed reentry bodies deployed."

Schlesinger admitted that the choice of U.S. targets the Soviets might choose to strike, should they wish to initiate nuclear warfare on a limited scale, is highly speculative.

"It does not seem unreasonable, however," he said, "to assume one of their major objectives would be to reduce the nuclear retaliatory capability of the United States . . .

"It is precisely because we cannot confidently predict the targets the Soviets might choose to strike that we emphasize the need for flexibility in our planning and our retargeting capability, plus the need for good command control and communications capability to permit ad hoc adjustments to the situation at hand."

The subcommittee also heard a discussion on the "bargaining chip" concept. Schlesinger explained:

"What I am saying is that there must be a functional relationship between the forces the Soviet Union deploys and the forces that the United States deploys; that they must recognize that if they take certain steps we will match them; and that, therefore, we have research and development projects in development which will give us the capability to respond to certain actions of the Soviet Union which we hope they will not take. If they do take these actions, then these projects will not be bargaining chips.

"We think we must be prepared to deploy these additional capabilities in order to maintain an appropriate balance, but we are prepared to renounce them if the other side reciprocates.

"We would hope they turned out to be bargaining chips and that both sides are willing to renounce their new programs."

The Defense Department wants it clearly understood, however, that it is not advocating a strategy which makes the initiation of limited nuclear war an attractive proposition.

"The point Defense Secretary Schlesinger's briefing is intended to bring home," it was stated, "is that the United States would be much worse off if it responded to a Soviet limited nuclear strike by retaliating against Soviet cities, bringing upon itself a Soviet counterstrike on U.S. cities . . ." (with resultant damage in the order of 100 million fatalities).

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SEA POWER MAGAZINE - APRIL 1975(22 MAY)

The Marine Corps Faces East

New Transatlantic Orientation for Corps

By JAMES D. HESSMAN
Editor-in-Chief

AFTER more than half a century of a conscious orientation toward conflict in the Pacific—the theater in which it has fought its last three wars—the Marine Corps has done a conceptual and organizational about-face and is now gearing its personnel and hardware for possible deployment in Europe, the Mediterranean, Middle East, Persian Gulf, and Africa.

The Corps' new eastward orientation, being conducted with little fuss and fanfare, results from a number of interrelated strategic, geopolitical, and economic considerations:

(1) During the peak of the Vietnam War over three fourths of the Marine Corps was committed to Southeast Asia. A more balanced worldwide USMC posture following withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam was inevitable in any case.

(2) Even though the Marines are, as always, prepared for combat anywhere in the world, including Asia (again), the unhappy U.S. experience in Vietnam and Cambodia makes it almost impossible that any U.S. President could commit U.S. troops to a new Asian land war for another generation or longer. Recent headlines detailing the renewed traumas in those unhappy countries greatly exacerbate the already bitter divisiveness in U.S. political circles concerning American policy, past and present, toward Southeast Asia, and make it an even less likely future theater of operations for U.S. forces.

(3) Contrary to the thesis that generals are always preparing to fight "the last war," the Marines traditionally have tried to keep ahead of the game by using their between-wars planning and strategy to determine the most likely locale of, and prepare for, "the next war." As far back as the early 1920s, in fact, the Corps began laying the technical and doctrinal bases for the amphibious operations that might be needed in a war against Japan. The most likely sites of future conflict today, according to USMC position papers, "are in the NATO, Mediterranean, and/or African theaters." The Corps' outlook coincides quite happily, incidentally, with the views of Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger, who in his FY 1976 "posture" testimony before Congress candidly admitted that "With the end of our involvement in Vietnam the emphasis of our planning has shifted toward Europe. ... Most of our forces are or soon will be oriented toward a war in Europe."

(4) During the October 1973 Yom Kippur War the United States found its NATO allies not only unwilling to join with the United States in coming to the aid of Israel, but even, in several cases, so afraid of Arab oil retaliation that they would not permit the overflight rights necessary for the United States to transfer its own European-based equipment to Israel. Whether the U.S. or general European view was "right" is not important. What is significant for U.S. planning purposes is that the United States has been put on notice that U.S. forces may, despite existing treaties and fervent allied declarations of interdependence, have to go it alone in future crises. And if U.S. Army and Air Force units in Europe were again to be held in checkmate, the Navy and Marine Corps forces afloat, unhindered by geographical or treaty constraints, would once more have to serve as the leading edge of American naval and military power.

(5) The Vietnam experience has not only made it less likely that U.S. ground forces will be thrown into future

See THE MARINE CORPS, Pg. 8-F

WASHINGTON STAR - 21 MAY 1975(22)

ERNEST B. FURGURSON

The Marines Deserve Better

The Marines were in trouble before their rescue of the Mayaguez. They still are. Despite their performance and their reputation, they continue to be budgetary stepchildren among the armed forces. They deserve better.

What they did last week in the Gulf of Thailand was a classic, romantic Marine operation. It was in fact a near duplicate of their role in the first naval battle in our history as a nation, the raid on New Providence in the Bahamas in March 1776.

As they stormed ashore at Tang Island last week, so they landed near Nassau then, capturing 88 cannons and a variety of other war booty from the British base. Through the Barbary wars, to the Mexican War, through the banana wars of the early 1900s, they were always there. And the reputation they built in those years has turned out to be a disadvantage in modern times.

The assumption became that the Marines were useful primarily to fight ill-equipped primitives in little sideshow operations to the main events conducted by the Army. The grain of truth in that persists even to this day.

Between the great wars, in the 1930s, the Marines perfected the techniques of amphibious warfare essential to winning World War II. In that war, their strength more than half a million, they were the spearhead of the advance toward Japan. Theirs was the most admirable record in Korea.

They developed the techniques of helicopter warfare while the Army was still scattering troops all over the landscape with parachutes. In Vietnam they held the northernmost end of the country through the years of toughest fighting.

Yet regardless of their battle streamers, despite the fact that they traditionally have loaded more men into their rifle companies and fewer into their administrative overhead than any other service branch, the Marines remain an afterthought when the Pentagon splits up its money.

In 1942, when Army infantrymen were using the new Garand rifle, the Marines still had the 1903-model Springfield. In Vietnam, when Army divisions were equipped with the new M-16 rifle, the Marines still had the heavier M-14.

Today, the Marines are still getting along with pre-Vietnam tanks, anti-tank and anti-aircraft missiles, while the latest versions of those weapons have been shipped to the nations of the Middle East.

That is one cause of faltering morale among many career Marines. Another factor is even more depressing and harder to solve.

The all-volunteer Marine Corps, now 196,000 strong, has been plagued by violence and crime in its ranks. Desertion is up. Serious racial problems rent units that survived in earlier tight places because of their close-knit spirit. These problems have created others, driving some career Marines to resign.

That was where the Marines stood before the fall of Vietnam. Under these discouraging circumstances the Marines have demonstrated again — in the Vietnam evacuation and in the Mayaguez affair — that they can fill the assignment they were given in 1947, to be the nation's first-line force in readiness.

They deserve better.

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THE MARINE CORPS -- CONTINUED

Asian conflicts: it also, it is hoped, served to thoroughly discredit the "gradual escalation" strategy of the Johnson-McNamara years. For both political and economic reasons it now seems extremely unlikely that the United States would at any time in the foreseeable future become involved in a protracted conflict anywhere in the world. Once again, the call to arms, if and when it should come, would go first to the "quick deployment" forces--Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force (U.S.-based wings, particularly)--with most Army units held in reserve for commitment, if still needed, in the later stages of conflict.

(6) Soviet sea strength has increased in recent years to such an extent that in many potential combat theaters the best and perhaps only effective U.S. strategy might be, as in the 1958 Lebanon crisis, a sudden strike, force insertion, mission accomplishment, and, if possible, immediate withdrawal of all forces initially committed before any Soviet counter-reaction would be possible. Of interest here is not only Henry Kissinger's celebrated Business Week interview--"I am not saying that there's no circumstance where we would not use force ... in the Middle East"--but also a startlingly plausible combat "scenario" by "Miles Ignotus" ("Unknown Soldier") which appeared in the March 1975 issue of Harper's Magazine under the unusually straightforward title "Seizing Arab Oil": "There would be no friendly bases within easy reach. ... The first wave should include the combat echelons of one Marine division: 14,000 men, with one or two battalions amphibious-landed and the rest simply to be unloaded from aboard ship. ... On D+3 or D+4, the expedition [against Saudi Arabia, in the scenario outlined] would be reinforced with more Marines, the combat echelons of a second division. ... The two Marine divisions would come with their organic air 'wings,' no mean force: eight Phantom-fighter-squadrons, two reconnaissance squadrons, and another eight 'attack' squadrons, with light and not-so-light-bombers."

(7) Finally, a small but important political and psychological point: deployment of Marines, available, according to Defense Department "roles and missions" guidelines, for such assignments "as the President may direct," has historically been considered, whatever the legal ramifications, as an act somewhat short of war--perhaps because the Corps has so often been used for such peaceful purposes as evacuation of civilians and short-term protection of U.S. nationals and property, rather than as full-scale invasion or occupation forces. In today's tinderbox world it seems even more probable, therefore, that a commander-in-chief would prefer to use the Marines as his first, lower-key, option in a potential conflict situation.

The Cushman-Anderson Team

As a necessary first step to configure current and future Marine posture to the new realities of the post-Vietnam era, General Robert E. Cushman, Jr., USMC Commandant, last year assigned to his Assistant Commandant, General Earl E. Anderson, the important and extremely complex task of determining "the proper balance and structure of Marine forces for possible action in European, Middle Eastern, and African theaters, with a report to be rendered in early 1975."

The Commandant would have had a difficult time of it, incidentally, to find anyone better qualified than Anderson to carry out what is perhaps the most important restructuring and reorganization of the Corps since the end of World War II. A three-war combat veteran with experience in both the Atlantic and Pacific theatres; Anderson also had a background of assignments providing experience vital to the reassessment directed by Cushman. He had previously headed the Marine Corps Research and Development program as well as its personnel department. Further, as former Commanding General, Fleet Marine Force Atlantic/II Marine Amphibious Force (II MAF, consisting of the 2nd Marine Division and the 2d Marine Aircraft Wing), he was the field commander who actually triggered the current review and reorientation by initiating a series of messages in late 1971 pointing out what he considered to be the "lack of readiness [of II MAF] commensurate with deployment and war contingency commitments and the Mideast political situation."

(The last of the messages--described by "Head Shed" officers as "the first realistic report we ever received on a command's actual readiness status"--was sent to Headquarters USMC in early March 1972 shortly before Anderson became Assistant Commandant.)

The first order of priority in the still ongoing reorientation review had to be, of course, an upgrading of (aries Kissinger and Schlesinger) "the same priorities for men and equipment for II MAF" as for III MAF in the Western Pacific, then the forward edge of Marine Corps strategy and priorities. The result, and early payoff: By the time the October 1973 Yom Kippur War had started, II MAF was more ready than it had been at any time since the 1972 Cuban Missile Crisis, when it had mounted out prepared, if necessary, for an invasion of Cuba.

Some problems remained, however. Although II MAF readiness had improved steadily, the 2d Division and Wing were still only mirror images of the two Marine divisions and wings in the Pacific, "organized to fight well anywhere but not optimized or specialized for any one geographic area or type of warfare." And an analysis of the Yom Kippur War has made two points "crystal clear": (1) "The worldwide proliferation of more sophisticated armor, especially in the Middle East, indicates that the Marine Corps itself must place more emphasis on procuring new armor and anti-armor capabilities"; and (2) There is today, more than ever before, "an absolute need for fully integrated tank-infantry-air forces combined with maximum electronic countermeasures capabilities."

Shift to Armored Divisions

The Marine Corps has, of course, always prided itself on the close integration and working effectiveness of its air-ground teams, now supplemented by what Anderson describes as "perhaps the world's best airborne electronic countermeasures in the [Grumman-built] EA-6B [Prowler]." But each MarDiv is supported by only one tank battalion, and USMC studies of the type of war which might be expected in the European or Mideast theaters indicate that three or more tank battalions per division are needed--"making them, in effect, armored divisions."

In keeping with the Yom Kippur lessons, the 2d Marine Division has been given top priority for the new M60 tanks, now starting to flow into the inventory. The diesel-powered M60s, equipped with powerful 105mm guns, will replace the aging M48s, which are powered with highly inflammable gasoline engines and armed with less capable 90mm guns.

The 2d also has been given top priority for the much needed new anti-tank weapons which the Corps will soon be getting: the heavy long-range TOW, scheduled for initial delivery in the spring of 1976, and the lighter Dragon, which starts into the inventory in the summer of 1976. An increase in the number of M60 tanks for the 2d, beyond the division's currently approved one battalion of 70 tanks, is also being studied, as are increases in the division's planned TOW and Dragon allocations. Also under consideration are: (1) an increase in the number of Marine Corps Reserve tank units--which, as Anderson points out, "will be [in event of conflict] the initial and primary augmentation for the active forces"; and (2) equipping MCR tank units, in any case, with the new M60s or with modernized M48s, retrofitted with diesel engines and 105mm guns. (Unlike the Navy, which has given short shrift to the Naval Reserve, the Marine Corps has been praised for consistently buying new weapons and other equipment items in quantities

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sufficient for Reserve as well as active duty forces.)

To support its highly mobile tank forces, two six-gun medium self-propelled 155mm artillery batteries also have been added to the 2d Division. Current plans call for the 155s to fire the new CLGP (cannon-launched guided projectile), which will be directed against tank or bunker targets by the even newer MULE (modular universal laser equipment). The CLGP and MULE are not yet operational, but the Corps is supporting accelerated development and procurement of both systems.

Eight Minute Response

Aviation anti-tank capability also is being upgraded. The AV-8A Harrier V/STOL (vertical/short takeoff and landing) attack fighter is already proving to be an effective anti-tank platform with its varied assortment of guns, rockets, and both free-fall and guided bombs.

A long-time AV-8A supporter, Anderson is particularly appreciative of the "quick response time" made possible by the Harrier's vertical takeoff and landing capabilities, which enable it to be based far forward in any combat zone.

"This is extremely valuable against fleeting targets such as rapidly moving tanks," Anderson pointed out. He revealed that "response times of as little as eight minutes [vs. over 20 minutes in Vietnam] from mission request through aircraft launch and target attack have been attained" by the Harrier, noting at the same time that, from the combat Marine's point of view (and in answer to the charge sometimes made that the Harrier has "a limited load"), "It is more effective to get 3,000 pounds of ordnance on a fleeting target in ten minutes than 10,000 pounds over the target area 20 to 30 minutes later when the target has dispersed or disappeared."

The first USMC Harriers were assigned, incidentally, to the Corps' Mediterranean (Sixth Fleet) MAU (Marine Amphibious Unit) "to determine their feasibility and supportability in the NATO/Middle Eastern environment."

Aiding, abetting, and augmenting the Harrier's own unique capabilities are a number of other new aviation-oriented support hardware systems, such as Marine-invented lightweight airfield matting, a portable aircraft refueling system -both in demand by other services -and other portable airfield equipment items. Also coming along is the AH-1J Huey Cobra attack helicopter which will be armed with TOW anti tank missiles. (The versatile and highly effective TOW, which the Marines need in large numbers, is also being considered for use on the LVTP-7 amphibian tractor.)

ANGLICO, MACCS, and MTDS

As they have for over a generation, the post-Vietnam Marines are also laying heavy emphasis on reliable, secure, "real-time" communications. The overall command and control system, MACCS, a still-evolving system which now integrates the top Marine air command, air defense fighters, and anti-aircraft missile defense, will in its later stages of development also bring under the same C&C umbrella a variety of close air support, helicopter operations, radar-controlled blind bombing, and air traffic control systems. In addition, MACCS provides C&C links for the Marine ANGLICO (air-naval gunfire) liaison company, which permits integration of naval gunfire and II MAF to bring that East Coast-based division/wing team (with some elements always in the Mediterranean) to the same level of readiness as I MAF (based in Southern California) and III MAF (Western Pacific). That part of the program now has been largely completed -although much still remains to be done, particularly in the hardware area, to complete upgrading of all USMC ground divisions and air wings, both active duty and Reserves. In an interview with SEA POWER, Anderson elaborated on the specifics of what already has been accomplished, and what remains to be done, in a number of hardware and personnel areas. What follows is the gist of that interview, supplemented by input from various USMC "think pieces," "position papers," and other documents.

During the Vietnam War, as Anderson reported in his EMELANT messages, "Personnel and material readiness of II MAF units had been sacrificed to a goal of higher readiness for Pacific forces." On 18 April 1972, Cushman approved (in consonance with and, in some respects, in anticipation of, the policies later enunciated by Secretary Schlesinger) the transfer of the Marine Corps' primary mission from amphibious assault to close air support with Army and allied forces.

The heart of MACCS is the MTDS, or Marine Tactical Data System, which the ubiquitous Anderson ten years ago -as a colonel assigned as the first Marine weapons system project manager -godfathered to outstanding success. An MTDS unit installed on Monkey Mountain near Danang proved its worth during the 1972 North Vietnam Easter offensive by coordinating the complex and multi-faceted operations of South Vietnam's air and ground forces, U.S. Navy gunfire support ships and air support aircraft, USAF aircraft, and USMC helicopter and attack aircraft units. The MTDS was then, and still is, the only C&C system which could coordinate air, ground, and naval operations of all U.S. and allied forces.

Togetherness in Training

At the same time the Corps has been adjusting its equipment requirements, it has also been reorienting its training, with the heaviest emphasis on tank and desert exercises to familiarize units with the type of conflict situations most likely to be encountered in Europe or the Mideast.

Cold-weather training, for a Northern Europe scenario, also has been stressed -at Camp Drum, N.Y., for example, on the coast of Maine, and in the 1972 multi-nation NATO "Strong Express" exercise in Norway and offshore waters. The use of combined arms—tank, aircraft, and infantry units working as a team—is the invariable rule. "Tanks and infantry *together*," the Marines say. "The October 1973 War showed us tanks by themselves aren't enough; you also need the infantry, working with the tanks."

In keeping with the Schlesinger-directed emphasis on service "interdependence," Marine personnel and equipment are now often flown, under the interservice Joint Airborne and Air Transportability Training program, to assigned training areas by Air Force C-5 and C-141 heavy transport aircraft (augmented by USMC C-130s).

The increased Marine use of airlift, which again illustrates the current emphasis on rapid response capability, serves also to relieve the current U.S. sealift shortage -of which all Marines are keenly aware, but don't like to talk about (not for the record, anyway).

Schlesinger on Sealift

Schlesinger is not so reticent, however. In his FY 1976 "posture" testimony he spells out the current unsatisfactory situation: "The present amphibious force of 65 ships has sufficient capacity ... to transport simultaneously the assault elements of slightly more than one Marine Amphibious Force (MAF), i.e., one Marine division/wing team and supporting elements. Our amphibious shipping, however, is about equally divided between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Thus, to conduct a single MAF-size lift ... it would be necessary to shift half of our amphibious shipping from one ocean to the other. Moreover, about 15 percent of the Navy's ships are in overhaul status at any given time and thus are not immediately available."

The unstated implication: The Navy could not, at present, conduct even a half-MAF lift on short notice in either the Atlantic or Pacific theaters. If the previously cited "Miles Ignotus" Saudi Arabia two-MAF contingency plan (written long before the Faisal assassination and its still unknown but potentially explosive aftermath) has any validity, it is obvious the Navy has less than one-fourth the amphibious lift capability which it might need in a Mideast or Persian Gulf emergency.

There is help on the way, if still over the horizon, in

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 22 May 1975

THE NEW REPUBLIC - 3 MAY 1975(22)

by Chester L. Cooper

The POWs

When future historians set out to trace the course of the Vietnam war they may find that a definitive turning point was reached during a few months in mid-1966. From that point on the men of Hanoi must have realized that they could not lose. It is worth rehearsing the events of those months for they explain a great deal about the agreement that was reached in 1973.

In mid-April 1966 the Strategic Air Command was given a chance it had been seeking for the past several months—the B-52s would now be making regular bombing runs over North Vietnam. The air force would have a chance to demonstrate that it, too, had a role to play in "limited war." The awesome power of the "Flying Fortresses" was soon demonstrated; in late June the bombers struck oil installations in Hanoi and Haiphong. Damage was heavy and by no means confined to the primary targets. There were civilian casualties; there were losses of planes and crews. Two weeks later Hanoi announced that captured American airmen were to be tried as "war criminals." A massive campaign was promptly launched from Washington to apply pressure on the North Vietnamese to call off the trial. A mixed but impressive bag of international leaders administration officials, American pacifists, a score of "doves" in the Senate, the Pope and U Thant appealed to and/or warned Hanoi. By the end of July Ho Chi Minh announced that there would be no trial.

The Americans had won the battle of the war crimes. But in the process the North Vietnamese had gained a critical piece of intelligence: American prisoners were an extremely important weapon. And as the war went on and the bombing of North Vietnam intensified, more airmen were taken captive.

The North Vietnamese exploited their growing arsenal with great skill. By ignoring the terms of the Geneva Convention, even to the point of refusing to release a list of the prisoners they held, they fueled American anxiety. By exhibiting a handful of POWs to selected foreign visitors, they fed a growing popular determination to extricate the captured men.

During the summer of 1968 the POWs were playing an important, if unwitting, role in American politics. And the issue of a prisoner exchange became a principal point on the negotiating agenda of the American delegation to the peace talks that were just starting in Paris. By 1970 freeing American prisoners became, paradoxically, a reason for continuing the war.

This was Henry Kissinger's legacy as he began his secret meetings with his counterpart from Hanoi. By the autumn of 1972, with a presidential election at hand and another wartime Christmas looming, the 500 American POWs must have provided considerable negotiating leverage for the North Vietnamese. The meetings in October came to naught, but when they were resumed after the first of the year, progress was swift and a cease-fire agreement emerged late in January. The last contingent of American troops and the POWs were soon on their way home. But remaining behind in Vietnam—were 150,000 North Vietnamese soldiers—almost 100 times the number there when the United States first became militarily involved, eight years before. The cease-fire arrangement was, at best, a fragile one; only the hopelessly naive would have expected either Hanoi or Saigon to observe it, or the puny International Commission to enforce it.

Americans have a right to be saddened, but not surprised by what has happened. Saigon's chronic inability to attract the support of the Vietnamese people made the Communists a long-term favorite in the ultimate outcome. And the outpouring of American concern for the POWs gave Hanoi a tremendous negotiating advantage in the contrived "peace."

There is a somber lesson for Americans in all this: we must recognize that American military assistance cannot compensate for fatal political weaknesses. And before we once again commit our troops to battle, we must reckon the total cost of war: the maimed, the dead—and the prisoners

Chester Cooper, a former State Department official, was involved in the Vietnam peace negotiations

THE MARINE CORPS -- CONTINUED

the form of the LHA (multi-purpose amphibious assault ship), SES (surface effect ship), and AALC (amphibious assault landing craft) programs. With Cushman leading the cheers, the Corps strongly supports, and would be happy to accelerate, all three programs. The first LHA is expected to be delivered to the fleet in September 1975. The fifth, and last—the originally planned nine-ship buy was cut to five "for budgetary considerations"—won't come into the inventory, according to Schlesinger, until FY 1978, "about 44 months beyond the original delivery date." When all five LHAs finally are operational, the Marine forces afloat will have the best amphibs in the world supporting them. But they'll still be grievously short of the total sealift they really need.

'Terrific Boats'

The SES and AALC programs, further down the road, show even greater promise. "Using surface effect ships," Cushman pointed out in the May 1974 Naval Review (published annually by the U.S. Naval Institute), Marine and other U.S. forces "could respond to crises four or fives times faster than they can now—arriving at some of their destinations within hours, instead of days or weeks." In today's onrushing world such accelerated response time, of course, might well mean the difference between mission failure or success.

The Marines are just as strong on the AALC: "When we get those machines [test-craft AALCs now being developed by Aerojet General and Textron's Bell Aerospace Division] —and they're both terrific boats—we'll be able to project a ship-to-shore movement at 50 to 60 knots instead of eight," Anderson points out. "In addition, using air cushion landing vehicles would open up 70 percent or 80 percent or more of the beaches otherwise unusable by standard landing ships and amphibian tractors—which makes them almost impossible to defend against. Also, they can move across most beaches and inland to unloading points, which means no more of that logistics congestion along the beach line which has fouled us up so many times in the past."

Whether, and how soon, the Marines will get the additional lift needed will be up to the Navy Department, Defense Department, OMB (Office of Management and Budget), White House, and, eventually, Congress. But in the meantime the Corps is moving along on its own at flank speed in preparation for the next crisis, the next contingency, the next emergency, and, if need be, the next war.

And now it is also looking East as well as West, toward, among other places, the Shores of Tripoli, where in 1804, barely six years after their post-Revolutionary War reconstitution, the fledgling Corps fought and won against the Barbary Pirates who had been plundering American and European merchant ships during the Napoleonic wars. ■

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Part II- Main Edition--22 May 1975

NEW YORK TIMES 21 MAY 1975(22)

Sweeping Change in U.N. Is Urged by World Panel

By KATHLEEN TELTSCH
Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., May 20—A 25-member international panel has recommended sweeping changes in the structure of the United Nations to improve its handling of economic issues and increase cooperation between rich and poor countries.

Its recommendations marked the first such major attempt at fundamental change since the world organization was formed 30 years ago.

Its recommendations marked the first such major attempt to revise the United Nations since the world organization was formed 30 years ago.

The panel's report, entitled "A New United Nations Structure for Global Economic Cooperation," was presented today to Secretary General Waldheim. He said that this was "a historic moment in the life of the United Nations."

A major innovation suggested by the panel, consisting of one expert from each of 25 countries, including the United States and the Soviet Union, was a revamping of the present decision-making process, which has led in the last year to confrontation and deadlocks between the rich and poor members in the General Assembly.

Instead of voting showdowns in the Assembly, where the developing third-world countries easily outnumber the industrial powers, the group recommended an intricate but still imprecise process of negotiating disputes to get agreements by consensus within the Economic and Social Council.

However they ruled out any proposal that would require a revision of the United Nations Charter, clearly because they saw no prospects for agreement at this time, especially from the big powers.

The panel's report is expected to be taken up at the special General Assembly session beginning Sept. 1. But it appears to face an uncertain fate because its recommendations are not likely to satisfy either the minority of industrialized countries or the majority of developing nations that have demonstrated here that they can rush through resolutions supporting their demands for a larger share of the world's resources.

However, the high caliber of the experts, each nominated by the government of the country represented, suggests that the recommendations will get serious study from the 138 members of the United Nations. An American official said that the United States intended to give the report its closest attention. But he declined to comment on the recommendations beyond saying, "They pose some problems."

One of the recommendations that are expected to stir controversy calls for revising the present voting system in the World Bank and International Monetary Fund to provide greater decision-making power for the developing countries. The existing weighted voting arrangement now gives the United States a veto over some decisions and heavy influence on lending policies.

The panel calls for the creation of a new post of Director General for Development and International Economic Cooperation that would be second in importance only to that of the Secretary General. It would go to a citizen of one of the developing countries when the Secretary General was elected from a developed country.

The panel implied that the new Director General would outrank the heads of the 15 specialize agencies in the United Nations system, such as the Food and Agricultural Organization and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Criticizing the fragmentation of aid programs currently funneled through 23 separate funds, the report advocated that they be merged into a single United Nations Development Authority—dubbed by some panelists as the "tunnel of funnels."

The amalgamation contributions now going for population control, food assistance, environmental protection and other activities would give the proposed new authority a half-billion yearly to disperse to needy nations. The United Nations Children's Fund would remain separate.

The authority would be headed by an administrator who also would serve as one of two deputies to the new Director General and would be selected from an industrialized country.

It was expected that there would be a vigorous lobbying against the proposal for a new Director General and the Development Fund—this coming from the heads of United Nations agencies who would see their authority threatened.

Role of Existing Agencies

Under the recommended changes, each agency would keep its autonomy but become less involved in running projects in the field and act rather as a standard-setter.

Some of the recommendations, such as the appointment of a new Director General, were proposed for action at the Assembly this year; others were not expected to be taken up for two to five years. Among these was a recommendation that an International Trade Organization be established.

Although the 25 panel members signed their report as individuals—meaning they did not signify their governments' approval — their conclusions would be expected to carry some weight since 19 hold government positions, two at cabinet level.

The panel chairman was Al-Noor Kassum, a Tanzanian lawyer-economist. The Soviet member was Aleksond A. Molchanov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Department of International Economic Organization.

The American member, Richard N. Gardner, Professor of Law and International Organization at Columbia University, served as rapporteur of the document, drafter over an eight-week period.

Copies have not reached delegations, but one panelist predicted it could run into strong opposition from the United States on several counts, but particularly because of the idea of having a third-world representative serving in the second highest post in the United Nations hierarchy — he would be selected by the Secretary General with the approval of the Assembly.

Other saw prospects that the third-world countries would negotiating procedures, seeing a threat to curb their numerical voting strength, although the report stipulates that the Assembbly could go on voting resolutions as long as it "takes account" of the private conciliation efforts being tried elsewhere.

The panel's work was authorized by a General Assembly resolution of January, 1975, requesting that it propose structural changes to make the United Nations system "fully capable of dealing with the problems of international cooperation."

The resolution called for a broad geographical representation on the panel, which was appointed by Secretary General Waldheim on the basis of nominations by governments. China was offered a seat on the panel but declined.

The panel sought through its recommendations to enhance the standing of the Economic and Social Council, which is listed in the Charter as one of the major organs of the world organization. However, it has not enjoyed high prestige. The most recent session was marked by high rates of absenteeism among the 54 members.

In its efforts to steer away from the voting contests that split the Assembly membership into seemingly that the Council establish small negotiating groups to deal in private with deadlocked key issues. None such might be the continuing dispute over compansation for nationalized foreign properties —an issue that brought on a major dispute at the late Assembly.

The small groups would include representatives of the countries most deeply involved and would be headed by a prominent individual who would devote full time to trying to bring about agreements, traveling as necessary between capitals and serving, as one official suggested, as "a Kissinger for economic, instead of political, disputes."

Each such negotiating effort would be limited to one or two years, but several could be tackled simultaneously.

The panel also advocated a major overhaul of the Economic and Social Council to abolish at least eight of its subsidiary commissions.

The commission on the status of women would be eliminated along with the commissions on population, social development and natural resources. The Human Rights Commission would remain.

The business formerly handled by the others would be dealt with directly by the Council, thereby avoiding duplicating debates.

In support of such streamlining the panel report said that the Council, as it currently operates, "lacks the necessary degree of authority" and has become bogged down by unmanageable documentation.

As part of the proposed structural change, the panel recommended that the Council be given a new role in organizing the economic matters dealt with by the Assembly.

They proposed that the Assembly's Economic Committee be renamed the Committee on Development and International Economic Cooperation, and that it take on all items currently discussed by the Social Commitee that concern development. The Social Committee would be left mainly with human rights matters and humanitarian questions. Each has a membership of 138 countries.

In the field of trade, the experts proposed a gradual phasing out of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which was organized in 1964 by the poorer

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The Members Of U.N. Panel

Abdel Hamid Abdel-Ghany, Egypt
Adebayo Adedeji, Nigeria
Abdelaziz Bennane, Morocco
Wilmot Blyden 3d, Sierra Leone
Sérgio Corrêa da Costa, Brazil
Juan M. Figuerero, Argentina
Richard N. Gardner, U. S.
Peter Hansen, Denmark
Paul-Marc Henry, France
Axel Herbst, West Germany
Lal Jayawardena, Sri Lanka
Al-Noor Kassum, Tanzania
N. Krishnan, India
Peki Kuma Kwaku Zinu, Ghana
Evan T. Luard, Britain
Akhtar Mahmood, Pakistan
José Carlos Mariátegui, Peru
A. A. Molchanov, Soviet Union
Jan Meijer, Netherlands
Donald O. Mills, Jamaica
Saburo Okita, Japan
Manuel Pérez Guerrero, Venezuela
Majid Rahnema, Iran
Ljubomir Sekulic, Yugoslavia
Evzen Zaporocky, Czechoslovakia

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Robert E. Baskin

And the Dominoes Fall

Senior Political Analyst

The full impact of the humiliating defeat of the United States is being felt quickly in all of Southeast Asia.

Perhaps never in its history has the prestige of this country—and the trust of other nations in it—been so devastated.

Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger's statement that the United States had obligations of a "moral nature" to defend Thailand was met with scorn in Bangkok.

At the same time, the government of the Philippines was showing equal contempt for the confidence that could be given the United States in future dealings. In Bangkok, Schlesinger's statement drew this comment from Foreign Minister Chartchai Choonhavan:

"Moral? The United States does not have any morals at this point. They have already pulled out from Cambodia and South Vietnam, so we are going to have to depend on ourselves. . . ."

THAILAND IS now under the gun of the Communists. This is a country that has been a faithful ally of the United States in its conduct of the war in Vietnam, supplying airbases and other facilities for our operations in that area.

But now it is a different situation. Thailand wants the 27,000 U.S. military personnel removed. The Bangkok government also is prepared to return military airplanes flown out of Vietnam to the new Communist government of South Vietnam.

In short, Thailand is preparing to come to terms with the Communists. It is abandoning its ties with the United States.

Shortly, we may face a similar situation with the Philippines and other nations in the area.

President Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines has indicated that he feels that his country can no longer place trust in the United States, and in Manila the demands that U.S. installations including such important facilities as Clark Air Force Base and the Subic Bay naval base, be given up are gaining force.

Marcos, Chinese Ties

Meanwhile, Marcos is building up ties with the Chinese Communist government. His wife in the last week has been visiting there.

We may see in a very short time that our 50 years of rule over the Philippines, in which we endeavored to instruct them in the ways of democracy, were all for naught. Marcos is now a dictator.

Ironically, he assumed such a position, through imposition of martial law, in an effort to beat down Communist insurgents on Luzon and Moslem fanatics in the southern islands.

But the strength of the Communist movement in Indochina is bound to have profound effect upon him.

This was reflected Friday when the Philippines government announced that it will arrest military and government officials of the former South Vietnamese regime who come into American bases in those islands.

The announcement was more of an insult to the United States than an exercise in reality. The Filipinos do not have the capacity to move into an American base and make these arrests. And by the time they might act the South Vietnamese may well have been hurried on to Guam or some other destination.

Marcos, despite his earlier protestations of friendship for the United States, has always been an uncertain ally.

In 1965, we covered his campaign for the presidency against the incumbent President Diosdado Macapagal, in which Marcos won handily. At that time the United States was much interested in obtaining military support from other nations in the area. We queried Marcos during a visit to a small village in Luzon about the possibility of Filipino troops being sent to Vietnam.

He was evasive. But a few days later, after he had been elected, he reluctantly stated that some Filipino forces would be dispatched to Vietnam. It was months later that they arrived—and they were a small group of engineer troops who repaired roads.

AT THE 1966 Manila conference Marcos gave a superficial appearance of support for the American position in Southeast Asia, but at that time we were making headway against the Communist onslaught and our troop commitment was nearing its peak.

At this juncture, it would seem to be appropriate to rule out Thailand and the Philippines as friends and allies. The disaster of Vietnam is bound, we are afraid, to spread far beyond those two nations.

countries because of dissatisfaction with Western domination of the existing machinery for dealing with trade issues.

The work on trade and commodity agreements would go to the proposed international trade organization under the panel's recommendations the organization also might take over the work of GATT, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which has been the major forum in which negotiations to lower tariff barriers have been conducted, particularly among the developed countries. The trade organization also might assume responsibility for commodity arrangements.

In proposing the new post of director general for development, the panel recommended that the duties include direct charge of the existing Department of Economic and Social Affairs—the largest in the United Nations— and that the present post of under-secretary general be abolished.

Proposed on Development Unit

The proposed United Nations development authority, it was recommended, should be managed by a small operations board of 18 to 27 members who would be "equitably balanced" between countries which are net donors to United Nations aid programs, including oil-exporter, and the net recipients of help.

Although the contributions would be collected in a single fund, the identities of some units would be preserved, mainly because it would assist them in fund-raising—as in the case of the environment and population funds. The staff of the environment agency would remain at the agency's headquarters in Nairobi.

No additional increases in personnel would be required to carry out the panel's decisions, the report said. However, its members advocated a major effort to improve staff personnel policies.

They urged competitive examinations for United Nations job candidates and the possible creation of a staff college for training officials from different agencies in the system. They also said that a unified system should be accepted for all employes in regard to recruitment and salaries.

They also favored employing more women in nonclerical positions and hiring younger applicants from all regions.

In an attempt to insure that action would be taken on at least some proposals without delay, the panel asked Mr. Waldheim to appoint a committee that would report regularly on the progress made in restructuring.

NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE 26 MAY 1975(22)

MORE STARS FOR LEONID BREZHNEV

Leonid Brezhnev's comrades have given him a new hat—that of a full general of the Soviet Army. At the Moscow V-E Day celebrations, Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny officially elevated the party leader to that rank. (He had once worn a maior general's stars as a political officer during World War II.) Washington experts read a nuance in the promotion: it confirms Brezhnev's status in relation to the armed forces—he now ranks among the most senior officers—and also within the ruling Politburo. Actually, as chairman of the Soviet Defense Committee, Brezhnev has been Russia's commander in chief since 1965.

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RADIO - TV DEFENSE DIALOG

RADIO TV REPORTS INC. WASH., D.C., SUMMARIES NOT TO BE QUOTED.

FRIDAY, MAY 23, 1975 (BROADCASTS OF MAY 22, 1975)

SUMMARY OF NETWORK NEWS IN THIS ISSUE

John CHANCELLOR and Don OLIVER, NBC News, report on events in Laos. CHANCELLOR reports on the evacuation of 18 USAID employees out of Savannakhet. OLIVER reports that Laotian students still hold the USAID compound in Vientiane where two Marines and a communications specialist are holed up and that Americans in a housing complex are in effect prisoners. CHANCELLOR reports that Secretary KISSINGER told Turks that renewal of U.S. military aid hinges upon progress in Cyprus talks. CHANCELLOR and Catherine MACKIN report that 76 Senators signed a letter of support for continued military and economic aid to Israel. MACKIN reports on comments by proponents and opponents of the letter. CHANCELLOR reports that according to a Cairo newspaper the Soviets are in the process of obtaining bases in Libya and will grant them extensive military aid.

Walter CRONKITE and Maria McLAUGHLIN, both of CBS News, report on the letter of support sent by Senators to the President concerning military and economic aid for Israel. Ike PAPPAS, CBS, reports on a Pentagon assessment of the military capabilities of the Syrians, Egyptians and Israelis, comparing numbers of hardware and ground forces. He notes that the Pentagon weighs out in favor of the Israelis but are worried about an Israeli pre-emptive strike. CRONKITE reports that although KISSINGER is trying to reassure the Turks about U.S. trustworthiness, the Turks may be planning to close some U.S. bases.

Harry REASONER and Lou CIOFFI, both of ABC News, report on the situation in Laos. CIOFFI reports that the Laotian government seems unwilling to protect American citizens and their possessions and that USAID employees will be evacuated soon. Tom JARRIEL reports that according to Secretary KISSINGER the U.S. will drastically cut military and economic aid to Laos and will bring home most American citizens from Laos.

Lesley STAHL, CBS Morning News, reports on a survey of Vietnamese refugees on Guam taken by the Catholic Conference which states that half of the refugees there are illiterate and unskilled. Task force chief Dean BROWN did not confirm nor deny this. Hughes RUDD reports that the Iranian government knows who killed the two American officers in Tehran and are presently searching for the terrorists. Marvin KALB reports that Secretary KISSINGER has been reassuring the members of CENTO and that he is pleased that Syria renewed the U.N. peace force.

Lou WOODS, the "Today" show NBC TV, reports that NATO defense ministers are concerned about the southern flank of NATO, but that Secretary KISSINGER is trying to smooth things out with the Turks.

PREPARED BY THE AIR FORCE SAFAA AS EXECUTIVE AGENT FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE TO BRING TO THE ATTENTION OF KEY DOD PERSONNEL MATTERS WITHIN THEIR OFFICIAL RESPONSIBILITIES.

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NBC NIGHTLY NEWS NBC TV
7:00 PM MAY 22

USAID Situation In Laos

JOHN CHANCELLOR: The rising tide of anti-Americanism feeling in Laos led the United States today to fly 18 Americans and a number of foreigners out of Savannakhet in Laos to the Udorn Airbase in Thailand. The group had been under house arrest in Savannakhet for nine days. Air Force 3-47s landed in Savannakhet to get them. Neither pro-Communist Pathet Lao troops in that town nor anti-American students interfered with their departure. In Vientiane the student protests kept up their campaign today to get the American Agency for International Development out of Laos and Don Oliver has that story.

DON OLIVER: The anti-American demonstrators still held the USAID compound in Vientiane despite the protests of U.S. Embassy officials to government of Laos officials. It was obvious the Laotian government will even want to do much about the situation. Pathet Lao soldiers have joined the protestors inside the compound. Two American Marines and one U.S. civilian communications worker were also in the building, but they were where the demonstrators couldn't get at them. From time-to-time one of the Marines could be seen on top of the building checking the ground below and radioing reports back to the U.S. Embassy. The demonstrators still were demanding that the property here be turned over to the Laotian government and that Americans in the AID mission be ordered out of the country. The students may not care much for Americans but they had obviously acquired a taste for American beer, looted from the commissary. The Laotian employees had done nothing. Finally a government spokesman held a news conference expressing regret for what had happened. But he said in effect that the U.S.AID mission in Laos is through. The Laotian government wants U.S. money but it wants it in direct payments. He said equipment and buildings should be turned over to the Laotians. About three miles outside of Vientiane is the American housing village where most of the USAID families live. The Laotian police force was not allowing any cars to leave. The 500 or so who live here were virtually prisoners for a time. Then the rules were changed, cars were allowed out after they were searched. Word came from the Embassy for all families here to get their health certificates up to date so they could leave the country. The families came through the gates in small groups and got their smallpox vaccinations and their typhoid shots. The American kids didn't seem to concerned about the situation, but inside the houses their parents were packing up as fast as they could. The U.S. Embassy hopes to bring a fleet of chartered planes in here tomorrow to begin evacuating the American families. A spokesman for the Embassy emphasized that only the USAID personnel and their families are going to be taken out, the U.S. Embassy staff will stay and they hope to keep the Embassy open. Don Oliver, NBC News, Vientiane, Laos.

CHANCELLOR: In Washington the White House said today that the uncertain situation in Laos has led it to cut back on aid to that country. But the White House added that despite American departures from Laos no full scale evacuation has been ordered.

Kissinger On Turkey

CHANCELLOR: Secretary of State KISSINGER is in Turkey today and he told the Turks that a resumption of American arms aid is dependent on progress on a settlement of the Cyprus question. After Turkish troops invaded Cyprus last year the American Congress cut off arms aid to Turkey. The Senate voted this week to restore the aid, but KISSINGER told Turkish leaders today that the House probably won't go along until it sees some movement toward a Cyprus settlement.

Senate Urges Israel Support

CHANCELLOR: Seventy-six members of the Senate sent word to President FORD today that they will not accept any reduction in American military and economic aid to Israel. The President responded, cautiously, that he welcomed all suggestions. Catherine Mackin has more on the letter and Congressional reaction to it.

CATHERINE MACKIN: The 76 Senators cut across the entire political spectrum from the most liberal to the most conservative. Senate leader Mike MANSFIELD sharply rebuked the signers. He said the letter sets up a possible confrontation between the FORD administration and the Senate. He called the letter an unwise move at this time and said it would have been better muted until the President completes his meetings next month with the leaders of Israel and Egypt. But the Senators

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clearly wanted to move ahead of FORD's meetings.

SENATOR BIRCH BAYH: There have been voices of concern raised about the validity of United States committments because of the events of SE Asia. And many of us on the Hill felt that it is important to let everybody know, friend and foe and those who have no position, that the United States committment to the continued existence and security of the state of Israel is undiminished.

SENATOR LOWELL WEICKER: The committment was made to the state of Israel in 1948 and has not been changed by the facts that have intervened. Because indeed when the committment was made it had nothing to do with the cold war, it had nothing to do with oil. It had everything to do with a people who had been hounded and persecuted, tortured and killed, for 2,000 years.

MACKIN: Senator Charles PERCY was another critic of the letter. He said it looked like a tilt in favor of Israel, which will not help either side.

SENATOR CHARLES PERCY: We have credibility with both sides. But we must keep that credibility and it's in Israel's interests to not have us so one sided or so aligned with one side that we cannot assume the role that both sides have asked us to play in this conflict.

MACKIN: Apparently the reason for the letter is that the American-Jewish community is jittery about United States support for Israel and wanted this reaffirmation now. Catherine Mackin, NBC News, Washington.

Soviets Get Bases in Libya

CHANCELLOR: In world news today the Russians are reported to have established a new beachhead in the Middle East of great potential importance. According to the semi-official Cairo newspaper, Al Ahram, the Russians will set up military bases, air bases and naval bases in Libya. And the paper said the Russians have agreed to a $4.5 billion arms deal with the Libyans.

In Portugal there were huge street demonstrations tonight by the Socialists after the leader of the socialist party threatened to quit the government unless it stops drifting toward Communism.

CBS EVENING NEWS CBS TV
7:00 PM MAY 22

Congressional Letter To President

WALTER CRONKITE: Seventy-six Senators have sent a letter to President FORD urging him to make clear that the United States "stands firmly with Israel in the search for Middle East peace." The White House said the President will consider the letter and welcomes all suggestions from all sources as Middle East policy is reassessed. More from Maria McLaughlin.

MARIA McLAUGHLIN: The letter urged the President to continue a strong policy of support for Israel and asked Mr. FORD to guarantee Israel all the help it needs "to detour a renewal of war by Israel's neighbors." Predictably the Israelis liked the letter the Arabs didn't.

ARAB SPOKESMAN: There will be in the back of the Arabs minds a large measure of questioning of whether policies enunciated by the United States administration can be delivered on in the life of this congressional withholding of its support or pre-empting the outcome of the reassessment policy.

McLAUGHLIN: What do you think the significance of that letter is?

ISRAELI SPOKESMAN: Well I think it has great significance because I humbly believe it echoes the opinion of the great majority of American people that a strong and viable Israel is an important element in bringing about peace in the Middle East, which is after all what we all want. So I think it's a constructive and a very helpful move that the Senate of the United States has taken.

McLAUGHLIN: The Arabs were particularly disappointed that Senators like Charles MATHIAS and George McGOVERN, who have recently travelled through Arab countries, had signed. McGOVERN was quick to send a clarifying letter and an Arab spokesman said maybe that indicated the signers' hurried judgment would be replaced by a more studied one.

Maria McLaughlin, CBS News, Washington.

CRONKITE: New York's Republican Senator JAVITS was the moving force behind the letter. Its purpose was to make clear the American position in light of developments in SE Asia and in advance of President FORD's meeting with Egyptian President SADAT. With the breakdown of recent peace efforts in the Middle East there's a growing concern of yet another Arab-Israeli war. Ike Pappas gives us the Pentagon's assessmen on how the two sides now stack up militarily.

IKE PAPPAS: Both sides quickly restocked with weapons following the October war, the Israelis with American arms, the

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Arabs with Russian. Today with the possibility of a new war increasing the Arabs outgun and outman the Israelis more than two-to-one. Together Egypt and Syria, the major threats to Israel, have over 4,000 Russian built tanks. The Israelis have about 2,500 tanks, most of them American M-60s and Pattons. In artillery Egypt and Syria have 1,800 pieces and over 12,000 missiles including the latest Russian anti-aircraft rockets. Israel has some 900 pieces of artillery, over 600 Hawk surface-to-air missiles and what is reported to be an unknown number of the newest American hand-held heat seeking rockets the Red Eye. In air power Egypt and Syria have over 1,000 fighter-bombers, French Mirages and Russian built MIGS. The Israelis have about 400 warplanes, most of them American Phantoms and Skyhawks. In manpower Egypt and Syria combined can throw at Israel a ground force made up of 450,000 soldiers. The Israelis have only 125,000 men and women in uniform, but have another 250,000 reserves who could be mobilized in a matter of hours, total 375,000. So in military hardware the balance of power in the Middle East clearly favors the Arabs. But the consensus among Pentagon analysts and the intelligence community is that the Israelis would still win. They point out the Israelis are equipped with more sophisticated weapons this time, that they use their equipment far more efficiently than the Arabs and they have better military leadership. In fact, some analysts say, there is a growing concern the Israelis may be the first to attack, aiming to knock out the Arabs warmaking potential for years to come. Pentagon sources admit the threat of a new war in the Middle East is very serious. Ike Pappas, CBS News, the Pentagon.

Kissinger In Turkey

CRONKITE: Secretary of State KISSINGER was in Ankara today trying to reassure Turkey that the United States is a trustworthy ally. But Turkey questioned these reassurances. Marvin Kalb reports from Ankara that Turkey was not encouraged by the one vote margin the United States Senate gave earlier this week to end the ban on arms sales to Turkey. Kalb says Turkey is now expected to begin closing American bases there in the near future.

ABC EVENING NEWS ABC TV
7:00 PM MAY 22

USAID and Laos

HARRY REASONER: Eighteen Americans and other foreigners were evacuated today from Savannakhet, Laos and flown on U.S. planes to Thailand. The Americans, earlier thought to number only 12, had been under house arrest by Pathet Lao demonstrators for more than a week. It's now certain that most U.S. citizens will be pulled out of Laos as quickly as possible because similar incidents of harrassment against Americans are increasing. Demonstrating students still occupy the American AID compound in Vientiane and two Marine guards and a civilian communications specialist who locked themselves inside an AID building remain the only Americans inside. More on the story from Lou Cioffi.

LOU CIOFFI: Despite official American protests the Laotian government so far has been unable or unwiling to force the students to leave the USAID compound. The government here suggests that negotiations with the students might be a way out for the Americans, the U.S. Embassy is willing, but also argues that it's the responsibility of the Laotian government to protect foreign diplomats, their families and their possessions. The situation is forcing the United States to drastically speed up the evacuation of USAID personnel and their families, it's also causing some thought about a complete withdrawal of all 1,100 Americans here in Laos, including the Embassy staff if they cannot be protected. At the housing area where many Americans live government and Pathet Lao soldiers appeared at the same time as the USAID compound was occupied. They started by checking every car that left, saying that they are looking for weapons. But they're also preventing anyone from taking out personal possessions. One man was forced to unload two porcelain elephants he had crated, obviously to be shipped home. The students and the Pathet Lao say that everything inside the housing area now belongs to the people of Laos and it could very well be that the Americans who are evacuating may be forced to leave most of their possessions behind. There's another problem, many of them have their passports locked up inside the USAID compound with no way to get them out. Even as the evacuation is being organized the Laotian civilians who used to work for the American families inside

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have already packed their bags and are leaving. There's no panic among the Americans here but there is an increasing sense of urgency. The schedule now is for 50 or 60 people, starting with dependents, to be evacuated each day. But that figure might very well be increased as the situation worsens. The thing that has American officials here really concerned right now is will they be allowed to leave. The answer will come in the next day or so. This is Lou Cioffi, ABC News, Vientiane.

TOM JARRIEL: This is Tom Jarriel. The United States is all but pulling down the flag in Laos. The White House recognized the realities of the political situation today by saying the Pathet Lao control is increasing, so U.S. aid and personnel are being reduced. Secretary of State KISSINGER in Ankara, Turkey today told ABC diplomatic correspondent Ted Koppel the reduction will be very substantial. KISSINGER said it makes no sense to continue U.S. military aid, which has been running up to $30 million a year. The $33 million U.S. economic assistance program will be substantially cut. Most of the 400 civilians who administer it will be brought home. The 800 American government employees in Laos will be reduced to little more than a token force of diplomats and intelligence personnel. The official U.S. view is that the Communists have not yet completely taken over the government, so the U.S. evacuation will not be a total one. But the substantial reduction appears to be a face saving way to prepare for the rapidly moving trend toward Communist domination of Laos. Tom Jarriel, ABC News, at the White House.

CBS MORNING NEWS CBS TV
7:00 AM MAY 22

Vietnamese Refugees

BRUCE MORTON: Lesley Stahl says the Vietnamese refugees already in this country maybe the easiest ones to resettle, that the problem is the people still on Guam.

LESLEY STAHL: A preliminary rough survey of the 46,000 refugees on Guam indicates that about 21,000 of them are illiterate peasant farmers and fishermen. The survey was conducted by agents of the U.S. Catholic Conference which also estimates that about 21,000 of those on Guam are Catholics. The voluntary agencies say they will have a much more serious problem settling this group than the refugees at Camp Pendleton, where, according to a task force study, 58 percent are professionals, skilled workers or clerks and only .9 percent are agricultural. Executive Director of the Catholic Conference John McCARTHY said, these people on Guam will be more difficult to resettle. But, he said, we must remain optimistic. Task force chief L. Dean BROWN said he knows of no such survey. His task force has no recent data on the occupational status or literacy of the refugees on Guam. BROWN says he will await the computer print out of biographical sheets which are now being filled out. Lesley Stahl, CBS News, Washington.

Statement On Iranian Terrorists

RUDD: In Iran the government says it knows who killed two United States Air Force officers in Tehran yesterday and is looking for the killers. The officers were shot to death on their way to work as advisers at an Iranian air base.

Report On CENTO

RUDD: Secretary of State KISSINGER was in Turkey when he got the news about the Golan extension, involved in still another diplomatic job. We have a radio report from Marvin Kalb in Ankara.

MARVIN KALB: KISSINGER brought his words of reassurance to the Central Treaty Organization, CENTO, an anti-Soviet alliance created in the mid 1950's and consisting now of Pakistan, Turkey, Iran, Great Britain and of course the United States as principal observer. The Secretary said the U.S. is determined to reaffirm its ties to its allies and he went on, the U.S. is deeply conscious of the inescapable responsibility it bears. During the break between the opening sessions and the closed door deliberations the Secretary told reporters he was pleased by the Syrian decision to extend the U.N. mandate on the Golan Heights for another six months. Adding that it's a constructive development that offers an opportunity for progress in a calmer atmosphere. On another subject KISSINGER said the U.S. has not ordered a total evacuation of Americans from Laos, but he did admit there has been a rather substantial reduction. Marvin Kalb, CBS News, Ankara.

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THE TODAY SHOW NBC TV
7:00 AM MAY 22

NATO Meeting

LOU WOODS: NATO defense ministers are meeting in Brussells today. The formal reason is to discuss weapons production but much of the talking really concerns worry about NATO's Mediterranean flank. Secretary of State Henry KISSINGER is working on that aspect in Turkey today. He hopes the Turks will soften their stand on Cyprus. That might convince Congress to ease its arms embargo against Turkey and help the NATO defense ministers breath a bit easier.

Radio-TV Programs of Interest

SUNDAY, MAY 25, 1975

Face the Nation, 11:30 am, Ch. 9, WTOP(CBS): Guest not announced at this printing.
Meet the Press, 12:30 pm, Ch. 4. WRC(NBC): Arthur Burns, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.
Issues and Answers, 1:30 pm, Ch. 7. WMAL(ABC): Alan Alda and Joe Ruckelshaus (the two leading members of International Women's Year).

Documentary Special, 7:30 pm, Ch. 9, WTOP(CBS): "The Ups and Downs of Henry Kissinger", traces the Secretary of State's diplomatic achievements and setbacks.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 28, 1975

Documentary Special, 8:00 pm, Ch. 5, WTTG: KGB: The Soviet Secret Police. The history and workings of the USSR's security and intelligence organization are examined.

FRIDAY, MAY 30, 1975

Documentary Special, 10:00 pm, Ch. 7, WMAL(ABC): ABC News Closeup - A dossier on the Central Intelligence Agency.

Radio-TV Program of Interest

MONDAY, MAY 26, 1975

Evening Edition, 7:30 p.m., Ch 26, WETA (PBS) Vice Adm William P. Mack, Superintendent, US Naval Academy and Maj Gen Robert G. Gard, Jr, Commander, Army Military Personnel Center will discuss the military today and where it is going in the post-Vietnam era with Reporters Martin Agronsky and Robert Heinl (Col, USMC, RET) Detroit News.

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CURRENT NEWS

PART I - EARLY BIRD EDITION - 0730

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FRIDAY, MAY 23, 1975

GENERAL NEWS SUMMARY FROM THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MAY 23, 1975

World-Wide

LAOTIAN LEFTISTS freed some Americans; U.S. aid is being reduced.

Students in the south-central city of Savannakhet released Agency for International Development officials and their dependents after nine days of house arrest, and U.S. Air Force planes flew the 18 Americans to Thailand. The Communist-dominated Laotian government accepted a student demand that it ask the U.S. to phase out all AID operations in Laos. The U.S. agreed to close AID offices in the provinces, the Laotians said.

Three Americans, including two Marines, remained trapped in an aid compound in Vientiane taken over by leftists Wednesday.

Hundreds of Americans in Laos will be withdrawn within the next month under an accelerated reduction in the U.S. presence of about 1,000 persons, Secretary of State Kissinger, in Turkey, said the withdrawal can't be considered a complete evacuation "at this time."

* * *

Turkish officials warned Kissinger that U.S.-Turkish relations and the security of the eastern Mediterranean will be seriously imperiled unless U.S. military aid to Turkey is restored. In Brussels, meantime, Defense Secretary Schlesinger warned NATO allies about cutting defense spending while, he said, Russia is raising its military budget 3% to 5% a year in real terms.

* * *

Tanzanian authorities have arrested a suspect in the kidnapping of three Stanford University students and a Dutch woman from a primate research station in the east African country, a Stanford professor said in Palo Alto, Calif.

* * *

A bill letting states spend noninterstate highway money newly freed from impoundment without putting up matching funds was sent to the White House, where it may face a veto. On road projects started between Feb. 12 and Sept. 30 of this year, the 30% that states normally must provide would be lent them by Washington.

* * *

Congress adjourned for a 10-day recess without passing a $15 billion supplemental appropriation for fiscal 1975, a third of which is needed for jobless benefits. The House and Senate couldn't agree on whether to include $700 million to create jobs repairing railroad beds.

* * *

The Detroit suburb of Ferndale was accused by the Justice Department of violating a court order to desegregate its schools. The suit also charged the state of Michigan

(See NEWS SUMMARY, Pg. 2)

WASHINGTON POST
23 MAY 1975 Pg. B-7

Commissary Presence Hit In Big Cities

By Steve Geistel
United Press International

The General Accounting Office said yesterday that military commissary stores, considered a major fringe benefit by active and retired service men, cannot be justified in major metropolitan areas.

GAO, Congress' auditing agency, said in a report the commissary stores—where groceries and other goods can be purchased at reduced prices—should not be allowed in metropolitan areas because enough commercial food stores are in reasonable proximity.

Locating commissaries in these areas, the GAO said, violates the congressional intent that these stores should be located only in remote stations.

Overall, during fiscal 1974 the armed services operated 279 commissaries in the United States with sales totaling $2.2 billion.

Food and goods are sold at cost plus a surcharge of 3 to 5 per cent. The GAO said at least $226 million in appropriated funds were used in fiscal 1974 to support the stores, mostly to pay employees.

The report said that "since commercial food stores in metropolitan areas are very competitive and operate on a low profit margin, their prices are reasonable."

As an example, the GAO noted the services maintain 27 commissaries in San Diego, San Francisco, San Antonio, Norfolk, Honolulu and Washington, D.C.

The GAO said it found at least eight large commercial food stores within a five-mile radius of 25 of the commissaries and at least four commercial stores with the same radius of the other two commissaries.

The report said the services consider commissaries warranted because they have

(See HIT, Pg. 2)

NEW YORK TIMES
23 MAY 1975 Pg. 12

NATO Ministers Concentrate On Joint Arms Purchasing

By PAUL KEMEZIS
Special to The New York Times

BRUSSELS, May 22—The defense ministers of the Atlantic Alliance countries agreed here today that there was a need to increase the joint development and purchasing of arms.

But Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger was said to have been wary of making specific commitments to increase United States weapons-buying in Europe, which has been small up to now.

Also at the meeting, which was the first among North Atlantic Treaty Organization Ministers since the fall of South Vietnam and Cambodia, Mr. Schlesinger said that the United States put a high priority on NATO, but that the Europeans would have to bear more of the burden of the alliance in the future.

The United States also pressed for acknowledgment by NATO of the strategic importance of Spain to the alliance, particularly in light of the situation in the Mediterranean area. The American effort was to get a passage making this point into the communiqué that is being drafted for publication tomorrow. Several European countries were resisting any mention of Spain in the communiqué.

For a number of years, the United States has been trying to have Spain admitted to the alliance, but some European nations refuse to consider that so long as Generalissimo Francisco Franco remains in power in Madrid.

European officials also said that during the meeting a suggestion was raised for a NATO radar base in South Africa to help guard the Cape of Good Hope tanker route against Soviet naval power. But the Netherlands in particular strongly opposed any link to South Africa. "They would gain a base but lose a ally," the Netherlands Defense Minister, Henk Verdeling, told newsmen afterwards.

The meeting of defense ministers, which continues tomorrow, is a routine semiannual event usually held just before talks by the foreign ministers

(See NATO, Pg. 2)

BALTIMORE SUN
23 MAY 1975 Pg. 2

U.S. resists Europeans on arms

By GENE OISHI
Sun Staff Correspondent

Brussels—The attempt within the Western military alliance to increase efficiency through arms standardization remained snagged yesterday as the United States continued to resist European pressures for a firm commitment to buy more weapons in Europe.

After the first-day session of the spring meeting of the defense ministers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, U.S. officials said only that "there was a widely shared general agreement that purchases both ways across the Atlantic would and should be substantially increased above present levels."

While the U.S. accepts in principle that weapons procurement should be a "two-way street," James R. Schlesinger, the American Secretary of Defense, was not prepared to make the sort of specific commitments that the Europeans sought.

Europeans expressed some disappointment in not getting a more positive American response, particularly in view of the tentative NATO desision to buy the Boeing E-3A, a converted 707 equipped with radar and other electronics gear to be used as an airborne early warning system.

The E-3A would supplement the NATO ground early warning system against advancing hostile aircraft. It would be able to detect aircraft attempt-

(See ARMS, Pg. 2)

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NEW YORK TIMES
23 MAY 1975 Pg. 14

SIHANOUK CRITICAL OF U.S. IN INCIDENT

HONK KONG, May 22 (Reuters)—Prince Norodom Sihanouk said that his Royal Cambodian Government of National Union was not informed of any deplimatic steps by the United States Government to obtain the release of the American freighter Mayaguez last week, the North Korean press agency reported today.

The agency, monitored here, said that Prince Sihanouk made this statement at a banquet given for him and his wife by President Kim Il Sung in Pyongyang.

In his speech, the agency said, the Cambodian also alleged that United States forces attacked his country for three days starting on May 13, the day after the Mayagüez was seized by Cambodian gunboats in the Gulf of Siam.

"This was a combat between elephant—the United States—and ant — Cambodia — which shows the extreme dastardliness of the American superpower," the agency quoted the Prince as having said.

He charged the United States with "savagely bombing our city, port, oil refinery and railway of Sihanoukville and the airport and a small naval base in the Gulf of Siam three hours after we let the American ship Mayagüez and her crew safely go back."

WASHINGTON POST
23 MAY 1975 Pg. 11

'Paper Tiger' Label Revived by Chinese

Reuter

PEKING, May 22—China States today, claiming that the sharply attacked the United American image has been thoroughly blackened by the smoke from its own gunboats.

A report from the official New China News Agency, which referred for the first time in months to the United States as "a paper tiger," scorned what it described as an attempt to depict the Mayaguez incident as an American victory.

"This is a typical farce in self-consolation, written and staged single-handed by the very superpower which the small Indochina countries completely defeated," the agency said.

NATO
(CONTINUED)

of the alliance countries. This spring, however, the second conference is to be held at the heads-of-government level, with President Ford meeting the other NATO leaders in Brussels next week.

Regarding joint arms purchases, a key topic in NATO discussions because of the economic slump in most alliance countries, the Europeans complain that they buy a much greater amount of arms from the United States than the United States does from them.

After today's discussion a high American official said that there was general agreement that there should be a "substantial increase" in arms purchases in both directions across the Atlantic. Reportedly, however, the United States wants a strong system of checks set up before entering into large-scale purchases in Europe to make sure that such joint projects are actually cost effective and properly managed.

The United States suggested that a new agency on joint arms purchases be set up inside NATO. The alliance's Secretary General, Joseph M. A. H. Luis of the Netherlands, was assigned to draw up an official proposal on such an agency before the next defense ministers' meeting in December.

The British Secretary of State for Defense, Roy Mason, who was the spokesman for the European ministers, said that he found Mr. Schlesinger's response favorable.

But European officials said privately that they had hoped for a more concrete indication at this time of how much the United States was prepared to buy. The European defense ministers plan a special meeting in the fall to prepare further proposals on the subject.

HIT
(CONTINUED)

"become ingrained as an economic heritage" and play an important role in recruiting and retaining servicemen.

The services also consider they have a moral commitment to retain military personnel, which the GAO estimated accounted for about 25 per cent of the payrolls.

The GAO said, Congress may want to consider whether it wishes to allow DOD (Defense Department) to continue to operate commissary stores in competition with commercial grocery stores at added expense to the taxpayer."

ARMS -- CONTINUED

ing to penetrate ground defenses by flying at low altitudes.

The plans call for the purchase of 30 such aircraft for a total price tag of $1.7 billion, which would be a sizable boost to the U.S. aircraft and defense industry. It was said to be the largest joint procurement program that NATO ever has undertaken.

The defense ministers are expected to authorize today a study on how the cost of the project would be divided among the participating countries.

There also were strong indications that the Dutch Cabinet, when it meets in The Hague tonight, will choose the General Dynamics F-16 as the new lightweight fighter for its Air Force.

Denmark and Norway also have chosen the F-16 over the French Mirage, with only Belgium among the four-country consortium still undecided and leaning toward the French aircraft.

European countries also are intent on maintaining and developing their own defense industries. They therefore are attempting to work out an agreement with the U.S. to share weapons development and production on some rational basis that would avoid costly duplication and waste.

According to a U.S. State Department study, the Western allies waste between $10 billion and $20 billion a year through duplicating weapons programs.

Some progress appeared to have been made toward a common procurement system in that, according to NATO sources, a new NATO agency will be formed to try to coordinate future weapons purchases by individual countries.

Another area of discussion among the defense ministers was the deteriorating political situation in NATO's southern region. In this connection, the U.S. was said to be trying to get some NATO recognition for Spain's importance to the Western alliance, but most European countries appeared reluctant to associate themselves with the fascist regime of Gen. Francisco Franco.

The U.S., on the other hand, would like to get more recognition for Spain in view of current negotiations to renew American base leases in the country, though it generally is acknowledged that NATO membership for Spain is not possible as long as the current regime is in power.

NEWS SUMMARY -- CONTINUED

with violating civil rights requirements for use of federal revenue-sharing funds.

* * *

Antiperspirant sprays with zirconium are expected to be classified soon by the Food and Drug Administration as new drugs, a move that will prohibit further marketing until makers present new evidence to convince the FDA the products are safe. Studies have shown that zirconium can cause lung inflammation when inhaled. Procter & Gamble is the chief maker of products that would be affected.

* * *

A joint effort to cut car thefts was started by the Justice and Transportation departments. It will concentrate on improving lock systems and making it harder for thieves to get titles for stolen vehicles.

* * *

Richard Thornburgh, U.S. Attorney for Western Pennsylvania, was nominated to succeed Henry Petersen as Assistant Attorney General for the Criminal Division.

* * *

Charles "Pete" Conrad Jr., the former astronaut, apparently is Ford's choice to succeed Alexander Butterfield as head of the Federal Aviation Administration.

* * *

Ford wants a science adviser and will ask Congress to reestablish the Office of Science and Technology, abolished by Nixon three years ago.

* * *

Lebanese Phalangist militiamen fought with Palestinian guerrillas in Beirut's suburbs for a third day despite a reported cease-fire agreement and the first intervention by the Lebanese army. It was ordered to shoot truce violators. Palestinians claimed scores were killed when one of their refugee camps was shelled by artillery.

Ford received a petition from 76 Senators urging adequate military and economic support for Israel. Press Secretary Ron Nessen said the President "welcomes all suggestions from all sources" as the U.S. continues to reassess Mideast policy.

* * *

About 500 right-wing Spaniards marched through Madrid demanding that Premier Carlos Arias Navarro resign for failing to crush the Basque separatist movement. Antigovernment demonstrations ordinarily aren't allowed in Spain, but the police, who have lost seven men in gunfights with the Basques this year, aided the protesters.

* * *

Portugal's Socialists drew tens of thousands to a rally in Lisbon as the party leader, former Foreign Minister Mario Soares, accused the military leaders of letting the country drift toward a Communist dictatorship.

* * *

Alexander Shelepin, a former rival of Soviet Communist Party chief Leonid Brezhnev, was stripped of his post as trade unions chairman in an action that apparently ended his political career. A month ago the former secret police chief was dropped from the Politburo.

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A federal jury was seated in Cleveland to hear the Kent State damage suit against Gov. James Rhodes, three former Ohio officials and 40 former National Guardsmen. Nine persons who were injured and parents of four killed by shooting during a May 1970 antiwar rally are asking $46 million.

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Maserati, the Italian producer of high-performance cars, decided to go out of business. It said it was hurt by the recession, high fuel costs and lower speed limits.

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FRIDAY MORNING, 23 MAY 1975

Analysis

BALTIMORE SUN
23 MAY 1975 Pg. 2

U.S. facing test at NATO summit

By HENRY L. TREWHITT
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—A crescendo of American efforts to rebuild political status abroad is approaching a crash of rhetorical symbols in Brussels. Above all else the United States hopes to generate in the summit meeting of the Atlantic Alliance a deeper sense of Western unity.

Even after the fact it may be hard to judge the results. No dramatic announcements are expected from the two-day conference of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or President Ford's following four days in Madrid, Salzburg and Rome.

But the NATO meeting will be the first critical political test of a United States campaign to restore credibility after the fall of South Vietnam and Cambodia to communism. The outcome will have a bearing on a broad range of later meetings, most notably the prospective European Security Conference and the often-delayed meeting between Mr Ford and Leonid I. Brezhnev the Soviet leader.

Seldom has the preparatory campaign been conducted with greater care and vigor. It began even before the Communist victories in Indochina, most obviously in Mr. Ford's so-called State of the World address to Congress April 10.

Painstakingly the President began then to define areas of primary national interest in the post-Indochina period: South Korea, Japan, NATO, continued detente with the Soviet Union and China.

With several variations of language he assured the world that the U.S. would live up to its commitments. By May 6, at a press conference after the fall of Saigon, his definitions became even more explicit.

After Europe, he said, "It is my aim to tie more closely together South Korea with the United States, to reaffirm our commitments to Taiwan, to work more closely with Indonesia, with the Philippines and with other Pacific nations."

At that point a number of Mr. Ford's advisers said, "Oops." It had not been planned that the President would risk irritating China with a gratuitous reference to Taiwan. None the less, the general point was valid.

All the while Henry A. Kissinger, the Secretary of State, and James R. Schlesinger, the Secretary of Defense, were emphasizing the same theme. Mr. Schlesinger underscored the need for strong defenses as the U.S. role in the world changed. Mr. Kissinger spoke more in terms of an orderly political transition into that new role.

There was more than a touch of irony in this process. For in some respects Mr Kissinger is believed to be more inclined to the use of force than the secretary of defense. But the main themes remained consistent.

Cambodia's seizure of the SS Mayaguez added the substance of action to the rhetorical framework. Inside the government the consensus to use force to retrieve the Mayaguez and rescue its crew was reached quickly and overwhelmingly.

In the end the Mayaguez operation must be judged in purely political terms. By statistical standards, the rescue surely cost more men—at least 38 dead in connection with the rescue, plus 3 missing—than the 39 Mayaguez crewmen in jeopardy.

As a test of will, it demonstrated at least that the U.S. was not immobilized in the face of a flagrant provocation by a small country. Whether it convinced anyone in broader geopolitical terms doubtless will be debated. The final conclusion may be a paradoxical one: That the U.S had much to lose by not responding savagely, not so much to gain by doing it.

In any event the incident was very much a background reinforcement for Mr Kissinger this week as he pursued final preparations for the NATO meeting. In Vienna he cautioned Andrei A. Gromyko, his Soviet counterpart, against thoughts of exploiting U.S. weakness.

At the same time he appeared to have made some progress with Mr. Gromyko on Mideast considerations. In Berlin he vigorously restated the U.S. commitment there and in the rest of Europe. In Ankara he restated the message to what remains of the Central Treaty Organization.

Back in Brussels, Mr Schlesinger both promised to strengthen the U.S. commitment to NATO and briskly criticized its allies for not doing more.

There was some specific, visible progress even early in the undertaking. Valery Giscard d'Estaing, the president of France, made a gentle gesture of reconciliation with NATO by agreeing to go to Brussels next week for a meeting with Mr. Ford, though he would stay away from the NATO meeting.

At best the summit can only move the process of U.S. reaffirmation another step forward. But it is an important step. In that sense the forthcoming summitry may be much like the Mayaguez affair: Though the potential concrete benefits may be modest, the cost of not trying could be enormous.

NEW YORK TIMES
23 MAY 1975 Pg. 9

Cairo Paper Says Libya Gives Soviet Military Facilities

CAIRO, Friday, May 23 (Reuters)—The semiofficial newspaper Al Ahram said today that Libya and the Soviet Union had signed an agreement under which the Soviet Union would set up land, air and naval bases in Libya.

In return, the Soviet Union reportedly agreed to provide Libya with $4.4-billion in arms.

The Al Ahram report, datelined Beirut but quoting no source for the information, said the agreement had been signed by the Libyan leader, Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, and Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin, who visited Libya last week.

Al Ahram said the Soviet Union would provide Libya with thousands of tanks and rockets and advanced arms, including modern weaponry withheld by the Russians from Egypt and Syria.

The Soviet Union, the Cairo paper said, told the Libyan leaders that the stationing in Libya of Soviet military experts was a condition for signing the pact.

Libyans to Be Trained

Mr. Kosygin told Colonel Gaddafi that the Soviet experts would form new divisions in the Libyan Army and train its personnel to use Soviet weapons, Al Ahram said.

The pact stipulated, according to Al Ahram, that the Soviet Union would supply Libya with large quantities of weapons to serve the political and strategic aims of the Soviet-Libyan alliance in the southern Mediterranean.

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER - 23 MAY 1975 Pg. 5

U.S. Criticizes Allied Arms Cuts In Light of Soviet Defense Increase

From Inquirer Wire Services

BRUSSELS—Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger assailed America's North Atlantic allies yesterday for reducing their military spending while the Soviet Union is increasing its defense budget, officials said.

Officials attending a two-day conference of NATO defense ministers said Schlesinger had contended that the Western allies had underestimated the ability of the Soviets to expand their military spending, which, he said, they are doing at the rate of 3 to 5 percent a year.

In an article for the "NATO Review," released in advance as the meeting opened yesterday, Schlesinger said the United States already had begun deploying two more combat brigades, plus additional ground and air strength for the 300,000 American troops in Europe.

The semi-annual meeting is being held at a time when the allied position has been weakened in southern Europe.

For the second time, Greece was boycotting the session and Portugal's leftist government was represented not by its defense minister but by a member of its "Revolutionary Council," Adm. Jose Baptists Pinheiro de Azevedo.

The NATO ministers, agreed yesterday to set up a new agency to help standardize arms production and increase weapons sales both ways across the Atlantic Ocean.

The ministers agreed also that the political situation in NATO's southern flank had deteriorated in recent months as the result of the Greek-Turkish conflict over Cyprus, the Greek withdrawal from NATO's military structure and the cutoff by the U. S. Congress of arms aid and sales to Turkey.

Debate on the most difficult problem — the crisis in Portugal — was put off until today.

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WASHINGTON POST 23 MAY 1975, Pg 18

Stephen S. Rosenfeld

Canal Zone: A Test of Leadership

I went up to the Senate to see Strom Thurmond, leader of the forces opposing an eventual negotiated return of the Panama Canal to Panama, wondering whether, in this stick-figure symbol of American jingoism, there is any redeeming streak of sensitivity to enlightened national self-interest.

I detected none. There is a case to be made that the restoration of Panamanian sovereignty in that part of Panama burglarized by Teddy Roosevelt must be done in a careful way, protecting the great American interest in the transit, security and modernization of the Canal.

But that is not the case made by Strom Thurmond. He believes that the Canal and Canal Zone are American property ("we bought it"), that the Panamanians are too unstable and too vulnerable to communism to be given back sovereignty, and that the Panamanians as well as ourselves will be better off if the United States hangs on.

If such views strike you as combining all of the narrow commercialism and patronizing moralism of the golden age of American empire-building, then you understand just how inappropriate and downright dangerous those views are at a time when the United States ought to be adjusting its Canal position to the realities of contemporary Latin nationalism.

Thurmond, though, is something else. Gracious in personal manner, he struck me as more than simply a throwback to another, simpler time. He struck me as, well, rapacious. Senator, a mean-minded man, someone who enjoys squeezing a little country such as Panama, who feels an indifference bordering on contempt for people who get in the way of American power.

His reserve general's stars adorn his desk nameplate. Military plaques cover his four office walls. With Thurmond when he received me were no fewer than five aides. All of them laughed on cue at his jokes: Might there not be sabotage? "You can't afford to surrender your house when someone breaks in." Two of the aides, well versed in Canal and treaty affairs, filled in the gaps on the several occasions when Thurmond's recollection of fact or argument faltered.

Like other children of the right who resent that the United States cannot just have its way in the world, Thurmond regards American diplomats essentially as agents planted by hostile governments within our own. That President Ford should even consider negotiating a new Canal treaty with Panama he attributes, darkly, to "the influence of the State Department."

From the ranks of the Americans who live and work in the Canal Zone and from some parts of the military and other special interests that enjoy the status quo, Thurmond apparently runs a formidable intelligence network, which seems to feed him all manner of tips and information on what the enemy—that is to say, the State Department—is about.

In April he came upon something worthy enough to produce a phone call from Henry Kissinger. Thurmond repeated to Kissinger his long-standing warning against sending up a new treaty to the Senate. Kissinger replied, by Thurmond's chortling account, that he might have to send it up just to get the government off the spot with the Panamanians.

In fact, the new treaty is still under negotiation with Panama and no decision seems yet to have been taken on the final terms or on when to submit it to the Senate. Because the return of American property would also be involved, legislation will have to be submitted to the House as well as the Senate at the same time under Article IV, Section III, Clause 2 of the Constitution. That clause gives Congress "power to dispose of . . . the territory or other property belonging to the United States."

Thurmond has mustered 37 senators, enough to block ratification of a new treaty, behind a resolution enshrining his own principles in the matter. To the suggestion that some signatories may not be so devoted to it in the clutch as he, he responds that other non-signatories, such as Foreign Relations Committee Chairman John Sparkman, have told him they will go along.

So what is the President of the United States to do when he is confronted on a key regional foreign-policy issue by a powerful legislator who not only promises a very tough fight on the particular issue but who disposes of considerable influence in a narrow but politically sensitive part of Mr. Ford's election-year constituency?

It was easy by comparison to send the Marines after the Mayaguez. Gerald Ford's decision on the Panama Canal will be a much sterner and more revealing test of his capacity for leadership in the White House.

WASHINGTON POST 23 MAY 1975, Pg 20

NATO Sets Anti-Waste Practices

By David Fouquet
Special to The Washington Post

BRUSSELS, May 22—NATO today moved to eliminate wasteful and duplicate defense purchasing practices that experts for years had said were sapping the alliance's resources and military capability.

Against a background of major weapons negotiations, the United States and its allies agreed to try to implement the high-sounding promises they have long been making to one another.

The United States said it would increase its purchases of European and Canadian hardware and the European members of NATO made plans to work out a shopping list for the United States by the end of the year when defense ministers meet again. The NATO staff was instructed to study creation of an organization within the alliance to plan develop and purchase equipment jointly.

While these economic issues dominated the first day of the semiannual two-day meeting of NATO defense chiefs here today, the gathering also considered NATO's deteriorating southern flank and prepared for next week's meeting here between President Ford and most of his NATO colleagues.

The discussion of the Mediterranean flank touched on such sensitive issues as the feud between Greece and Turkey, the American cutoff of defense equipment to Turkey and Spain's connection with the alliance.

With the cost of weapons spiraling, and pressure to trim outlays increasing, most delegations here acknowledged that changes had to be made in procurement procedures. A study for the U.S. government estimated that the 15 countries wasted $10 billion to $20 billion annually. A source said that an expert told the ministers today that "The military has its teeth into this issue and won't let go."

American Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger met with British Defense Minister Roy Mason, who told Schlesinger that the European members—four of whom are considering a billion-dollar purchase of American aircraft—insist that the United States increase its purchases abroad. Sources here said Europe suffers a 10-to-1 trade deficit in its military commerce with the United States.

Sources said that Mason "got what he came for" in his discussions with Schlesinger. American officials added "There was a widely shared general agreement that purchases both ways across the Atlantic could and should be substantially increased."

In other matters today, the ministers noted that some progress has been made in reconciling Greece and Turkey, that Italy is modernizing its navy and that France, which does not participate in NATO military operations, has nevertheless moved part of its fleet from the Atlantic to beef up the Mediterranean defense.

According to sources in the meeting, there was a debate over the American proposal that Spain's contribution to the Western defense be acknowledged. Spain, which is not a member of NATO, is negotiating with Washington for continued presence of American bases and has pressed the United States to seek some connection for it with the alliance.

WASHINGTON POST
23 MAY 1975
Pg G7

Recruiting Blitz

EL CAJON, Calif—Inside the Granite Hills High School gymnasium, students cradled automatic weapons. Outside, helicopters droned overhead, disgorging Navy skydivers and Marine commandos.

This wasn't an international crisis unfolding. It was all part of a one-day recruiting blitz Wednesday at the school.

More than 100 members of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines set up displays, put on demonstrations and talked to students about military careers.

The Navy Parachute Team from Coronado, Calif., and members of the elite 1st Marine Reconnaissance Battalion at Camp Pendleton, Calif., put on displays of skydiving and rappelling from hovering helicopters. A Navy rock band also entertained the students.

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WASHINGTON POST - 23 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Arms Ban Threatens U.S. Ties, Turkey Says

By Murrey Marder
Washington Post Staff Writer

ANKARA, May 22 — Turkish Foreign Minister Ihsan Sabri Caglayangil warned today that failure to lift the U.S. arms embargo on Turkey quickly will "seriously imperil our relations," but he stopped short of setting a deadline on closing any American bases here.

His blunt warning was delivered this morning at the opening session of the Central Treaty Organization's annual meeting, which Kissinger attended for the first time to try to reassure U.S. allies of American steadfastness after the defeats in Indochina.

Turkey is the most aggrieved U.S. ally here because Congress cut off its military supplies on Feb. 5 as a result of the Greek-Turkish clash over Cyprus.

There was no public sign that Turkey was significantly mollified by Monday's 41-to-40 Senate vote to resume arms sales and aid. The narrowness of the vote followed by assertions that House backers of the arms cutoff have enough votes to kill the Senate bill registered strongly here.

Kissinger had counted on getting new diplomatic leverage out of the Senate action to help resolve the Greek-Turkish snarl over Cyprus. He told Caglayangil in private that without some move toward compromise with Greece the Senate bill is headed for defeat in the House.

Kissinger hopes to make some headway here in setting the stage for compromise between the prime ministers of Turkey and Greece when they meet with President Ford at the North Atlantic Treaty Organization summit conference next week in Brussels.

The Cyprus conflict led Greece to pull out of NATO's military organization on the ground that NATO had failed to prevent Turkish troops from landing on Cyprus last July, and Congress cut off military supplies to Turkey because it used American weapons against a NATO ally.

The continuing Cyprus dilemma, American officials fear, could lead to the dismantling of the 25 U.S. bases in Turkey, including some considered important to the defense of the United States. These bases include a key link in the American early warning system for detecting the launching of Soviet missiles at the American continent.

Diplomatic sources indicated that Turkey is not eager to close any American bases, but has been hinting of this possibility in private discussions.

U.S. officials are concerned that out of exasperation Turkey might start cutting off U.S. base facilities directly affecting the United States but of less importance to Turkey and other NATO members.

The Turkish base network, the most extensive in the NATO defense network for gathering intelligence about the Soviet Union, has numerous electronic eavesdropping centers. It also includes a major air base system that is vital for traffic to the Middle East.

While the Cyprus dispute is not technically at issue at this CENTO meeting, in reality it dominates the scene. Turkey is a member of CENTO; Greece is not. The United States, while not a member, is attending the meeting as an observer-participant.

As Kissinger listened from a seat near by, Turkey's Caglayangil told the CENTO foreign ministers that "The attitude of the U.S. Congress to link the Cyprus problem with the military aid and military equipment supply to Turkey created a very regrettable situation that would entail inevitable negative effects on the close cooperation and friendship between Tukey and the U.S.A. While the U.S. is furnishing and selling arms to more than 90 countries, it is extremely difficult to explain the reasons of this attitude to Turkish public opinion."

"I regret to say," Caglayangil went on, "that if the U.S. position on this matter does not change within the approximate future, this situation will gain proportions that would seriously imperil our relations."

His prepared text said that serious U.S.-Turkish problems would develop "within the immediate future." The slight softening to "the approximate future" appeared to be gesture to Kissinger's presence. Caglayangil said, "We are appreciative of both President Ford's and Dr. Kissinger's efforts to correct this situation, which would have negative repercussions not only on Turkish-U.S.A. relations but also on our defense preparations and consequently on the security of the region."

Kissinger, in his formal statement to the council, reiterated that "The United States regards Turkey as a valued friend and ally," and said Washington will "make every effort for further progress in restoring our normal defense relationship with Turkey."

"The United States strongly supports efforts aimed at ending the disputes between Turkey and Greece," he said, "for we consider their relationship important to the security of both countries, to the security of the Mediterranean, and to the security of Europe."

Kissinger said the United States will "continue to do our utmost in the Cyprus dispute to encourage a just and durable solution that promotes the welfare of the people on the island and maintains the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence of Cyprus."

Turkey landed about 35,000 troops on Cyprus in the name of preserving the rights of the Turkish minority there from the Greek majority, and still occupies about 40 per cent of the island. At the height of Turkish military activity on the island there were about 40,000 troops there, but now, according to both Turkish and American sources, the Turkish troop level has been reduced to about 25,000.

Turkey is insisting on creating a two-zone federal state on Cyprus. Greece protests that this would virtually man two separate nations, with Turkey getting through force a disproportionate amount of territory.

Kissinger's main theme before the CENTO member nations—Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and Britain—was that the United States" is determined to reaffirm its ties to its allies," especially after "some months of trials" for America, a clear allusion to setbacks for U.S. policy in Indochina and the Middle East.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
23 MAY 1975 Pg. 2

Schlesinger sees Warsaw Pact buildup

Brussels

Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger said Thursday that the United States plans to strengthen its forces in Central Europe, where the Soviet-led countries of the Warsaw Pact have been building up their military strength "despite detente."

Mr. Schlesinger also cited "significant reductions in overall U.S. force levels since 1969."

Here to attend a two-day conference of North Atlantic Treaty Organization defense ministers, Mr Schlesinger made his comments in an article written for NATO's monthly magazine made available here in advance of publication.

The NATO alliance, he said, must overcome pressures to reduce its forces if it is to keep a strong negotiating position with the Warsaw Pact countries on East-West forces reductions.

WASHINGTON POST
23 MAY 1975 Pg. 6

Weapons Debate

The Senate began debate on a $30.3 billion weapons bill with Sen. John Stennis (D-Miss.) arguing against "a military letdown" in the aftermath of South Vietnam's loss to the Communists.

Stennis, chairman of the Armed Services Committee, said, "The Communists are not going to rest on their laurels."

He spoke after Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) said that "excessive military spending is heading us toward financial bankruptcy or a nuclear war — whichever comes first."

Cranston said that at least 20 amendments will be offered to cut the funds authorized by the Armed Services Committee for the purchase of weapons and for Pentagon research and development.

However, no votes are to be taken until after the recess, when what has been billed as "a great debate" on foreign and defense policies is scheduled.

Stennis said he welcomed the forthcoming debate, but said many of the proposed amendments "already have run the gauntlet in the House and been defeated."

The House-passed bill authorizes a total of about $32 billion.

Opposing any "drastic drawdowns" in the nation's military forces, Stennis said, "We should have the strength and power to do what is best for our interests."

Cranston said the United States "should be a peaceful world neighbor instead of a militant world meddler. . . . One of these days our tendency to resort to military forces to resolve our national frustrations will lead to total disaster, for us and all mankind."

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NEW YORK TIMES
23 MAY 1975
Pg 9

IRAN SAYS KILLERS WILL NOT ESCAPE

Leads in Assassination of U.S. Officers Reported

By ERIC PACE
Special to The New York Times

TEHERAN, Iran, May 22—Well-placed Iranian and foreign sources said today that Iranian security forces were following up several leads in their hunt for the terrorists who shot to death two United States Air Force colonels here yesterdaBy.

The newspaper of the Shah's political party asserted, without elaborating, that the killers would doubtlessly be captured soon.

The Teheran press seemed to be trying to rebut and allay any lingering anti-americanism here. It cited the killings in countering charges by foreign critics that the Shah's regime was overly harsh.

No arrests or further acts of political violence were reported today. The reportedly intensive search for the assassins did not disrupt the staccato pace of life here.

It was in the wealthy northern sector of the city that Col. Paul R. Shaffer Jr. of Bryan, Ohio, and Lieut. Col. John H. Turner of Christopher, Ill., both 45 years old, were killed. They were ambushed at 6:30 A.M. yesterday as they were being driven to their offices at the Iranian ArmBed Forces headquarters here. They were members of the 200-man Military Assistance Advisory Group.

Embarrassment the Goal

At least three terrorists were said to have been involved. Anonymous telephone callers told Iranian journalists yesterday that the ambush was the work of a clandestine group, the Iranian People's Fighters Organization, and that it was an act of retaliation for atrocities by the Iranian Government against political prisoners.

"There is no doubt that in the near future the terrorists will be arrested and brought to justice," the newspaper Rastakhiz said in an editorial today. The paper represents Iran's sole legal political grouping, the Rastakhiz, or National Resurgence, party.

Iranian officials have indicated that undermining and embarrassing the Shah's Government was the terrorists' aim in killing the two officers, who are said to have worked on Iranian armed forces planning and personnel matters.

Well-placed informants, including Iranians, Americans and other foreign officials, said the leads being followed up by the Iranian authorities included the following:

¶An unidentified witness took down the license number of the car that the terrorists used to get away, after trapping the officers' car between two others, and killing the men. But whom the getaway car belonged to, whether it was found, and if so, where, and whether it yielded fingerprints or other clues—none of this was disclosed.

¶Another witness, a gardener named Yadollah Jalali, who had worked for one of the officers, saw the whole ambush and has been cooperating with the security authorities as, presumably, the officers' Iranian chauffeur has. Iranian officials say that those who plotted the killing have been identified with virtual certainty.

¶At least one mimeographed document found in a car at the murder scene was said to have provided investigators with useful information.

NEW YORK TIMES 23 MAY 1975, Pg 2

Mansfield Forcing Fight Over Indian Ocean Base

By JOHN W. FINNEY
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 22—The Administration is facing an open challenge from Senator Mike Mansfield over whether the United States, in the period after the Vietnam war, should establish a military presence in the Indian Ocean by constructing a naval and air base on the island of Diego Garcia.

To the Administration, the issue is whether the United States' ability to support military operations in the Indian Ocean should be enhanced by what it describes as a "modest naval facility" on the small British island 1,000 miles south of India.

To Senator Mansfield, who has been pressing for a reassessment of American foreign policy, the proposed base presents a symbolic test of whether in the post-Vietnam period the United States is going to extend or contract its global commitments.

Through various maneuvers, Senator Mansfield, as chairman of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Military Construction, has posed a challenge that the Administration had hoped to avoid by slipping construction funds for the Diego Garcia base through Congress.

Last fall, Senator Mansfield attached an amendment to the military construction bill providing that no construction funds could be spent on the base until the President certified that it was "essential to the national interest of the United States." The Mansfield amendment also provided that the project could then be blocked by a resolution of disapproval adopted by either the House or Senate.

The Certification Came

With no publicity, President Ford on May 12 sent a one-paragraph letter to Congress certifying that construction of the Diego Garcia base was essential. The Presidential certification, according to Congressional aides, had been delayed as the State Department argued that it was not a propitious time to debate the American role in the Indian Ocean.

On Monday, Senator Mansfield introduced a resolution of disapproval that was referred to the Senate Armed Services Committee. The committee must report back to the Senate within 20 legislative days, setting the stage for a floor fight this summer or early fall.

The Defense Department wants to deepen the harbor and construct repair and supply facilities on the island—at an eventual cost of at least $175-million—so that it could support a carrier task force in the Indian Ocean. Plans also call for extending the runway to 12,000 feet so that it could handle reconnaissance aircraft and aerial tanker planes, thus making it possible for B-52 bombers to operate in the area.

A Communication Station

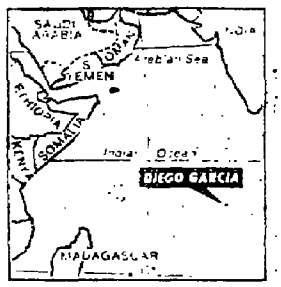
The Defense Department now operates a small communications station on the island. In proposing over the last five years that the island be expanded into a Navy support facility, the department has offered the following combination of political and military explanations:

¶The base is needed to ease the logistic burden of supporting naval operations in the Indian Ocean. The Defense Department has been conducting such operations since the 1973 Arab-Israeli war.

¶The United States must offset a growing Soviet naval presence in the Indian Ocean—a presence that is expected to increase with the reopening of the Suez Canal, scheduled for early next month.

¶That a projection of United States military power into the Indian Ocean would promote stability in the region and protect the sea lanes leading to Middle Eastern oil supplies.

In a statement accompanying his resolution of disapproval, Mr. Mansfield, the Senate majority leader, suggested that the Administration position represented "an extension of a policy of the United States trying to be policeman for the world in the face of our bitter experience in Vietnam."



The New York Times/May 23, 1975

Senator Mansfield questioned whether the United States had "vital interests" in the Indian Ocean. He noted, for example, that having a naval task force in the Indian Ocean "had no effect" in preventing the Arab nations from cutting off the flow of oil in 1973.

The Senator argued that the Diego Garcia base could be the stepping stone to "a three-ocean navy," with an Indian Ocean fleet used by the Navy to justify the maintenance of 15 aircraft carriers instead of the currently planned force of 12.

On the political side, he asked why the United States should "show the flag in an area of the world where the nations have requested that we not have our Navy there in force." He noted that last November, nations bordering on the Indian Ocean issued a policy statement opposing the construction of the United States naval base on Diego Garcia.

Senator Mansfield concedes that in the wake of Vietnam there is a greater Congressional reluctance to reduce the defense budget or foreign military commitments. But Senate aides believe that Mr. Mansfield may still be able to prevail on the Senate floor with the argument that this is no time to make a major new commitment in the Indian Ocean when the Administration and Congress are engaged in a reappraisal of American foreign policy.

NEW YORK TIMES 23 MAY 1975, Pg 3

North Vietnam and Thailand Begin Talks on New Ties

BANGKOK, Thailand, May 22 (Reuters)—North Vietnam and Thailand began talks here today toward establishment of normal relations, but gave no indication how the discussions were going.

A morning session was spent working out an agenda, Thai officials said. Later the two sides met for a two-hour working session. Hanoi side led by Deputy Foreign Minister Phan Hien and the Thai side by Foreign Minister Chatichai Choonhaven.

Mr. Hien said on arrival last night that he thought the time was right for establishing good relations, now that the Indochina war was over.

BALTIMORE SUN
23 MAY 1975, Pg 8

Ford ponders women cadets

Washington (AP)—President Ford is reserving judgment on whether it would be a good idea to admit women to the U S service academies.

The White House press secretary, Ron Nessen, was asked yesterday for Mr Ford's reaction to a House vote Tuesday to admit women to the military, naval and Air Force academies

"He wants to think about it a little bit," Mr Nessen said.

Legislation clearing the way for women cadets was passed by the House and sent to the Senate.

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FRIDAY MORNING, 23 MAY 1975

Pentagon Aide, Thurmond Tangle

By Jack Anderson and Les Whitten

Inside the Pentagon, it doesn't pay to mess with one of Strom Thurmond's boys.

Lt. Col. Wilfred Ebel found this out. He conducted a study, which rapped one of Thurmond's cronies as a lazy incompetent. There was a snort of annoyance from Old Strom. All of a sudden, Ebel's military career began collapsing around his ears.

Strom Thurmond, of course, is the strait-laced senator from South Carolina, a very model of a reserve major general, the Army's senior retread on Capitol Hill.

He helped to win World War II, and he has five battle stars and 18 decorations to prove it, including the Belgian Order of the Crown and the French Croix de Guerre.

At age 72, he marches through the Senate corridors, ramrod straight, as if to a military cadence. He is a power on the Senate Armed Services Committee where he fights for the Army with the same star-spangled fervor that he demonstrated on the battlefield.

Certainly, Thurmond is not one for a mere lieutenant colonel to tangle with. The unfortunate Ebel made the mistake of criticizing Maj. Gen. Milnor Roberts, the Army reserves chief, who happens to be one of Thurmond's World War II buddies.

Ebel was ordered to make a confidential study of Roberts' operation. His orders, Ebel has sworn, were to write a "no-holds-barred report."

This is precisely what the foolhardy lieutenant colonel did. He charged that Roberts, in his capacity as head of 730,000 reservists, was given to "intrigue," "indifference" and "lethargy." Roberts also lacked courage on tough decisions, wrote Ebel.

Subsequently, Ebel received a commendation for his "tremendous service" and "personal integrity." But this was before Old Strom spoke to Army Secretary Howard (Bo) Callaway about Ebel.

Callaway has assured us that Thurmond's approach was "low key." The senator passed on some allegations against Ebel. "He just said, 'Look into it,'" recalled Callaway. "There never was a case with less political influence."

Thurmond won't say who cooked up the charges against Ebel and slipped them to him. A classified Army document suggests that Roberts, the subject of Ebel's unflattering report, "may have been the source in this matter."

The Army reserves chief, although conceding he had spoken with both Thurmond and one of his aides about Ebel, denied he was the original purveyor of the rumors.

But from the moment Old Strom gave Ebel the evil eye, the world of the 44-year-old lieutenant colonel began to crumble. Here is the swift sequence of events:

• Callaway turned Thurmond's allegations against Ebel over to the Army inspector general to investigate.

• Astonishingly, the inspector general issued a report condemning Ebel for writing a "derogatory" report about Roberts. Yet Ebel's Pentagon superiors had ordered him to prepare a frank report. The inspector general also made some nitpicking charges about Ebel's putting in voluntary time and misleading the Army on a minor matter.

• Citing the inspector general's report as an excuse, Callaway dropped Ebel's name from the promotion list. He conceded that he had been "tougher" on Ebel than the inspector general had recommended but insisted this had nothing to do with Thurmond's intervention.

• Ebel had given up a top civil service job to return to the pentagon. But after he landed on Thurmond's blacklist, he found the Defense Department didn't want him.

When the Army began investigating Ebel because he put in free time at the Pentagon, this was the last straw. He retained an attorney, Frank Bartimo, the Defense Department's former assistant general counsel, to file charges.

At a closed-dooor meeting with Pentagon investigators, Bartimo charged that "this horrendous case ... affects the very core and heart of the reserve forces."

Now the tables are turned, and the Justice Department is being asked to look at Thurmond, Callaway and company.

Footnote: Both Callaway and Roberts denied any impropriety. Roberts also insisted that Ebel's criticism of his operation was unfair and inaccurate. Thurmond couldn't be reached. But the strong-willed old soldier has said in the past that he has the duty to present any allegations that are brought to his attention. The inspector general said he had received no pressure from Callaway but had called the shots as he saw them.

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WASHINGTON POST - 23 MAY 1975 Pg. 2

Ford to Name Science Adviser

By Victor Cohn
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Ford said yesterday that he will name a White House science adviser, a job abolished by former President Nixon in January, 1973.

Among issues Mr. Ford is seriously concerned with, one aide said, are whether aerosol sprays are depleting the ozone layer that protects the earth from the sun's harshest rays and whether catalytic converters on cars cause more dangerous air pollution than they eliminate.

Dr. H. Guyford Stever, head of the government's National Science Foundation, said the President also wants scientific advice on "the many issues in the confrontation between energy, the environment, and the economy."

Stever is considered a leading candidate for the new job. Whoever is named, said James Cannon, director of the Domestic Council, the new adviser's main role will be to sum up advice of civilian and government scientists.

Yesterday Mr. Ford told eight members of Congress who have pressed for some new White House science apparatus that he will soon send them a draft bill to create both a science adviser and a 15-member staff.

He acted on advice of Vice President Rockefeller, whom he asked last fall to examine the issue.

A White House science adviser, the Office of Science and Technology, and the President's Science Advisory Committee were first created by President Eisenhower. He did so after the 1957 Soviet Sputnik, the first space satellite, showed Americans that other nations were catching up technologically.

When President Nixon abolished the office his aides called it a move to reduce bureaucracy. But scientific groups said the decision was unwise.

Scientists noted that Nixon, like President Johnson, was unhappy with science advisers who argued against projects like the anti-ballistic missile and supersonic transport plane—and whose advice surfaced in public debates.

In 1973, after abolishing the science office, Nixon gave Stever the additional duty of being a science adviser as well as NSF director. But being both a presidential counselor and an agency head asked too much of one person, it was decided in recent weeks.

Some scientists have also argued that a presidential science adviser should again start providing independent assessment of new weaponry, a role Nixon reassigned to the National Security Council. Whether a new adviser will advise on military matters has not yet been decided, a source said yesterday.

Several bills have been introduced to re-establish a White House science office. Yesterday two of Mr. Ford's visitors—Sen. Frank Moss (D-Utah), Senate Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee chairman, and Rep. Olin Teague (D-Tex.), House Science and Technology Committee chairman—said they plan hearings on the issue. The House hearings are to start June 10.

"We welcome very much" the President's recommendations, Moss said, indicating there could soon be an agreement.

WASHINGTON POST
23 MAY 1975 Pg. 26

• Informed sources in Manila said Moslem rebels in the southern Philippines attacked a platoon of marines on Jolo Island, killing 11 and wounding 17.

BALTIMORE SUN
23 MAY 1975
Pg. 2

Apollo-Soyuz flight is okayed

Moscow Bureau of The Sun

Moscow—Senior American and Soviet space officials decided here yesterday that the joint Apollo-Soyuz space flight is all ready to go July 15.

Glynn S. Lunney, the American technical director for the project, said after an exhaustive review that "no issues or problems remain to be resolved" before the flight.

Konstantin Bushuyev, the Soviet technical director, said that the final checking of the spaceships and rockets is now beginning and that a final simulation flight would be held in late June to improve coordination of the control centers' work.

American officials said they were satisfied with the Soviet explanation of the April failure of the last Soviet manned space flight and were confident that similar problems would not interfere with the joint mission in July.

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CAMBODIANS 5-23
DAY LD
BY WARREN TALBOT
NEWPORT, R.I. (UPI) -- THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAS GRANTED POLITICAL ASYLUM TO 20 YOUNG CAMBODIAN NAVY OFFICERS WHO CAME TO THE UNITED STATES BEFORE THE COMMUNIST TAKEOVER OF THEIR COUNTRY.
THE STUDENTS, ALL LIEUTENANTS JUNIOR GRADE, RECEIVED PERMISSION THURSDAY TO STAY IN THE UNITED STATES FOR AN INDEFINITE PERIOD OF TIME, ACCORDING TO FRANK CASTELNOVO, DISTRICT DIRECTOR OF THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION.
"IT WAS FINALIZED TODAY. THEY CAN REMAIN HERE FOR AN INDEFINITE PERIOD," HE SAID THURSDAY IN PROVIDENCE.
THE SAILORS HAVE COMPLETED AN 18-WEEK COURSE AT INTERNATIONAL OFFICER CANDIDATE TRAINING SCHOOL WHICH IS BASED AT THE U.S. NAVY EDUCATION AND TRAINING CENTER. THEY RECEIVED CERTIFICATES OF GRADUATION TUESDAY IN PRIVATE CEREMONIES.
THEY HAVE BEEN LIVING IN BARRACKS AT THE SPRAWLING NAVY BASE BY THE SEA. THEIR GRADUATION CEREMONY WAS HELD THREE DAYS AHEAD OF TIME TO AVOID PUBLICITY. THEY HAVE REFUSED ALL REQUESTS FOR INTERVIEWS, FEARING REPRISALS ON THEIR FAMILIES AT HOME.
"IT'S UP TO THE NAVY NOW TO TURN THEM LOOSE. WE'VE GIVEN THE NAVY THE GREEN LIGHT TO LET THEM GO. THE NAVY DIDN'T WANT TO HOLD THEM FOR A LONG PERIOD OF TIME," CASTELNOVO SAID.
HE SAID HE "PRESUMES" ALL OF THEM HAVE SPONSORS TO HELP THEM RELOCATE IN NEW HOMES AND JOBS.
"THE NAVY WAS TAKING CARE OF THAT END. THE DECISION TO ALLOW THEM TO STAY HAS A LOT TO DO WITH WHETHER THEY HAVE SPONSORS. AS FAR AS I KNOW SOME WILL BE STAYING IN THE RHODE ISLAND AREA, AND OTHERS WILL BE MOVING AWAY TO DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE COUNTRY," HE SAID.
"THE ONLY THING WE ASK IS THAT THEY KEEP IN TOUCH WITH US SO WE WILL KNOW WHERE THEY ARE IF WE HAVE TO GET A HOLD OF THEM," CASTELNOVO SAID.
CASTELNOVO SAID HIS DEPARTMENT HAS RECEIVED DIRECTIVES NOT TO "PROCEED WITH THE FORCEABLE RETURN OF CAMBODIANS AND SOUTH VIETNAMESE."
HE SAID INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE CAMBODIANS BEGAN LAST MONTH, BUT THAT IT WAS NOT UNTIL LAST WEEK THAT THEY FORMALLY SOUGHT ASYLUM.
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LAOS 5-23
1ST LD A047
BY FREDERICK H. MARKS
VIENTIANE (UPI) -- COMMUNIST-LED LAOTIAN TROOPS TRIED TO ENTER A U.S. HOUSING COMPOUND OUTSIDE VIENTIANE TODAY, DELAYING THE START OF A MASS EVACUATION OF AMERICANS FROM LAOS.
TWO DOZEN LAOTIAN SOLDIERS BOARDED EVACUATION TRUCKS GOING INTO THE KILOMETER 6 AMERICAN COMPOUND, BUT WERE TURNED BACK BY U.S. GUARDS AT THE GATE.
THE TRUCKS WERE TO TAKE THE AMERICANS TO VIENTIANE AIRPORT FOR THE START OF AN AIRLIFT OF HUNDREDS OF U.S. OFFICIALS FROM LAOS. THE FLIGHT WAS DELAYED WHILE NEGOTIATORS TRIED TO BREAK THE IMPASSE.
THE SENIOR U.S. DIPLOMAT IN LAOS, CHARGE D'AFFAIRES CHRISTIAN CHAPMAN, SAID THE COMMUNIST-DOMINATED GOVERNMENT HAD GRANTED PERMISSION FOR ABOUT 80 AMERICANS TO LEAVE TODAY ABOARD A CHARTERED AIR LAO JETLINER.
"WE HAVE ASSURANCES FROM THE GOVERNMENT THAT A PLANELOAD CAN LEAVE BUT THE SOLDIERS ARE NOT OBEYING THOSE ORDERS," CHAPMAN TOLD NEWSMEN.
HE DEFENDED THE DECISION TO BAR THE TROOPS FROM THE COMPOUND, SAYING ENTRANCE OF THE LAOTIANS WOULD HAVE BEEN A BREACH OF DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITY.
"THIS IS A COMPOUND THAT HAS DIPLOMATIC STATUS," HE SAID. "IT IS UNACCEPTABLE TO HAVE PEOPLE GO ON OUR COMPOUND WITHOUT OUR AUTHORIZATION."
LAOTIAN FORCES LED BY THE COMMUNIST PATHET LAO HAVE BEEN RINGING THE COMPOUND FOR THREE DAYS, KEEPING HUNDREDS OF AMERICANS VIRTUAL PRISONERS INSIDE.
"THIS IS A PERIOD OF TURMOIL AND INEVITABLY THE LINES OF AUTHORITY AREN'T VERY CLEAR, BUT I HAVE NO EVIDENCE THERE WILL BE VIOLENCE AGAINST AMERICANS," CHAPMAN SAID.
HE SAID THE UNITED STATES WOULD CLOSE DOWN ALL AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OPERATIONS IN LAOS AND MOST OF THE 850 AMERICANS IN THE COUNTRY WOULD BE EVACUATED.
U.S. OFFICIALS SAID THE AMERICANS AT THE 140-HOME KILOMETER 6 COMPOUND -- MAINLY AID EMPLOYES -- HAD PLENTY OF FOOD AND WATER.
LAOTIAN MAIDS WERE ALLOWED TO LEAVE THE COMPOUND TO BUY SUPPLIES. THEY PASSED THE FOOD BACK ACROSS THE WIRE FENCE TO THE AMERICANS INSIDE.
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CURRENT NEWS

PART II - MAIN EDITION - 1130

THIS SUPPLEMENTS PART I-EARLY BIRD EDITION

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THURSDAY, MAY 22, 1975

NEW YORK TIMES - 22 MAY 1975 Pg. 12

Kissinger, in Berlin, Affirms U.S. Defense of Allies

By LESLIE H. GELB
Special to The New York Times

BERLIN, May 21—Secretary of State Kissinger stood at the rostrum of West Berlin's House of Representatives today to confirm the past and to repledge the United States to this city's future.

"As Berlin was the greatest symbol of the heroism of the immediate postwar period, it is also the acid test of the period we now hope to enter," Mr. Kissinger said.

In 1963, outside the building in which Mr. Kissinger spoke, the Schöneberger Rathaus, or City Hall, President John F. Kennedy identified himself with the people of West Berlin and symbolically linked the security of Berlin with the security of the United States.

Mr. Kissinger did the same today, saying, "the security of West Berlin remains a vital interest of the United States."

The Secretary of State spoke inside the gray and lumbering 1914 romanesque building and told his listeners: "This city is enjoying greater security than at any time in the last 30 years." He then talked about the 1971 agreement on Berlin, which validated the Western position in Berlin and the city's links with West Germany.

In the more troubled time of Mr. Kennedy's visit, the President spoke outside the building to crowds who were seeking American reassurance.

Mr. Kissinger on arriving and leaving Tegel Airport in West Berlin, spoke in German and in English.

At lunch, his German hosts paid a compliment to the Secretary's German origin and his policies of diplomacy serving him Prince Metternich Champagne.

While Mr. Kissinger's visit to West Berlin was planned months ago, he saw this moment—in the wake of the collapse of the American position in Indochina—as the right time to make another symbolic gesture of assurance. He said that Washington "will never seek peace by abandoning principles or sacrificing friends."

Earlier in the morning, at the United States headquarters in West Berlin, the publicity stol-

See ALLIES, Pg. 2

WASHINGTON POST - 22 MAY 1975 Pg. 22

U.S. Decides to Speed Up Laos Pullout

From News Dispatches

The United States has decided to speed up its pullout of Americans from Laos following recent attacks on U.S. personnel in Vientiane and Savannakhet, the State Department said yesterday.

Spokesman Robert Funseth said, however, that the State Department had no report from the embassy in Vientiane about whether the stepped-up evacuation had begun or how many of the estimated 1,000 Americans still in Laos would be removed.

The U.S. Charge d'Affaires in Laos, Christian A. Chapman, met with two Communist Pathet Lao Cabinet ministers last night in an attempt to resolve the most recent confrontation—the student occupation of the U.S. Agency for International Development compound in Vientiane with two Marines and a civilian inside it.

In the southern city of Savannakhet, a dozen Americans and six other persons began a second week under loose house arrest but reportedly were in no immediate danger.

Chapman, who met at the U.S. embassy with Culture Minister Maha Khou and Planning Minister Soth Pothrasy after an earlier meeting with Premier Souvanna Phouma, said many American families in Vientiane were "virtual prisoners," since they were stopped by policemen from going in and out of an American housing area.

Arrangements were being made in Vientiane for a chartered DC-6 to fly out some U.S. AID officials, their dependents and the dependents of other U.S. officials expected to leave soon, Jacques Leslie of the Los Angeles Times reported from Vientiane. He said it was probable that the charter would be the first of several in coming weeks to take out U.S. officials and their personal belongings.

Funseth indicated that the State Department's decision to speed up the evacuation was at least partly spurred by "the continuing situation in Savannakhet and this most recent incident in Vientiane."

He said the U.S. government would "thin out" its presence in Laos "in the next several weeks." He said the State Department did not know whether the U.S. embassy in Vientiane had advised nonofficial Americans to leave the country.

The students demonstrating against the Americans have demanded the immediate dissolution of AID in Laos and the departure of all of its U.S. employees. They also demand that the agency turn its facilities over to the Laotian government, including personal goods that have been imported tax free, and that taxes be paid on personal property of Americans before they leave the country.

The U.S. embassy said in a statement Monday that it was ready to "modify, reduce or eliminate" AID operations to meet the demands.

The political situation in Laos has changed rapidly in recent days, as the precarious three-way coalition government has lost most of its rightist representation through resignation and exile, leaving the Communist-led Pathet Lao in virtual control.

In the latest demonstration, about 200 students and some employees of AID climbed over the fence of the Aid compound in Vientiane and took it over early yesterday morning. The demonstrators also seized an AID warehouse five miles outside Vientiane and pre-

See LAOS, Pg. 2

WASHINGTON POST
22 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Senators Support Israel

By Stephen Isaacs
Washington Post Staff Writer

Seventy-five members of the Senate have signed a letter to President Ford that in effect demands that the United States continue its strong support of Israel. The Washington Post learned last night.

The letter was delivered to the White House yesterday evening and will be released publicly at a press conference in the Senate this morning.

The 75 signers constitute the largest number of senators ever to sign a pro-Israel letter or resolution. The previous high was 73, the number of members who signed a letter to then-Secretary of State William P. Rogers urging the administration to sell Phantom jets to Israel in 1970.

Senators involved in the signature-gathering said that the letter is particularly significant, coming just before the President's trip to meet with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and, later, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

Mr. Ford is due to leave early Wednesday for Brussels and will meet Sadat in Salzburg, Austria, on June 1 and 2. He will see Rabin in Washington later in June.

The senators also said it was significant that so many of

See ISRAEL, Pg. 2

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NEW YORK TIMES - 22 MAY 1975 Pg. 12

KENNEDY ASKS HALT TO A-ARMS TESTING

Special to The New York Times

Geneva, May 21—Senator Edward M. Kennedy called on the United States and the Soviet Union today to halt all nuclear weapons testing to give other nations a "real incentive" for renouncing the development of nuclear arms.

The Massachusetts Democrat also urged the two powers to begin "real reductions" in their own nuclear arsenals, addressed delegates to a 65-nation conference reviewing the effectiveness of the treaty banning the spread of nuclear weapons.

Many of the nonnuclear nations represented at the conference have also urged such action on Washington and Moscow as the most effective step to get more countries to accept the treaty.

The review conference is being held under the provisions of the five-year-old pact by which nonnuclear nations renounce the acquisition of nuclear arms and the nuclear powers pledge not to assist other countries to obtain such weapons.

ALLIES ... CONTINUED

al Secretary of State showed brief emotion. Faced with an honor guard dressed in blue, with American flags flying and with a band playing "The Star Spangled Banner," Mr. Kissinger's face reddened.

Minutes later when he informally addressed Americans assembled in the courtyard, he came close to echoing the old Kennedy words.

"All of these who doubt what American has stood for should visit Berlin," Mr. Kissinger said. They should come to this city, he continued, "where basic issues do not require explanation."

Berlin 'a Great Principle'

His listeners were moved, as seemingly were those who heard his last line at the House of Representatives: "We are confident that history will record Berlin not merely as a great city but as a great principle in the story of man's struggle for freedom."

After his visit here, Mr. Kissinger left for Turkey to attend a meeting of the Central Treaty Organization.

For Mr. Kissinger, since his days as a professor, Western Europe has meant primarily West Germany and West Berlin.

"To Henry, Washington and Bonn are the two key players," a Kissinger aide said. Bonn is the capital of the mightiest conventional military power in Central Europe and the deutschmark is the centerpiece of the European economy.

There is particularly high regard for Chancellor Helmut Schmidt among State Department officials dealing with European affairs.

These officials and Mr. Kissinger himself, it is said, view Mr. Schmidt as a transitional leader of West Germany — as the last in an old line and the first in a new. Konrad Adenauer rooted West Germany in the West and Ludwig Erhard consolidated this process. Willy Brandt opened the door to the East to legitimize Bonn's borders.

Mr. Schmidt is considered in the words of one official, "a new breed of cat." He is seen as more expressive of the new strong Germany, and as a man who will not follow the established pattern that whatever burdens are to be borne by the Western allies, West Germany must pay.

High State Department officials judge him to be an independent force to be reckoned with and regard his brand of nationalism as a healthy sign.

Support Appreciated

They particularly liked Mr. Schmidt's quiet but clear backing of the American position at the recent consumer-producer conference on energy in Paris. Mr. Kissinger is taking special care that the Soviet position calling for a reduction of West German forces in the early stages of any mutual force reduction agreement in Europe does not lead to Bonn's isolation.

For when Mr. Kissinger and his aides privately express concern about Germany's future it is no longer couched in terms of renascent German militarism. Their expressed concern is of "a free-floating West Germany."

Such a West Germany, in their eyes, would result in an anti-American, French-style policy at best and at worst, an unhinging of a Western Europe oriented toward the United States.

LAOS ... CONTINUED

vented traffic from entering or leaving a residential area where many AID officials live. The demonstrators carried away goods from the AID compound and warehouse.

AID now has stationed in Laos slightly fewer than the 162 officials tabulated during the last count, at the end of April.

Students who seized the compound hung signs from the chain-link fence around it saying, "Americans Leave," and "CIA Go Home."

No Americans were allowed to enter the compound, although three stayed from the beginning of the seizure.

By mid-afternoon yesterday, students had broken into many of the dozen buildings inside the compound, but they had not entered the two main office buildings where the two Marine Guards were. The Marines were in radio contact with officials at the nearby U.S. embassy.

Tension throughout the rest of Vientiane's American community appeared to increase substantially.

The embassy issued a press release stating that Chapman met with Laotian Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma and Foreign Minister Phoumi Vongvichit "to protest these illegal actions."

ISRAEL ..... CONTINUED

them signed, indicating, they said, that there has not been an erosion of support for Israel in Congress, as some reports have indicated.

The letter states that the Senate wants to have a voice in the reassessment of American policy toward the Middle East, which Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger announced late in March when his latest peace-making effort in the Middle East failed.

The letter also threatens Mr. Ford's foreign aid bill, saying:

"Within the next several weeks, the Congress expects to receive your foreign aid requests for fiscal year 1976. We trust that your recommendations will be responsive to Israel's urgent military and economic needs. We urge you to make it clear, as we do, that the United States acting in its own national interests stands firmly with Israel in the search for peace in future negotiations, and that this premise is the basis of the current reassessment of U.S. policy in the Middle East."

Notable among those 24 senators who did not agree to sign the letter is Sen. Charles H. Percy (R-Ill.), who until five months ago had been a staunch supporter of Israeli policies.

He spent from Jan. 3 to Jan. 28 in the Middle East and declared that Israel ought to be more flexible, and ought to deal with the Palestinians and, in specific, with Yasser Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

One Senate source who had a hand in drafting the letter said it has two main points, one explicit and one implicit.

"Explicitly," he said, "it says, 'Mr. President, we've heard of your reassessment. It is not a unilateral activity to be undertaken in the State Department.

"'Here's our view on reassessment — i.e., all the main outlines of American policy stand. We wanted to make it very clear, Mr. President, where the Congress stands. Whatever you're doing, we want you to take this into account.'

"Secondly, implicitly, the fact that 75/99th of the Senate are taking this stand at this time refutes the whole idea that there's erosion. In fact, there's more support than before:

"The so-called erosion is a myth created by the media, and some elements of the administration have been quietly suggesting it was so in various quarters."

A key word in the Senate letter is "defensible" in connection with Israel's borders.

"Since 1967," the letter says, "it has been American policy that the Arab-Israeli be settled on the basis of secure and recognized boundaries that are defensible, and direct negotiations between the nations involved. We believe that this approach continues to offer the best hope for a just and lasting peace."

". . . We believe," the senators said, "that a strong Israel constitutes a most reliable barrier to domination of the area by outside parties. Given the recent heavy flow of Soviet weaponry to Arab states, it is imperative that we not permit the military balance to shift against Israel.

"We believe that preserving the peace requires that Israel obtain a level of military and economic support adequate to deter a renewal of war by Israel's neighbors. Withholding military equipment from Israel would be dangerous, discouraging accommodation by Israel's neighbors and encouraging a resort to force . . ."

Those, besides Percy who did not sign the letter include: James Abourezk (D-S.D.), Howard H. Baker Jr. (R-Tenn.); Dewey F. Bartlett (R-Okla.); Henry L. Bellmon (R-Okla.); Quentin N. Burdick (D-N.D.); Harry F. Byrd Jr. (Ind.-Va.); Carl T. Curtis (R-Neb.); James O. Eastland (D-Miss.); Paul J. Fannin (R-Ariz.); Robert P. Griffin (R-Mich.); Clifford P. Hansen (R-Wyo.); Mark O. Hatfield (R-Ore.); Jesse A. Helms (R-N.C.); Ernest F. Hollings (D-S.C.); J. Bennett Johnston Jr. (D-La.); Russell B. Long (D-La.); John L. McClellan (D-Ark.); James A. McClure (R-Ida.); Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.); William L. Scott (R-Va.); John J. Sparkman (D-Ala.); John C. Stennis (D-Miss.), and Milton R. Young (R-N.D.).

Fifty Democrats and 25 Republicans did sign.

Nineteen senators solicited their fellow members for signatures, with the staffs of Sens. Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) and Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) taking the lead.

Pro-Israel lobbyists were particularly pleased by the fact that all 10 freshmen senators signed.

In a related development yesterday, six senators and 45 congressmen sent a telegram to the director general of the World Health Organization in Geneva, threatening a cutoff of American financing of WHO if the organization constricts Israel's participation. Some reports have indicated WHO is considering such a move.

"In light of the recent experience with UNESCO, we would not want to see any action which would inevitably lead to a diminution of U.S. support for your organization in Congress," the telegram said.

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LOS ANGELES TIMES - 21 MAY 1975 Pg. 2/4 (22)

Ex-Officers Sue Over Early Discharges

39 Navy Men, 9 Marines Narrowly Miss Retirement Benefits

BY KAY COOPERMAN
Times Staff Writer

After 19 years, 8 months and 29 days of active duty in the Navy, Lt. Robert Ballard involuntarily became a civilian late last week.

He was passed over twice for promotion, and according to a federal statute, that is cause for discharge.

Thirty-eight other Navy lieutenants and nine Marine Corps officers have found themselves in similar positions, some having been discharged May 1, others awaiting their discharge some time before June 30.

All were just short of the length of duty required to receive retirement benefits.

But on April 7, the 48 officers filed suits charging that many of the promotion procedures employed by the Navy and Marine Corps are archaic and unconstitutional. Age discrimination also was charged.

Ballard, 37, an Alpine resident, thinks it is unfair that he should come so close to the 20-year mark and be discharged with no retirement compensation.

He first received his notice of discharge in 1972. At that time, he filed suit against the Navy on a sex discrimination charge.

A U.S. District Court issued a temporary restraining order allowing him to continue in active duty during litigation.

There are provisions in the U.S. Code guaranteeing women a minimum of 13 years in the service once they achieve officer status, Ballard said.

If this were applied to men, he argued, it would have enabled him to serve the 20 years required for receiving retirement benefits. He was victorious in the lower court, but lost when the Navy appealed to the Supreme Court.

Ballard said he became an officer in 1962 after seven years of enlisted duty because of the retirement program he understood commissioned service included.

"Having studied the normal promotion flow charts, based on the federal government's time and grade requirements," Ballard said, "I could anticipate 13 years in commissioned service before being eligible for lieutenant commander," the level of promotion for which he was just passed over. The 13 years added to his previous seven enlisted years would have given him his 20.

When Vietnam broke loose in 1964, the promotion schedules were accelerated and instead of the 13 years he thought he had coming to him before having to apply for promotion, he ended up with nine.

When he came before the selection board for promotion, it was peacetime and the Navy was cutting back on its officer corps.

Ballard said the selection board selected the most qualified men to be promoted. He added, "I'm not surprised I failed the selection" because of his age and relative lack of education.

He said he requested a transfer back to enlisted or reserve status so he could meet the retirement quota, but for unknown reasons his request was denied.

When Ballard received his discharge papers dated Thursday, the effective date was listed as June, 1972. This means the two years, 10½ months he served under the temporary restraining order had not been counted by the Navy for retirement purposes.

"It implies that I was retained on active duty pending some disciplinary action," Ballard said. Such a notation on his discharge papers, he expects, will hurt him in his future job hunting.

It was this point that caught the interest of U.S. Sen. John Tunney's aide in San Diego.

Jim Skelly is investigating the reasons behind the promotion failures and also the basis for including the information about serving time under a court injunction on the discharges.

Of the 48 involved, Skelly said, "They're all guys with outstanding military service." He thinks the reasons the officers failed to obtain promotions could center on their age.

The Navy and Marine Corps, he said, "are orienting the services now toward a younger, more stable officer corps."

"The situation is really awful. They're really patriots, these guys. They were working-class people who thought they were getting a good deal" when they enlisted, he said.

Peter Bowie, the attorney from the San Diego district U.S. attorney's office handling the Navy's defense, said he does not see any constitutional question or example of unfair play.

Bowie said the Navy followed statutes set down by Congress permitting little room for question. If anything, Bowie suggested, the officers should question the Congress on its statutes, not the Navy.

Congress, he continued, specifies the numbers of officers the different branches of service should have at each level.

As the level of officer gets higher, the number of men needed decreases, he said.

Once an officer reaches a certain level, he is guaranteed his 20-year quota and the corresponding retirement benefits. None of the 48 officers, he said, has reached this level and therefore, had no guarantee.

Bowie also pointed out that the Pension Reform Act of 1974, which decreased the minimum working years for private industry pension plans to 15, specifically states it does not apply to the armed services.

A lawyer for the officers, Lawrence Baldauf, said his case involves constitutional guarantees of equal protection under the law, as well as an age discrimination question.

Baldauf said he believes the Pension Reform Act should apply to servicemen as well as private workers based on the constitutional guarantee of equal protection under the law.

Other causes of action he lists include the fact that officers are not given the opportunity to plead their cases before the selection board and that their failure to obtain promotion was based on "dollars and cents" (referring to the peacetime cutback) and not on the officers' fitness.

Concerning the age discrimination charge, the Navy said the percentage of officers in line for promotion with "birthdates of 1940 or earlier" is similar to the percentage of those in that age group who received promotions.

"The selection percentages are essentially the same, indicating no discrimination by the selection board because of age," said naval headquarters in Washington.

The $16.8 million suit ($350,000 per officer) is filed in federal court in San Diego where the already delayed initial hearing is scheduled today. All parties involved expect the suit to take several years.

WASHINGTON POST
22 MAY 1975 Pg. 6

Mayaguez Report

BOGOTA, N.J.—The radio operator whose SOS alerted U.S. forces to the capture of the Mayaguez yesterday said a Cambodian officer told him the crew of the merchant ship would have been held at least two months had it not been for the American military action.

Wilbert N. Bock, 51, who said he broadcast distress signals for 10 hours after the Cambodians seized his ship May 12, said, "I know we wouldn't have been freed without the attack."

WASHINGTON POST
22 MAY 1975 Pg. 6

Stranded Cambodians

NEWPORT, R.I.—A U.S. Immigration officer yesterday said some of the 20 Cambodian naval officers who seek political asylum apparently have been offered jobs and places to live in the United States.

The Cambodians, all lieutenants junior grade, have completed an 13-week course at the International Officer Candidate School at the U.S. Naval Education and Training Center. They were stranded here after Cambodia toppled to Khmer Rouge insurgents last month.

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Part II--Main Edition--22 May 1975

SAN ANTONIO EXPRESS-NEWS 18 MAY 1975(22) Page 30-C

AF chief says air power stall U.S. mistake

By JESSE HENRY JR.

Frequent restrained use of air power translated to the enemy a lack of decisiveness in the Vietnam War and was thus a mistake on the U.S. military's part.

That observation was put forth Saturday by U.S. Air Force Gen. George S. Brown, chairman of the joint chiefs of staff.

The general apoke at the annual awards dinner for the Order of Daedalians, a national fraternity of military pilots. About 400 members and wives attended the banquet at Villita Assembly Hall.

"Our repeated bombing pauses, which were politically designed to give the leadership in Hanoi an opportunity to alter its course, were instead taken by the enemy as evidence our leaders were not sure of their strategy," Gen. Brown said.

He noted that such "restrained use" of air power was not only politically ineffective but also in violation of basic military principles.

"But once the rules that restricted its employment were relaxed . . . air power contributed decisively to the negotiations which led to the return of our prisoners and ended our direct participation in that tragic war," Brown commented.

He said although it is our country's national objective to "deter any and all wars," we must maintain a strong and effective defense structure.

Brown explained, "The principal burden of maintaining a worldwide military balance, which is the basis for the security and survival of the free world, rests squarely on the United States."

The U.S. currently has formal commitments for mutual defense with 41 nations either by multi-lateral or bi-lateral agreements, the joint chiefs head said.

Concerning U.S. trustworthiness abroad as an ally in the wake of the Southeast Asia tragedy, Brown offered:

"In my opinion, we have got to face this issue head on and re-establish our national credibility with our allies, with our adversaries and especially ourselves."

We must begin to do this, he urged, by building up our economic and military strength with allocation of the "necessary share of our gross national product to national security."

Daedalian award winners were the 29th Supply Squadron, Craig AFB, Ala.; Phoenix Missile System, Phoenix, Ariz.; 119th Fighter Interceptor Group Hector Field, Fargo, N. D.; Capt. William W. Moss and Flight 841 crew, Pan American World Airways; Department of Undergraduate Flight Training, Army Aviation Center, Fort Rucker, Ala.; Training Squadron 19, NAS, Meridian, Miss., and Tactical Air Command, Langley AFB, Va.

WASHINGTON STAR 23 MAY 1975(A-8)

Hill Bides Time As Martin Rests

By Henry S. Bradsher
Washington Star Staff Writer

The last American ambassador in Vietnam, Graham A. Martin, is going on vacation in Europe and has not yet decided when to come back to the United States.

Some members of Congress have expressed interest in questioning Martin on the way instructions from Washington were carried out in the final days before Saigon fell. Handling of the evacuation has been particularly controversial.

But staff members on both the House International Relations Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee say that no formal request has been made from Martin to appear on Capitol Hill.

As U.S. officials who worked under Martin in Vietnam trickled back to Washington, harsh comments are being heard about the ambassador's direction of American affairs, especially in the final weeks from the Communist capture of northern South Vietnam until the American evacuation April 29.

ONE OFFICAL said yesterday he was bitter about the failure to make arrangements for the evacuation of Vietnamese who worked for the U.S. government. Only about one-third of those under his supervision who had wanted and expected to be evacuated were taken out.

Other stories which have come out involve delays in making evacuation arrangements until it was too late to set up a workable plan. As a result, many Americans, including U.S. government officials, were left to their own devices.

Martin had already been controversial for the way he ran the embassy after becoming ambassador to Vietnam in June 1973. Some independent-minded American diplomats were replaced with sycophants, for instance, and Martin distorted evidence to protect the image of former President Nguyen Van Thieu's regime.

The Ford administration had thought to put all that behind it now to avoid a rehashing of what went wrong in Vietnam. The lessons have been learned, Ford said two weeks ago without specifying what the lessons were.

THAT DID NOT satisfy some members of Congress. But Congress has been absorbed lately in business which has been delayed by the long argument over extra military aid first for Cambodia and then Vietnam.

One congressional expert on foreign affairs said yesterday the Vietnam question might not be dead yet. When Congress returns from recess June 2, some members could raise again the question of Martin's conduct.

Martin is believed to have up to three months of accrued vacation time which he might now take. A spokesman at the State Department said the attitude is that Martin has earned a chance to relax.

"No one feels there is any pressure to have him come back — no one wants to push him," a spokesman said.

After he was flown by a Marine helicopter to a U.S. Navy ship in the South China Sea just before Saigon fell to the Communists, Martin went to the Philippines. He was reported recovering there from pneumonia and general exhaustion.

NOW HE HAS recovered enough to have gone to Bangkok.

As ambassador to Thailand from 1963 to 1967, Martin was responsible for making the agreements with Thailand that enabled the United States to use Thai air bases to bomb Vietnam, Laos, and later Cambodia.

Martin's old embassy in Bangkok is now having an awkward time over American use of those bases in the Mayaguez affair and is under pressure to close them.

Word reaching Capitol Hill was that embassy officials felt unhappy about Martin's presence at this time. He is unwanted there, according to this report.

The State Department said Martin is going to Europe soon. He owns a home in Italy, where he was ambassador from 1969 to 1973.

Some sources report that Martin hopes to be appointed to a new ambassadorship, although at the age of 62 and with 42 years of government service, he could retire.

HIS NOMINATION to another post would require Senate approval. That probably would reopen the argument which raged last month over his handling of affairs in Saigon. Senate members in particular were angered by his slowness in reducing the U.S. presence in South Vietnam when evacuation became a likelihood.

Because of the controversy, it was considered possible on Capitol Hill that Ford would decide not to nominate him to a new post.

The other American ambasssador who lost a country last month, John Gunther Dean, came home from Cambodia after the U.S. Marine evacuation from Phnom Penh. Dean had the normal State Department consultations after leaving an ambassadorial post and is to take vacation pending a new assignment.

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EDITORIALS

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
22 May 1975

Keeping U.S. troops overseas

The massive House vote against withdrawing 70,000 American troops from overseas was the right decision at the right time. It does not preclude reassessment or future reductions.

But the suitable moment for any reduction is somewhere down the road, beyond the world's shaky mood after the events in Indo-China. For Congress to support the administration in this reading of the situation is to signal all nations that the U.S. Government is united in the will not to abdicate its military role in the aftermath of Vietnam.

Certainly there must be understanding of the position of the congressional sponsor of the proposed cuts, Ronald Dellums. He argued that, in view of the nation's limited resources, the Congress ought to begin reducing American commitments abroad "to address mounting human problems at home." The President and Congress need to convey to the country that they are just as much concerned to meet these problems of their own people as they are to pursue national objectives overseas.

But the solutions to problems at home require security for the freedom to seek them democratically. To ensure this security, the House has ratified the administration view that now is not the time to cut 70,000 troops from the Far East, where it had been suggested that most of the cuts could be made. Nor would it be the time to cut American troops in Europe, as is perennially proposed.

In Europe withdrawals would need to be part of East-West "mutual balanced force reductions." Eventually America's allies should be able to take over more of the burden. But many are more hard-pressed economically than the U.S. at the moment.

They can become more effective by improving the quality of their effort, not simply adding troops (which West Germany could not do anyway without violating treaties). Standardization of military equipment in NATO could also enhance effectiveness and economy without adding men. The U.S. is increasing combat strength by converting some 18,000 noncombat slots to combat roles.

Meanwhile, through European buying of U.S. planes and other offsetting measures, the U.S. balance-of-payments problem in keeping forces in Europe is largely met.

Also part of the new context for American military decisions is the judicious rather than rubber-stamping manner in which Congress is responding to administration requests. It is not like the 1950s when there was a feeling of running scared and going along with all sorts of expenditures that are now seen to have lacked cost-effectiveness. The legislators support the B-1 bomber, for example, but they keep a rein on expenditures.

With the government united on defense objectives — but implementing them with a tough eye on any recklessness or waste—the U.S. could make this postwar period a model of peacetime military realism.

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Terrorism in Iran

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
22 May 1975

Two United States Air Force officers were murdered in the streets of Tehran Wednesday, apparently by Iranian revolutionaries who want to drive a wedge between the United States and the government of Shah Reza Pahlavi.

This, at least, is the government's explanation, and there is every reason to believe it. The assassination was carried out by three carloads of gunmen as the officers were being driven to work at the American military aid mission, and was followed by an anonymous telephone call telling the Associated Press that the murder was "in retaliation for the execution of nine Iranian revolutionaries in prison last month."

The caller said that the murders were committed by the "Iranian People's Warriors Association" and that the shah is "a stooge of the Americans; therefore we murder Americans."

The Tehran murders came as Americans were being harassed in many parts of the world. Three American members of a zoological team have just been reported kidnaped in Tanzania, and in Laos two Marines and a civilian are being held captive by anti-American students. The only apparent link between the three incidents is that in all of them, the perpetrators seem to think that they can accomplish their goals, whatever they are, by using terrorist methods against the U. S.

The important thing for the U. S., therefore, is to do nothing to encourage this belief and everything within reason to prove that terrorism won't succeed.

We are cooperating with the shah because it is clearly in our national interest [and very likely the interest of most Iranians as well] to do so. This doesn't mean that he is our ideal as a ruler. He is widely accused of tyranny and cruelty; and while we don't believe all of the charges against him, neither do we wholly accept his reply that nobody is in jail except proven terrorists. We must add, tho, that the latest incident makes the shah's position more credible than it was before.

And so we must not allow this act of terrorism to deter us from the course we have chosen. Our relations with the shah should continue unchanged.

But neither should we allow the terrorists the satisfaction of seeing us defend whatever methods the shah may use to bring about justice as he would like to see it. He should certainly do all he can to track down and prosecute the assassins, as his government has promised to do. But to cooperate with the shah does not mean endorsing all of his procedures.

So if the culprits are found—and considering the reported efficiency of the shah's police this shouldn't be beyond their capacity—it will be in both the shah's interest and ours to see that the trial is held openly and honestly, so that the critics will have no occasion to charge a frameup.

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER 21 May 1975 (22)

Welcome to the Vietnamese

"To be honest is to realize that the ultimate measure of a man is not where he stands in moments of convenience and moments of comfort, but where he stands in moments of challenge, in moments of controversy."

It is now eight years since the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. spoke those words in behalf of putting an end to the Vietnamese war and to the suffering of the Vietnamese people. Now such a moment has arisen. The war has ended, at long last, and more than 125,000 of those people have fled to the U. S.

Fortunately, the better instincts of the American people seem to have triumphed over the initial hostility, with its ugly undertones of racial prejudice, to the Vietnamese. That could be seen in the 79-2 vote by the U. S. Senate for $405 million to aid resettlement of the refugees, the two dissenters being conservative Republicans Jesse A. Helms of North Carolina and William L. Scott of Virginia. Earlier, the House by a similarly overwhelming vote of 381-31 approved an authorization measure.

Now, with the announcement that as many as 15,000 refugees will be processed at the Indiantown Gap Military Reservation near Harrisburg, Pennsylvanians will have a challenge of their own.

The processing will be handled by federal personnel, but the Ford Administration is gearing up to help coordinate private aid in uniting refugees with American sponsors. Most of the refugees will be dispersed around the northeastern states, but it may not be amiss to note, as did Lt. Gov. Ernest P. Kline in making the announcement, that quite a few jobs will be created in renovating the federal military post and in taking care of the refugees. "I can only see from an economic standpoint positive things happening," he said.

We trust we all will see positive things happening also from a moral standpoint. This commonwealth was founded by refugees, and immigrants —English, Irish, Germans, Italians, Poles, Swedes, people of all races and religions — have contributed to it. These refugees, however, are a special charge on us, for most of them would not have fled their country had it not been for our intervention there. We owe them a welcome, as we owe it to our conscience.

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WASHINGTON STAR 21 May 1975 (22)

Easing Up on Turkey

Monday's 41-to-40 Senate vote to lift the ill-advised embargo on military aid to Turkey is legislatively insignificant without House concurrence, which is ruled out in present circumstances. But half a congressional loaf is better than none as Turkey teeters between shortsightedness and wisdom in its policies toward the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and toward a settlement with Greece and the Greek Cypriots on Cyprus.

The Senate action at least creates a somewhat more pleasant climate for Secretary of State Kissinger's visit to Ankara tomorrow, for a foreign ministers' review of the Central Treaty Organization. Ideally, the congressional gesture toward ending the three-and-a-half-month-old arms-aid ban could be followed by some Turkish movement toward a Cyprus agreement, justifying a House reversal on Turkish aid and greatly increasing this country's leverage for encouraging Cyprus concessions by the Turks.

This sounds too pat, and it is, especially since Prime Minister Demirel and his associates hold power by the slimmest of margins in Parliament and are in no position to take initiatives that might tread on the nationalistic, anti-Greek feelings of their constituents. But it should be evident, as Kissinger hears out the once staunchly allied Turks, that the playing of Greek ethnic politics by some congressmen not only hurts this country's effort to play a helpful role in Cyprus negotiations, but places the eastern Mediterranean flank of NATO in additional jeopardy.

The arms ban, besides, represents a disturbing commentary on the stability of the United States' relations with its allies in general. This is the worst possible time for the reinforcement of such doubts, following the debacle in Southeast Asia and the widespread questioning of the reliability of American commitments. It is too bad that Kissinger, on his current trip, is not rid completely of the handicap that Congress unnecessarily placed the nation's policy under last February.

BALTIMORE SUN 22 May 1975

The Senate's Reversal on Cyprus

The Senate made a timely diplomatic gesture by giving its tentative approval to a resumption of arms aid to Turkey Many strings were rightly tied to this reversal of position. Not only did the decision pass by only a one-vote margin, but the Senate acted in the certain knowledge that the House of Representatives will in no way go along until the Turkish government makes tangible concessions toward a settlement of the Cyprus problem.

Whether the Senate gesture will help break the impasse that has caused so much damage in the eastern Mediterranean remains to be seen. But it will not hurt. During the next three weeks all parties to the dispute will at last be talking, and talking in a way that could bring progress. Secretary of State Kissinger is in Ankara this week for a meeting of CENTO. President Ford is expected to confer at the NATO meeting in Brussels next week with Greek Prime Minister Constantine Caramanlis and Turkish Premier Suleman Demirel who, in turn, have agreed to meet face to face. Representatives of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities are to resume negotiations June 5 under the aegis of U.N Secretary General Kurt Waldheim.

The Senate vote should be a signal to all parties that the executive and legislative branches of the United States government are not themselves hopelessly deadlocked on matters of Turkish-Greek-Cypriot policy Profound disagreements exist, to be sure. The majority in Congress is highly critical of Mr. Kissinger's whole performance—his coddling of the Greek colonels, his acquiescence in their abortive coup on Cyprus that led to their own downfall, and his failure to prevent Turkey from using U.S.-supplied arms on Cyprus itself. The Secretary, in turn, believes the Congress needlessly complicated a difficult situation by imposing its arms embargo in the November-February period. At the time the embargo was enacted, some Kissinger critics strongly suggested it would make Ankara more compliant. Instead, Ankara became more adamant in Cyprus negotiations and more insistent it would review its NATO commitments, including the status of U.S. bases on its territory.

If the Ankara government can find a way to relinquish its hold over a disproportionate sector of Cyprus and bring about the resettlement of tens of thousands of refugees made homeless by its military action, we believe the House might reciprocate by voting to endorse the Senate's gesture of goodwill. The United States and Turkey have a powerful common interest in maintaining the southeastern flank of NATO. This is vital to the U.S. position in the eastern Mediterranean and to Turkey's security from attack or undue political pressure from the Soviet Union. These considerations, and the humanitarian needs of both the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus, cry out for a solution.

NEW YORK NEWS
22 May 1975

Armed Viets Worry Reds

In Paris, May 21 (Special) — a spokesman for South Vietnam's Provisional Revolutionary Government said tonight that the nation was trying to cope with soldiers of the old regime who had not surrendered their weapons.

"There are 1 million South Vietnamese soldiers roaming free around the country, and some of them are armed," the spokesman said. "As long as they have not found jobs, they will present a serious manace which we are trying to curb now."

—Bernard Valery

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
22 May 1975

Military commissaries

Congressional investigators say the Pentagon is operating military commissary stores in metropolitan areas without justification bucause servicemen could get the same products from commercial stores.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 22 May 1975

Lisbon's press assault

The closing of the newspaper Republica — the only Lisbon paper that has held out against Communist worker-group pressures — is an ominous indication of the ordeal that could lie ahead for free political expression and civilian democratic rule in Portugal. It is the kind of act that feeds concern in the West about intentions of Portugal's new leaders.

Republica editorially was the organ of the Socialists, the party which won the largest share of votes in last month's election. A dispute between the Communist-controlled printers union and Socialist editors on the paper was used as an excuse by the Information Ministry to "temporarily" sidestep the confrontation by closing Republica's doors.

The Socialists saw the move as another tactical loss to the Communists, who registered only half as many votes in last month's tally but have more influence within the ruling Armed Forces Movement The Socialists' threat to pull their two ministers out of the government, because of the Republica seizure, shows just how serious the incident is.

A Socialist pullout would not have so much effect on the running of the government, which is effectively in the hands of the military men, as it would on the pact for public order among the parties during the current "revolutionary" phase. The Maoist faction in Portugal already is inciting demonstrations to challenge the military men's authority.

Within the movement itself a struggle is going on between leftists and moderates. Given this thick layering of political conflict in Portugal, a noncontrolled forum for discussion and information is essential. Communist usurpation of the media can only raise the temperature of civil frustration nearer the flash point.

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LOS ANGELES TIMES 21 May 1975 (22)

The 'Z' List Gets Longer

The Export Administration Act of 1969 provides the United States with a powerful economic weapon—the authority to deny all trade to another nation.

As a kind of ultimate weapon short of war, this law, you just might think, would be reserved for significant threats to American security and sovereignty. But not at all. For the moment, at least, it is applied only to the relatively puny. Cuba, North Vietnam and North Korea are long-standing members of the "Z" list. Cambodia and South Vietnam were added Friday.

We wondered why.

There was a possible explanation for Cambodia. The secretary of state may have felt it justified by the Mayaguez affair.

But South Vietnam? And just after the rulers in Saigon had made a conditional proposal for opening diplomatic relations with the United States.

We called the State Department. Well, came an admittedly hesitant answer, didn't we understand that South Vietnam was a hostile regime?

An acquaintance who studies things like this had a more sophisticated explanation. Perhaps the State Department ordered the trade embargoes so that there would be something to negotiate away once Washington and Saigon get down to the brass tacks of whatever new relationship they are going to develop. The old bargaining-chips theory.

But we were not impressed.

In fact, we were left with a dull suspicion that Henry Kissinger was still having trouble with his priorities, the same trouble that led him to prolong too long the American commitment to Indochina.

The secretary of state and the President, too, have been concerned lest the American withdrawal from Saigon be misunderstood. They have suggested that they welcome the rescue of the Mayaguez as a fortuitous opportunity to demonstrate that "there are limits beyond which the United States cannot be pushed," as Kissinger put it.

We have thought the anxiety of the President and the secretary of state misplaced. It was not the American withdrawal from Indochina but the American commitment to Indochina that seemed most likely to telegraph to friend and foe alike a failure in the American evaluation of foreign policy priorities. That same failure seems reinforced by this arbitrary and unnecessary decision to prohibit trade with these battered, bleeding nations of Southeast Asia.

Furthermore, the sanctions against Saigon risk delaying the offshore oil development already started by Americans, a project of world consequence in the face of the global energy crisis.

If the United States wants to communicate its own self-confidence, its reliability as an ally, it should get on with the normalization of relations with all nations, including the small and desperate. To pour truck factories and computers into the Soviet Union while denying all trade with Vietnam is only to invite doubts about American leadership.

As President Ford himself told Congress April 10: "Our use of trade and economic sanctions as weapons to alter the internal conduct of other nations must also be seriously reexamined. However well-intentioned the goals, the fact is that some of our recent actions in the economic field have been self-defeating."

He was speaking of congressional limitations on Soviet trade. But he could just as well have been anticipating the additions to the "Z" list.

DALLAS MORNING NEWS
9 May 1975 (22)

Beleaguered Bomber

Out once again come the axes that foes of the B1 bomber program are continually whetting. A liberal-consumerist coalition says it is mounting a nationwide campaign to do in the bomber once and for all. Common Cause, Americans for Democratic Action, Environmental Action and the National Taxpayers Union argue that the B1 is a waste of money, not to say a potential danger to the environment. Let us go on building B52's.

The cost of the B1, which is presently undergoing extensive flight testing, is for a fact monumental: About $65 million per plane in 1975 dollars and sure to get costlier with inflation.

Yet the money will buy a potent aircraft—smaller than the B52, more adaptable to short runways, able to deliver more than twice the payload. Moreover, it will be new; B52 technology dates back to the late 1940s and early '50s.

Congress, if it keeps its wits about it, will let the B1 program roar full speed ahead. No militarily consequential nation freezes weapons development, the less so in times of national danger.

Bad enough is that the United States, in the aftermath of Vietnam, must reestablish its military credibility, in order that the Soviet Union and Communist China may understand we are no more than ever to be trifled with. Worse would be for us, at such a time, to scrap the best, most powerful bomber Americans have ever designed.

The B1 has got to be built; and the sooner, the better.

NEW YORK NEWS 22 May 1975

A SIGN OF THE TIMES

The House has approved a $26.5 billion authorization for military arms procurement, handily beating back efforts by a die-hard anti-defense faction to make significant trims.

This is the chamber, filled with a "freshman class" of go-go liberals, which was boasting only last January about how it was going to tear huge chunks out of the Pentagon budget.

That feisty mood has pretty much evaporated in the wake of the Vietnam disaster and the worldwide nervousness about U.S. foreign policy that resulted from it.

In its place, we have a sober awareness of the international situation best expressed during the House debate by Rep. Robert Daniel (R-Va.), who said:

> "If nothing else, events of recent months should remind us that diplomacy, detente, peace and national security are all based on reality, and the ultimate reality is military power."

That it is, Congressman, that it is.

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SAN DIEGO UNION
27 April 1975 (22 May)

U.S. Role Still Strong

President Ferdinand E. Marcos is saying that the "national interest" of the Philippines may dictate that his country discard its mutual defense treaty with the United States of America and take over U.S. bases at Clark Field and Subic Bay. This is startling word from one of America's closest allies in the Pacific.

Or is it really surprising? The Philippines lie close to the hot breath of the Communist advance through Southeast Asia. After watching the performance of the United States as chief backer of the effort to stem aggression against Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam, the Filipinos can hardly be blamed for wondering whether their "national interest" is really being served by relying on the Americans as defense partners.

This is typical of the quandary facing U.S. allies around the world. If they are thinking in the same direction as President Marcos, they are in trouble, and so are we.

Scores of countries around the world have entered into security arrangements with the United States which rest on the principle that our national interest runs parallel with theirs. Now they have seen the United States identify its national interest in the survival of South Vietnam, and then abruptly change its mind. If this leads many of our allies to consider going it alone—or even warming up to Communist powers seeking influence in their regions—it could be disastrous for them and disastrous for U.S. security as well.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger is insisting that the "Basic cornerstones" of our foreign policy have not changed because of the Indochina debacle. "Our nation is uniquely endowed to play a creative and decisive role in the new order which is taking form around us," he says. He is right, in terms of the leadership which a country as strong as the United States is capable of exercising. However, the divergence that developed between the White House and Congress on aid to Vietnam, and other symptoms of weakness in our bi-partisan foreign policy, suggests we are faltering in our resolve to play the creative and decisive role in world affairs that history has assigned to us.

As an historian, Mr. Kissinger can see a "new order" emerging from the diplomacy of detente, from the new economic power of Western Europe and Japan, and from the aspirations of the Third World to accelerate their development by striking a better bargain for the resources they supply to the industrial nations. That view may be accurate, but it is by no means certain who will be in the role of architect for that new order.

One blueprint is that supported by American policy—nations working out their destiny within secure borders, striving to give their people the freedom, justice and the opportunity for self-determination. The other is the blueprint of totalitarianism sponsored by Moscow and Peking which locks people into systems not of their own choosing.

What Kissinger seems to be telling us is that we are at a watershed of our history and now, more than ever before, we must avoid any sign of weakness or vacillation in U.S. foreign policy when those ideologies are bidding to design the future.

SAN DIEGO UNION 3 May 1975 (22)

Detente Is A Delusion

As we raise our eyes from the embers of Vietnam and look in other directions we must concur with the wag who said, "The whole world is a rat race and the rats are ahead."

A case in point is NATO, the grand alliance that has held Soviet imperialism at bay for 25 years. Now, NATO is in trouble, partly because of the dynamism of Soviet diplomacy and the size of the Soviet's military buildup, and partly because of misplaced American priorities as to the relative importance of the thing we call "detente."

The Soviet power has grown with almost dramatic speed. The Russians are spending more on military defense by far than the United States, and their progress is almost terrifying. They have developed a massive and modern fleet, and are procuring the bases necessary to make it a worldwide strategic force.

The NATO European command is now faced with a formidable force of 26,000 Warsaw Pact tanks, an array of tactical nuclear weapons and armies at least twice the size of the NATO forces.

NATO, itself, is in tragic disarray. Great Britian is impoverished, suffering brutally at the hands of a leftist government that is disinterested in defense. Portugal is turning slowly leftward, as is Italy. Greece and Turkey, former stalwart anchors of the NATO flank on the Mediterranean, are totally disenchanted. Turkey can no longer be regarded as a United States base in that area and Greece, suffering brutal internal political and economic problems, is about to leave NATO completely.

It is against this backdrop that the United States should hasten to reexamine its attitude on detente.

If our interest in mollifying the Soviet Union through detente suggests a corresponding disinterest in our relations with NATO, the alliance could very well collapse, with the NATO nations trying, one way or another, to accommodate with the Soviet Union.

It is time for the leadership of our country to see detente as an abstraction, simply a theatrical camouflage on the Soviet Union's part, for pursuing its political war.

Stripping off the camouflage, we see that detente did not keep the Soviets from arming the North Vietnamese in violation of the Paris Peace accord. It did not cause the Soviets to work for peace during the October, 1973, Middle East war. It has resulted in the two Strategic Arms Limitation meetings, SALT I and SALT II, which actually limited nothing and, since the Soviet Union is ready and willing to spend far more on arms than is needed for defense, it has moved her clearly into the position of No. 1 in the nuclear world. In that world, it might be observed, being No. 2 is no better than being No. 20.

Detente, it is plain, has helped our enemies and has done us no good whatever. Furthermore, it has shaken the confidence of our allies. Now, in the wake of Vietnam, we would be well advised to ask ourselves if it is not, in the long run, better to have a meaningful detente with our friends than a worthless detente with our enemies.

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FEATURES COLUMNISTS

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 22 MAY 1975

Congress backs up Ford's defense stance

By Richard L. Strout
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Nations of the world take note: Congress is supporting President Ford's defense posture.

Assassination of two U.S. Air Force officers in Tehran will only strengthen congressional support, it is believed.

The Vietnam episode, paradoxically, has increased, not diminished, legislative backing for President Ford in certain critical international areas, all signs indicate.

"This is no time to diminish U.S. troop strength abroad," Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D) of Montana, a long-time supporter of reducing overseas American military strength, told Congress, in effect, this week.

The Senate, which cut off weapons shipments to Turkey Feb. 5 because they were used in the Cyprus dispute with Greece, relaxed the ban May 19 by a narrow vote, 41-40.

Congress is sending a signal abroad: It is telling the world not to overdiscount America's will to act resolutely.

It is, in a way, a negative signal: there is no policy deadlock in Washington.

Congress often plays a slow-moving but profound part in American foreign policy. It tilted its support from Turkey to Greece in the Cyprus question. It angered the White House by restricting trade agreements with the Soviet Union in the absence of Russian concessions on Jewish emigration.

Less capriciously, after 10 years of almost undeviating support of the executive in Vietnam, in August, 1973, it limited the President's discretion to send troops, shell or bomb and, in the final agony of collapse, rejected President Ford's appeal to appropriate $720 million in additional military aid.

Congress moves deliberately but knows when it has had enough, it is noted here. But now the signal is different.

With Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger talking to Russian Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko in Vienna and then traveling to Ankara, and with President Ford just about to attend the NATO meeting in Brussels May 29-30, Congress feels, judging from repeated assertions on and off the floor, that this is a time to support the executive. It must not foster a mistaken notion abroad that the United States is a paper tiger.

Senator Mansfield, in an impassioned speech on Turkish aid, told the Senate that the vote was expressly scheduled to allay Turkish resentment, and that it was designed to strengthen America's good offices on the Cyprus question and thereby to strengthen the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance. He asked for support "at this moment of history." He got a hairline victory.

The House took its turn, May 20. By an overwhelming vote, 311-95, it rejected an amendment to cut the 416,500 U.S. troops abroad by 70,000. The meaning of the one-sided vote was plain to many here — Congress does not want the Vietnam episode to be misinterpreted. Instead of weakening the executive's hand, Vietnam has strengthened it, in this particular situation.

Last year a proposal to cut U.S. troops overseas by 100,000 lost by 240-163 — a considerably less-lopsided vote than now. Some had thought that the 75 freshmen Democrats might tip the balance the other way. House Majority Leader Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. of Massachusetts, however, summed it up. This is the "wrong time" for such action, he said.

WASHINGTON POST
22 MAY 1975

Chalmers M. Roberts

What Role for America?

In thinking about America's post-Indochina relations with the rest of the world it may be better to look at problems in categories rather than by making a country by country survey. With this in mind we might well consider armaments, economic resources and home-front perceptions of how to conduct foreign policy.

Since basic policy is to prevent major wars, the first priority is to avoid nuclear conflict. Here the continuing strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) are critical. At the moment this Soviet-American negotiation is hung up on intricate technical problems. Secretary Kissinger will meet again with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko to try to resolve these issues. The Ford-Brezhnev meeting, postponed at American request, depends on bringing the SALT II talks to the point of an agreement.

Even as SALT inches forward, a second level of the nuclear problem has assumed increasing, even alarming proportions. This is the growing number of states possessing nuclear weapons, beginning with India (however much she says she is engaged only in peaceful pursuits) and quite possibly to be followed by several more nations. The weapons grade material that is the by-product of nuclear power plants is getting close to being uncontrolled or uncontrollable. The one hope here is that the Non-Proliferation Treaty review conference in Geneva may find some new devices to rein in this charging nuclear horse.

If nuclear war seems unthinkable (although we should not accept that as a premise), then conventional war is growing more and more frightening in its potential. As the International Institute for Strategic Studies recently noted, a new family of "precision guided" or so-called "smart" bombs has "dramatically" increased the potential damage and may also impinge on the nuclear control problem. One need only imagine another round in the Middle East with such new weapons involved to hope that diplomacy can head it off. Yet in Europe the mutual force reduction talks between NATO and Warsaw Pact nations has yet to achieve a breakthrough to reduction of rival forces.

The United States, more or less against its will, has been drawn toward a summit conference finale of the European Security Conference without any substantive concessions from the Communist side. It would seem to make sense to avoid that finale until or unless there is some meaningful progress on the arms talks. If there ever were a case for linkage, this is it. Furthermore, the United States has no option but to keep its forces in Western Europe (and in South Korea as well) until both sides agree to mutual scaling down. Given these and other uncertainties, the United States must continue a high level of armaments, something Congress seems willing to do with minimal cuts. Kissinger is certainly right when he says that "as a basic relationship detente has never meant the absence of competition."

The economic problems are more diffuse and more difficult to grasp than even the military problems; witness the struggle over both a domestic and an international energy program. Most Americans, like Kissinger, probably have been repelled by the demands put forward by Algeria and many other so-called developing and underdeveloped nations for a larger share of the existing pie of world resources; that is, by producers of raw materials (which we are more and more running out of ourselves) for higher prices and for some price level tie, called indexing, to the costs they pay for our farm and manufactured goods. For the last couple of decades this has been a growing problem, now brought front and center by the effectiveness of the OPEC oil cartel. While it is true, as Kissinger says, that global expansion of the prosperity pie is essential if all are to have more, the time has come when we can no longer blithely escape these demands.

Economic problems, of course, have domestic causes, as witness those in Britain. When Federal Reserve Board Chairman Arthur Burns made that remark about Britain going down the drain (he later apologized to the British ambassador—for saying it out loud), he was thinking of our own internal imbalances. Our legislative-executive gulf remains wide but at least there are efforts to bridge it.

If there are efforts to resolve, or at least move forward, in the arms control and economic fields, both nationally and internationally, the same

(See ROLE, Pg. 2-F)

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ATLANTA CONSTITUTION 1 MAY 1975 (22)

Viet War Weapons Were a Mixed 'Bag'

By CHUCK BELL

Indeed, there was no end of the contrivances to which they resorted against each other.—Thucydides

Every war in history has produced a flood of new weapons and clever devices and the Indochina war was no exception.

One new weapon that was forged on the battlefields of Southeast Asia was the attack helicopter.

The U.S. Army already was experimenting with the attack helicopter concept when the United States became involved in the war but there was no attack helicopter in existence, although the Lockheed Co. was at work on the design for the AH-56A Cheyenne.

The lack of a helicopter designed primarily for the attack role was keenly felt, especially after experience with makeshift armed helicopters showed how effective they could be in suppressing ground fire during helicopter-borne assaults and casualty evacuation operations.

The Bell Helicopter Co. filled the void by developing, on its own initiative, an armed version of its highly successful UH-1 utility helicopter. Called the AH-1 Huey-Cobra, Bell's creation was little more than a flying gun platform and, in that respect, was reminiscent of Bell's World War II P-39 Airacobra.

About two thousand Huey-Cobras, in several different configurations, were built during the war. They were armed with a variety of weapons, including 7.62mm Miniguns, rapid-fire cannon, grenade launchers and air-to-ground rockets.

The UH-1 wasn't the only non-combat aircraft that was turned into a combat aircraft for service in Indochina. Some of the most unlikely airplanes were transformed from peaceful critters into ferocious beasts of prey by the simple expedient of attaching guns to the wings or fuselage and adding an "A" to the designation.

Thus the T-37 jet trainer equipped with guns and bombs became the A-37. The aging C-47 cargo plane of pre-World War II vintage had three Miniguns installed and became the AC-47—better known as "Puff the Magic Dragon." The versatile Lockheed C-130 Hercules got a similar treatment and became the AC-130.

Even some combat aircraft were pressed into roles they were not designed for. The B-52 heavy strategic bomber, designed originally for carrying nuclear bombs into the Soviet Union, was adapted to carry conventional "iron bombs" to targets in Indochina. One B-52 could carry 60,000 pounds of high explosive (HE) bombs—as much as 30 World War II B-17s could carry.

Not all the weapons and techniques used in Indochina were new, however. The Navy's role in Vietnam, for example, consisted largely of launching air strikes from aircraft carriers in the Gulf of Tonkin against targets in North and South Vietnam. Except for the fact that the planes carrying the bombs were modern, jet-propelled F-4s and A-7s instead of the old propeller-driven SBD Dauntlesses, these operations were quite similar to the kind of thing the Navy did in World War II.

At one point, the Navy reached even further back into its bag of tricks and recommissioned the battleship *New Jersey*. The presumably obsolete vessel lurked several miles off the coast and used her nine 16-inch guns to hurl tons of HE shells at targets on the shore, with pinpoint accuracy and devastating effect.

The Navy introduced one new wrinkle to the war in the form of high-speed river patrol craft that saw extensive service on the Mekong River. The enemy quickly learned to respect these fast and impressively armed boats.

On the ground, the foot soldier found himself being equipped with a variety of devices designed to increase his range and striking power. The Indochina War was the first conflict in which the infantryman's primary weapon was an assault rifle. Developed by the Germans in the closing days of World War II, the assault rifle came to fruition in Southeast Asia with American troops and their allies armed with the much-maligned but quite effective M-16 and the Communist troops toting the equally effective AK-47.

Some American troops used the new M-79 40 mm grenade launcher, in effect a shoulder-fired light artillery piece.

For positional defense, the Americans and South Vietnamese used the Claymore mine, one of the most fiendish weapons of mass slaughter ever developed. The Claymore consisted primarily of a convex-shaped charge with thousands of ball bearings lining the convex face. It could be triggered either by a trip wire or by a remote control switch and proved highly effective in halting human wave attacks.

ROLE -- CONTINUED

cannot be said for our home front perception of how to conduct foreign policy or what the scope and reach of that policy should be. In many ways this is our most pressing categorical problem, and one-shot show-we're-tough exercises like the Mayaguez affair provide no answer.

More than 40 years ago President Roosevelt said to Francis Perkins: "Remember how Wilson lost the League of Nations, lost the opportunity for the United States to take part in the most important international undertaking ever conceived. He lost it by not getting Congress to participate. They have a sense of their responsibility, and they can't have sincere convictions unless they are given a chance to examine the situation at close range."

We are back at square one on that. Kissinger now perceives a contest in America between "a more radical" and "a more conservative trend" and he complains that the administration "is more naked to day-to-day pressures of public opinion than has been the case throughout the entire post-war period." On the other hand, a leading senator sees "the country's mind" open to a debate on America's role if only the administration is ready. The time is ripe to begin, perhaps with a "foreign policy summit" discussion before TV cameras as Columbia Professor Brezinski has suggested.

Conservative political challenges to both President Ford and the liberal Democrats by such as Ronald Reagan and George Wallace may seem to be essentially domestic in nature; both have strong foreign policy overtones. A presidential campaign can be a very useful way to sort out national attitudes, but the country first of all needs some less heated discussion of basics before we get to that climactic round.

Americans may be exhausted by war and all the rest, but there is no escaping a role in the world. We had better decide what it should be, and reasonably soon.

THE ECONOMIST
5 MAY 1975 (22)

Seizure at sea

President Ford took a nicely calculated risk over the Mayaguez, and pulled it off. On Monday this American merchant ship, carrying a mixed cargo from Hongkong to a port in Thailand, was stopped by a Cambodian naval vessel, boarded and forced to anchor. Mr Ford ordered an aircraft carrier and other warships to enter the Gulf of Thailand and had some Marines flown to an air base in Thailand, in the face of protests from Bangkok. But he also sought to make diplomatic contact with the new regime in Phnom Penh and to induce China to help get the ship and its American crew released.

He was clearly not spoiling for a fight with Cambodia's new rulers—or with Congress. The Cooper-Church amendment could be seen as barring him from using American forces in Cambodia without congressional approval, and many congressional figures had painful memories of the way the Administration had misled them about the facts of the Tonkin Gulf incident in 1964. The Mayaguez had been seized when it was well away from the Cambodian mainland but close to some islets claimed by Cambodia and thus arguably within its territorial waters. But Mr Ford was also not minded to bow to "an act of piracy".

Diplomacy having yielded no quick results, he authorised air attacks on Cambodian gunboats when they looked like trying to move the captive crew to the mainland, and then landed Marines on the island nearest to the ship. By Thursday the Mayaguez and its crew were in American hands; the Thais might still be indignant, but Mr Ford was riding high after his brief venture into brinkmanship.

This was a fresh reminder that brinkmanship is sometimes necessary and sometimes works—even when it is hard on the nerves.

NEW YORK TIMES
22 MAY 1975

Cosmos 731 Launched

MOSCOW, May 21 (Reuters)—The Soviet Union launched today a new earth satellite called Cosmos 731, the 30th since the beginning of the year in a predominantly military-oriented series.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 22 May 1975

Joseph Kraft

WASHINGTON POST 22 MAY 1975

Mayaguez Post-Mortems

In the two hours before the rescue of the Mayaguez and its crew began, the White House notified 22 congressional leaders that the President had ordered a limited military operation to achieve that end. Not one of the leaders posed a serious question about the nature or scope or necessity of the impending action.

I cite that information, which was originally disclosed by Saul Friedman of the Knight newspapers, as a caution against the spate of post-mortems on the Mayaguez affair. Whether critical or favorable, the inquests have ignored a central feature of the whole operation. As the unwonted silence of the congressmen indicates, it was a fast-moving, highly operational affair intrinsically resistant to second guessing or kibitzing.

Consider first what seems to be the most plausible of the criticisms. That is the argument that President Ford should have waited before taking military action.

Perhaps so. But a special characteristic of the Mayaguez affair was that the Cambodians did not immediately move the captured ship and its crew to a mainland port. Since the ship was anchored at Koh Tang island and the crew was presumed to be with it, the opportunity for rescue presented itself.

But there was no reason to think the opportunity would last long. On the contrary, the normal supposition had to be that the ship and crew would soon be taken beyond the reach of American amphibious forces.

So there was intense pressure on President Ford to move with dispatch. The case of the Mayaguez, in other words, fit that rare category governed by the famous words of Macbeth: "If it were done when 'tis done, then 'twere well it were done quickly."

The idiosyncratic character of the action is even more cogently illustrated by the charge that the United States has somehow set a new and fearful precedent. According to this charge, President Ford is now wantonly asserting the right to attack any nation which, whether legitimately or not, apprehends an American vessel. It is suggested that, on the basis of the Mayaguez affair, the United States should be attacking Ecuador for the seizure of American fishing boats off its Pacific coast.

But the seizures off the coast of Ecuador have a long and involved history. American boats have been fishing, and perhaps overfishing, those waters for years. The government of Ecuador has repeatedly protested, and repeatedly threatened action, against the fishing boats. Only against that background did the seizures take place.

There was no such history in the Mayaguez affair. The capture came as a bolt from the blue without any warning. No discussion between the two governments was under way. Neither was there any advance claim of a Cambodia right violated by American shipping. Indeed, these resembles chalk more than the Cambodian seizure resembled those of Ecuador, and to make one a precedent for the other smacks to me of deliberate scaremongering.

Far worse than the criticisms, however, are the exaggerated claims made out for the Mayaguez rescue. Particularly suspect is the claim that the United States proved something which ought to make us proud to be Americans. In reality, the Mayaguez is far too special an incident, and Cambodia far too tiny a country, for one to believe that anything was proved.

It is suggested that the most egregious claims are advanced by Vice President Nelson Rockfeller and Secretary of State Kissinger. They are the ones who wanted to use B-52 bombers against Cambodia as a punishment. That proposal was no mere "option." In fact, the bombers were ready, with the bombs in place, when the rescue got under way.

If post-mortems have to be made, the truly outrageous proposal to use strategic bombers against Cambodia strikes me as the measuring rod. Perhaps President Ford did act too hastily. Perhaps there was an element of punitive action in his decision, as well as a determination to get back the ship and crew. Still the very nature of the episode should induce caution about second-guessing. The more so since, except for the moderation of the President, the Secretary of Defense and the military chiefs, the outcome could have been far worse.

WASHINGTON STAR 21 MAY 1975 (22)

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Ford Acted Admirably In Ship Piracy Incident

The morning the marines were dispatched to Cambodia to free the pirated vessel and rescue its American crew, it happened that I was testifying, at the invitation of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, on the impact of detente on United States policy in the United Nations. Suddenly the charming chairman of this body, Sen. Sparkman of Alabama, zigged off the subject and asked: "What would you do, if you were in command, about the imprisoned ship in Cambodia?" To which I replied, with characteristic self-effacement, that if I were in command, there wouldn't be an imprisoned American ship in Cambodia. Having said this, I thought, really, that my reply sounded like unadulterated rodomontade and attempted elaboration.

Listen now to some hard facts about the Mayaguez affair.

The general feeling of exultation, outside the columns of those writers whose day is ruined by any successful American show of force, is endemic. It was a most cheerful antidote, after months of bad news. Peter Drucker wrote in a recent book that the only thing a government can do successfully is inflate the currency and make war. We had begun to doubt that it could even do the latter. But President Ford gambled — and he won.

But he was very very lucky. The marines might easily have landed on that *little* island only to find the American crew departed, destination unknown. If the FBI cannot find Patricia Hearst in our own country, it is unlikely that we could have found the 39 crewmen in Cambodia, a hostile totalitarian country whose leaders have been acting not only as Communists, but like the tribe that lost its head.

What, then, would we have done? What can one do to Cambodia? You could, without too much trouble, close down the port of Sihanoukville: we did that once. But this would have been at once a major international provocation with a long, long fuse, and a minor inconvenience for a country that could easily have been provisioned by its friendly neighbor, North Vietnam, together with its satellite, South Vietnam.

Would we then have started mass bombing? Of what? There are a few airfields we could have dumped on, but there isn't, in Cambodia, that concentration of military fortifications that is specially vulnerable to our B-52s; besides which, action on such a scale would have required consultation with Congress, and before long, ambiguity would have set in — such ambiguity as surrounded the Pueblo incident and paralyzed Lyndon Johnson. And that was back before we repealed the Imperial Presidency.

The only way, then, to keep our ships from being pirated is to create an atmosphere in which it simply does not occur to any major power, let alone mini power, that these are games which nations can safely play. Henry Kissinger once told a friend that when the North Koreans shot down our spy plane over the neutral waters of the Sea of Japan, the Cabinet was summoned for a discussion of what to do. Nixon had been in office only a few weeks, and decided to temporize with North Korea rather than face the country with a split cabinet. On reflection, Kissinger said, it was clear that the North Koreans were testing the waters. It is not fantasy to say that what happened off Cambodia — and everything in between — might have been affected by our failure to react sharply — conclusively — against North Korea in January 1969.

The fact of the matter is that little countries like North Korea and Cambodia don't go about stopping Russian ships in the middle of the ocean and dragging them in. Well, you say, that is because they are natural allies. But little countries like Chile, and even bigger ones like Brazil, don't go out dredging the waters for Russian ships. It is not diplomatically cool to specify what happens to countries that try such imprudent things. It is better left to them to wonder what would happen, to know only that something quite dreadful would happen, so that the course of prudence is to respect the sovereignty of other countries. As I say, Cambodia wouldn't have tried it if, over the years, our foreign policy had made such escapades unthinkable.

Still, even in an adverse context, President Ford behaved admirably.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 22 May 1975

May 19, 1975 (22) Aerospace Daily

HOUSE DEFENSE DEBATE DRAWS ATTENTION TO MAYAGUEZ RESCUE

In House debate on the defense authorization bill last week, floor managers for the measure pointed to the rescue of the freighter Mayaguez off the Cambodian coast as evidence of U.S. strength and will that must be maintained.

Rep. Bob Wilson (R-Calif.), ranking minority member on the Armed Services Committee, declared that the Mayaguez episode should be "a signal to our friends and potential enemies." He added that it would be a "very reassuring" further signal if the House votes down any cuts in the authorization request beyond the $3.7 billion already pared off by the committee.

Armed Services Chairman Melvin Price (D-Ill.) said in his statement opening general debate that he would oppose further reductions because they would cut into the "muscle and bone" of the nation's defense. The Constitution requires Congress to provide for both defense and the general welfare, he noted, and "we can't pump continually from defense into welfare."

Wilson said he was "concerned over the attitude of some on the committee" that the panel had not cut enough from the request. He said he believed that, in fact, the committee might have cut too far, and the full House "perhaps" should add funds rather than subtract further.

Rep. Charles Bennett (D-Fla.), chairman of the committee's seapower subcommittee, praised President Ford's "positive and effective" action in the Mayaguez operation, and said it underlined the importance of maintaining the freedom of sea lines of transportation and communication, the "more important" assurance that international law will be upheld, and the necessity for strong nuclear-powered naval strike forces.

U.S. Naval Power Was Key

Bennett agreed with Rep. Samuel Stratton (D-N.Y.), a senior member of the committee, that the rescue off Cambodia was possible only because of the power and availability of U.S. naval force. He also concurred in Stratton's statement that the Mayaguez incident, together with the U.S. withdrawal of forces from Thailand at the request of the Thai government, argued for the Navy and Air Force to proceed with their plans to expand the U.S. installation on the British-owned island of Diego Garcia.

"Yes, I think that the modest extension of Diego Garcia is essential," Bennett said. (President Ford earlier last week formally notified both houses of Congress that he had determined that "construction of such facilities is essential to the national interest." The certification was required under a provision of the fiscal year 1975 military construction bill passed last year, before DOD could proceed with the work.)

The House was to wind up general debate on the authorization last week. Today, it will turn to consideration of amendments, including a substitute bill in the form of an amendment to be offered by six junior Democratic members of Armed Services, the "some on the committee" Wilson referred to, who voted against committee passage of the bill last week. The substitute would trim the request by $4.8 billion.

Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) said in remarks prepared for delivery on the Senate floor that more than $800 million in outlays could be eliminated from the FY '76 defense budget by cutting or delaying the following from the DOD request: Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS)--$285.6 million; Site Defense--$132.4 million; SAM-D missile system--$118.1 million; XM-1 tank program--$53.2 million; civil defense (non-personnel)--$72 million; and selective service--$47.9 million.

Cranston included these weapons programs in discussing a list of "debatable assumptions" during an appearance Wednesday before the Senate Appropriations defense subcommittee chaired by Sen. John L. McClellan (D-Ark.). He said these and other programs are included as necessities in the budget presented by the Defense Department, but should be studied further by Congress because "our national needs are too great, and our national resources too limited, to accept this huge Schlesinger turn-around budget uncritically."

Sen. Lawton Chiles (D-Fla.), who had also asked to appear before the McClellan subcommittee, said he agreed with those who want to cut the defense budget "to eliminate the still enormous waste and duplication. But I think we have to mature beyond 'knee-jerk' reactions that make the defense budget an annual whipping boy in some people's minds."

Sen. Henry Bellmon (R-Okla.) told McClellan that he believed that the Administration's request of $94 billion for FY '76 defense spending is "close to the absolute minimum the Congress should appropriate to help assure peace and stability in the world." At the same time, he said "the time has come for America to reassess our peace-keeping methods in an attempt to develop alliances and methods which will ultimately reduce the back-breaking costs for these economically unproductive military expenditures."

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 22 May 1975

SAN DIEGO UNION 27 APRIL 1975 (22 MAY)

Soviets, U.S. Study Nuclear Options

By ROBERT BETTS
Copley News Service

World holocaust, with cities lying in smoking ruins, populations wiped out, perhaps a whole civilization ended—that is what nuclear war means to most people.

But what about a limited nuclear exchange?

"Unlikely, but possible," say Pentagon strategists.

"The likelihood of a nuclear exchange starting with a selective strike, however low, is still higher than the likelihood of such an exchange starting with a strike at the urban industrial centers of the United States," Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger has told the Senate subcommittee on Arms Control, International Law and Organization.

The hearing took place several months ago, but a report entitled "Briefing on Counterforce Attacks" only recently has been made public.

A limited attack might result in "relatively few civilian casualties," said Schlesinger — meaning perhaps a million or less, compared with the estimated 95 million to 100 million "prompt plus fallout fatalities" that would result from a massive strike.

Schlesinger told the committee: "The ability of the United States to respond to such an attack contributes to the deterrence of such an attack.

"If our only option were to be able to launch massive strikes against the Soviet urban industrial base, the Soviets in these hypothetical circumstances . . . might believe that the United States might be self-deterred and that, therefore, they could with relatively low risk selectively attack the interior of the United States.

"If the United States possesses the ability to respond in kind, then the Soviet planner is faced with the prospect that the United States would respond and leave him in a no-gain situation and, therefore, he would continue to be deterred. Deterrence remains the name of the game."

Schlesinger reported that the Soviet Union had proceeded with a set of development initiatives "that are surprising in their depth and strength. Their new land-based missiles possess throw-weights which on the average are three times that of the previous array of missiles.

"They appear to be acquiring on the order of 7,000 or 8,000 MIRVs (multiple independently targetable reentry vehicle) just in their ICBM (intercontinental ballistic missile) force, let alone their SLBM (submarine launched ballistic missile) force."

The Department to Defense also has information that "the Soviets have achieved or will soon achieve, accuracies of 500 to 700 meters with their ICBMs . . . that would repre-

(See BETTS, Pg 6-F)

SAN DIEGO UNION 27 APRIL 1975 (22 MAY)

Pacific Fleet Readiness Impaired, Admiral Says

By DAVE POLIS
Military Writer
The San Diego Union

HONOLULU — Pacific Fleet readiness remains impaired as a result of years of Vietnam operations based on expediency, the commander of the Pacific Fleet said, and the Navy is still attempting to return to good maintenance and overhaul habits.

Adm. Maurice Weisner said in an interview "We drove our ships at a tempo that they hadn't been designed to be driven from the standpoint of repair and spare parts, and it meant we didn't have the normal time in shipyards and for other repair activities."

HABIT FADES

Weisner, who commanded the 7th Fleet and was Yankee Station commander in 1969, recalled the Navy was forced to defer a great deal of maintenance and overhaul, and "we sort of got out of the habit of good operating procedures that we have used over the years.

"Now we have to get back to good procedures of maintenance and operations — and we are doing that.

"Readiness is being improved, but it is something you do not turn around overnight. It takes a lengthy period to correct things once you have a trend going that you do not want, and you have to reverse it," he said.

However, not all of the changes are within the fleet's budget. The Navy had to defer 10 ship overhauls during the current fiscal year because Congress eliminated money for them, a spokesman said.

Weisner said it takes six to 10 years to build a fighting ship, "and if something isn't appropriated by Congress to take care of inflation, then you have to eat that out of your hide."

Readiness of the Pacific Fleet also is being impaired by the lack of skilled petty officers, Weisner said.

"Certain ratings are perfectly satisfactory, but in other ratings like engineer and electronics operation specialists, we are in considerable trouble. The number of people in middle management rates in these areas is as low as 50 per cent of the need," he said.

Recent testimony by the chief of naval personnel, Vice Adm. David Bagley, indicated 42 per cent of fleet units were marginally ready or unready for combat in terms of personnel at the end of 1974.

The solution for the present, Weisner said, is to train men "faster than we would like to and try to get them up to a reasonable level of efficiency in doing their job."

A Navy spokesman said it takes six to 10 years to train a 1st class petty officer.

With less than desired manning, Weisner said, "you have to consider what you can do with your operational tempo. You might figure with no constraints, with optimum manning, you could operate "X" number of days, 24 hours a day, with no deferment.

"With a lesser number of people in certain skills you can't go that far, you have to reduce your operational tempo," he said.

The Navy has retired about half of its Vietnam-era fleet, prefering to use money saved on maintenance and overhaul of older ships to build a new fleet.

However, despite the new ships, aircraft and weapons systems being added as part of this modernization program, Weisner questions whether the Pacific Fleet will be able to carry out its mission in another five or six years.

"Even with the newer types of aircraft and ships," he said, "the Soviets are bringing in new types of equipment too.

"We can't assume that a small number of ships can achieve superiority and control. The problem is that while we are building new and good ships, the Soviets are building new, good ships at a much faster rate than we are.

"If this continues over a period of maybe five or six years, we are going to be in critical condition in so far as being able to defend ourselves in the areas of the world we feel we must."

Weisner said some of the new weapons will give the Navy new capabilities, while others will be " covering, to a certain extent, deficiencies."

Some of these new systems include the F-14 Tomcat, a twinengine, swingwing fighter-interceptor with a long-range missile system capable of intercepting enemy cruise or antiship missiles.

The Navy's new S-3 Viking carrier-based subhunter is described by Weisner as a "quantum jump" over the Navy's existing submarine patrol aircraft, the S-2 Tracker.

"Because of its radar, its speed and its ability to search out a given area in a shorter time, it has a volume of time to area capability five or six to one over other means," he said.

The F-14 is being introduced to the fleet at Miramar Naval Air Station, making its first deployment aboard the carrier Enterprise. The S-3 is being introduced at North Island, and is scheduled to make its first deployment in the Mediterranean aboard the carrier John F. Kennedy.

HARPOON TESTING

The Navy's long-awaited Harpoon antiship missile, to be put aboard virtually all surface combatants and many aircraft and submarines, is about to begin operational testing, the final step before McDonnell-Douglas Astronautics Co. of St. Louis begins producing operational missiles.

Weisner said the new missile will give surface ships their own offensive capability, and give operational commanders more freedom in using ships without the support of air cover from an aircraft carrier.

The Harpoon missile, in an encapsulated form, is being developed for use aboard submarines. Shot from a standard torpedo tube, it will give a submarine commander an antiship weapon with three times the range of the Navy's newest torpedo, the Mark 48, according to a spokesman.

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The Washington Merry-Go-Round . THE WASHINGTON POST Thursday, May 22, 1975

Files Show Martin Waited Too Long

By Jack Anderson and Les Whitten

President Ford's own files dispute his statements and confirm our charges about Ambassador Graham Martin's handling of the Vietnam evacuation.

After we reported that Martin had badly 'botched' evacuation effort, the President defended him. Martin did a "good job" and directed a "successful evacuation," said Mr Ford.

This is not what the confidential White House records show. We have had access to some of these documents. We have also interviewed key people who were involved in the evacuation, including some of the refugees themselves.

The President outlined his objectives at a secret strategy session April 9 in the conference room next to the Oval Office. His first concern, he said, was to save "about 6,000 Americans now in South Vietnam."

But he also declared firmly: "A large number of South Vietnamese have worked for the U.S. at great personal peril. Roughly 175,000 to 200,000 will be the first to suffer . . . I think here's a moral responsibility for us to help those people who helped us."

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, according to the confidential minutes, stressed that the "removal must be handled so as to avoid panic." He reflected the views of his man in Saigon, the implacable Graham Martin, who kept dragging his heels.

A few senators, privy to the developments in Saigon, became alarmed over the slow pace of the evacuation. In response to their inquiries, the President invited the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to the White House on April 14 for a briefing, which he stressed "must be an executive secret] session."

"Mr. President," pleaded Sen. Charles H. Percy (R-Ill.), "could you order that every seat be filled on every outgoing plane?"

Mr. Ford said Kissinger had already given Martin orders that "should achieve that."

"We felt the President should be sure through some agent other than Martin that your orders are being urgently carried out," interjected Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y). "Our first priority must be to bring every American out and such Vietnamese . . . as can be brought out."

"The orders that we have given will be carried out," the President promised. Then, referring to the Vietnamese, he pledged: "As far as I can, within the law, I'm going to do all I can to help those people . . ."

But it was too late; Martin had waited too long. He was unable to process all the Vietnamese who clamored to escape. The State Department, for example, wanted to cable Saigon a list of intellectuals who were vulnerable to Communist retaliation and should be rescued.

But Martin, incredibly, refused even to accept the list. He informed the State Department icily that the embassy was making the decisions and had matters in hand.

Meanwhile, on April 21, the Vietnamese who thronged outside the embassy to save their families were greeted with this poignant notice: "PETITIONS FOR RELATIVES. Due to the press of business, we have temporarily suspended acceptance of petitions for parents, brothers and sisters. DO NOT WAIT IN LINE IF YOU ARE HERE FOR THIS PURPOSE. We hope to be able to accept petitions for parents, brothers and sisters in the near future."

The next day, according to White House minutes, Kissinger reported that it was "not realistic to count on the release of large numbers of South Vietnamese."

There was little more President Ford could do except joke about the crisis. The confidential minutes quote him as telling about one man who "showed up with four wives."

"Which one do you want out?" he was asked. His quick response, said the President, was: "I want the youngest one."

There was nothing funny, however, about the scramble by desperate Vietnamese to get their loved ones on the exit petitions. The petitions provided spaces for the names of relatives. Refugees have sworn to us that U.S. embassy employees sold the spaces like carnival barkers.

This 'profiteering 'in human distress was done by the Vietnamese employees, seldom by the American staff members, according to the refugees.

One refugee's story is typical of the several we have heard. He asked us not to use his name, because he is afraid of the consequences. But he alleges that he had to pay $3,000, two-thirds of it in gold, just to be introduced to someone who could place him and his family on an exit petition. Then it cost him another $3,000 to be listed.

He was told to wait for a call. It came at 3 a.m. on April 27. He was instructed to have his family at the airport by 5 a.m. Yet the curfew didn't end until 7 a.m. Anyone appearing on the streets earlier could be shot on sight.

He bundled his family aboard a 7 a.m. bus for the airport, where he was told he had missed his flight and would have to return to the end of the line. It took some frantic arguing and appealing for him to get his family aboard a later flight. Since the $6,000 bribe money had wiped out their entire life's savings, they arrived in the United States penniless.

At a secret White House meeting on April 29, Kissinger reported that of the 175,000 Vietnamese whom the President had hoped to rescue, the paperwork had been completed for 130,000 but that only 45,000 made it.

It is clear from the available documents that the man who is chiefly to blame, as we have reported in previous columns, is Graham Martin.

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BETTS -- CONTINUED

cent about a fourth to a third of a nautical mile."

At the present time the Soviets have a couple of thousand warheads, Schlesinger said. He added: "As you look out beyond 1975 they probably will start a process of deployment of MIRVed missiles which we would expect to number about 200 ICBMs a year if they conform to previous trends. So, roughly seven or eight years from now they could have on the order of 7,000 MIRVed reentry bodies deployed."

Schlesinger admitted that the choice of U.S. targets the Soviets might choose to strike, should they wish to initiate nuclear warfare on a limited scale, is highly speculative.

"It does not seem unreasonable, however," he said, "to assume one of their major objectives would be to reduce the nuclear retaliatory capability of the United States . . .

"It is precisely because we cannot confidently predict the targets the Soviets might choose to strike that we emphasize the need for flexibility in our planning and our retargeting capability, plus the need for good command control and communications capability to permit ad hoc adjustments to the situation at hand."

The subcommittee also heard a discussion on the "bargaining chip" concept. Schlesinger explained:

"What I am saying is that there must be a functional relationship between the forces the Soviet Union deploys and the forces that the United States deploys; that they must recognize that if they take certain steps we will match them; and that, therefore, we have research and development projects in development which will give us the capability to respond to certain actions of the Soviet Union which we hope they will not take. If they do take these actions, then these projects will not be bargaining chips.

"We think we must be prepared to deploy these additional capabilities in order to maintain an appropriate balance, but we are prepared to renounce them if the other side reciprocates.

"We would hope they turned out to be bargaining chips and that both sides are willing to renounce their new programs."

The Defense Department wants it clearly understood, however, that it is not advocating a strategy which makes the initiation of limited nuclear war an attractive proposition.

"The point Defense Secretary Schlesinger's briefing is intended to bring home," it was stated, "is that the United States would be much worse off if it responded to a Soviet limited nuclear strike by retaliating against Soviet cities, bringing upon itself a Soviet counterstrike on U.S. cities . . ." (with resultant damage in the order of 100 million fatalities).

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SEA POWER MAGAZINE - APRIL 1975(22 MAY)

The Marine Corps Faces East

New Transatlantic Orientation for Corps

By JAMES D. HESSMAN
Editor-in-Chief

AFTER more than half a century of a conscious orientation toward conflict in the Pacific—the theater in which it has fought its last three wars—the Marine Corps has done a conceptual and organizational about-face and is now gearing its personnel and hardware for possible deployment in Europe, the Mediterranean, Middle East, Persian Gulf, and Africa.

The Corps' new eastward orientation, being conducted with little fuss and fanfare, results from a number of interrelated strategic, geopolitical, and economic considerations:

(1) During the peak of the Vietnam War over three fourths of the Marine Corps was committed to Southeast Asia. A more balanced worldwide USMC posture following withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam was inevitable in any case.

(2) Even though the Marines are, as always, prepared for combat anywhere in the world, including Asia (again), the unhappy U.S. experience in Vietnam and Cambodia makes it almost impossible that any U.S. President could commit U.S. troops to a new Asian land war for another generation or longer. Recent headlines detailing the renewed traumas in those unhappy countries greatly exacerbate the already bitter divisiveness in U.S. political circles concerning American policy, past and present, toward Southeast Asia, and make it an even less likely future theater of operations for U.S. forces.

(3) Contrary to the thesis that generals are always preparing to fight "the last war," the Marines traditionally have tried to keep ahead of the game by using their between-wars planning and strategy to determine the most likely locale of, and prepare for, "the next war." As far back as the early 1920s, in fact, the Corps began laying the technical and doctrinal bases for the amphibious operations that might be needed in a war against Japan. The most likely sites of future conflict today, according to USMC position papers, "are in the NATO, Mediterranean, and/or African theaters." The Corps' outlook coincides quite happily, incidentally, with the views of Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger, who in his FY 1976 "posture" testimony before Congress candidly admitted that "With the end of our involvement in Vietnam the emphasis of our planning has shifted toward Europe. ... Most of our forces are or soon will be oriented toward a war in Europe."

(4) During the October 1973 Yom Kippur War the United States found its NATO allies not only unwilling to join with the United States in coming to the aid of Israel, but even, in several cases, so afraid of Arab oil retaliation that they would not permit the overflight rights necessary for the United States to transfer its own European-based equipment to Israel. Whether the U.S. or general European view was "right" is not important. What is significant for U.S. planning purposes is that the United States has been put on notice that U.S. forces may, despite existing treaties and fervent allied declarations of interdependence, have to go it alone in future crises. And if U.S. Army and Air Force units in Europe were again to be held in checkmate, the Navy and Marine Corps forces afloat, unhindered by geographical or treaty constraints, would once more have to serve as the leading edge of American naval and military power.

(5) The Vietnam experience has not only made it less likely that U.S. ground forces will be thrown into future

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WASHINGTON STAR - 21 MAY 1975(22)

ERNEST B. FURGURSON

The Marines Deserve Better

The Marines were in trouble before their rescue of the Mayaguez. They still are. Despite their performance and their reputation, they continue to be budgetary stepchildren among the armed forces. They deserve better.

What they did last week in the Gulf of Thailand was a classic, romantic Marine operation. It was in fact a near duplicate of their role in the first naval battle in our history as a nation, the raid on New Providence in the Bahamas in March 1776.

As they stormed ashore at Tang Island last week, so they landed near Nassau then, capturing 88 cannons and a variety of other war booty from the British base. Through the Barbary wars, to the Mexican War, through the banana wars of the early 1900s, they were always there. And the reputation they built in those years has turned out to be a disadvantage in modern times.

The assumption became that the Marines were useful primarily to fight ill-equipped primitives in little sideshow operations to the main events conducted by the Army. The grain of truth in that persists even to this day.

Between the great wars, in the 1930s, the Marines perfected the techniques of amphibious warfare essential to winning World War II. In that war, their strength more than half a million, they were the spearhead of the advance toward Japan. Theirs was the most admirable record in Korea.

They developed the techniques of helicopter warfare while the Army was still scattering troops all over the landscape with parachutes. In Vietnam they held the northernmost end of the country through the years of toughest fighting.

Yet regardless of their battle streamers, despite the fact that they traditionally have loaded more men into their rifle companies and fewer into their administrative overhead than any other service branch, the Marines remain an afterthought when the Pentagon splits up its money.

In 1942, when Army infantrymen were using the new Garand rifle, the Marines still had the 1903-model Springfield. In Vietnam, when Army divisions were equipped with the new M-16 rifle, the Marines still had the heavier M-14.

Today, the Marines are still getting along with pre-Vietnam tanks, anti-tank and anti-aircraft missiles, while the latest versions of those weapons have been shipped to the nations of the Middle East.

That is one cause of faltering morale among many career Marines. Another factor is even more depressing and harder to solve.

The all-volunteer Marine Corps, now 196,000 strong, has been plagued by violence and crime in its ranks. Desertion is up. Serious racial problems rent units that survived in earlier tight places because of their close-knit spirit. These problems have created others, driving some career Marines to resign.

That was where the Marines stood before the fall of Vietnam. Under these discouraging circumstances the Marines have demonstrated again — in the Vietnam evacuation and in the Mayaguez affair — that they can fill the assignment they were given in 1947, to be the nation's first-line force in readiness.

They deserve better.

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THE MARINE CORPS -- CONTINUED

Asian conflicts; it also, it is hoped, served to thoroughly discredit the "gradual escalation" strategy of the Johnson-McNamara years. For both political and economic reasons it now seems extremely unlikely that the United States would at any time in the foreseeable future become involved in a protracted conflict anywhere in the world. Once again, the call to arms, if and when it should come, would go first to the "quick deployment" forces—Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force (U.S.-based wings, particularly)—with most Army units held in reserve for commitment, if still needed, in the later stages of conflict.

(6) Soviet sea strength has increased in recent years to such an extent that in many potential combat theaters the best and perhaps only effective U.S. strategy might be, as in the 1958 Lebanon crisis, a sudden strike, force insertion, mission accomplishment, and, if possible, immediate withdrawal of all forces initially committed before any Soviet counter-reaction would be possible. Of interest here is not only Henry Kissinger's celebrated Business Week interview—"I am not saying that there's no circumstance where we would not use force ... in the Middle East"—but also a startlingly plausible combat "scenario" by "Miles Ignotus" ("Unknown Soldier") which appeared in the March 1975 issue of Harper's Magazine under the unusually straightforward title "Seizing Arab Oil": "There would be no friendly bases within easy reach. ... The first wave should include the combat echelons of one Marine division: 14,000 men, with one or two battalions amphibious-landed and the rest simply to be unloaded from aboard ship. ... On D+3 or D+4, the expedition [against Saudi Arabia, in the scenario outlined] would be reinforced with more Marines, the combat echelons of a second division. ... The two Marine divisions would come with their organic air 'wings,' no mean force: eight Phantom fighter squadrons, two reconnaissance squadrons, and another eight 'attack' squadrons, with light and not-so-light bombers."

(7) Finally, a small but important political and psychological point: deployment of Marines, available, according to Defense Department "roles and missions" guidelines, for such assignments "as the President may direct," has historically been considered, whatever the legal ramifications, as an act somewhat short of war—perhaps because the Corps has so often been used for such peaceful purposes as evacuation of civilians and short-term protection of U.S. nationals and property, rather than as full-scale invasion or occupation forces. In today's tinderbox world it seems even more probable, therefore, that a commander-in-chief would prefer to use the Marines as his first, lower-key, option in a potential conflict situation.

The Cushman-Anderson Team

As a necessary first step to configure current and future Marine posture to the new realities of the post-Vietnam era, General Robert E. Cushman, Jr., USMC Commandant, last year assigned to his Assistant Commandant, General Earl E. Anderson, the important and extremely complex task of determining "the proper balance and structure of Marine forces for possible action in European, Middle Eastern, and African theaters, with a report to be rendered in early 1975."

The Commandant would have had a difficult time of it, incidentally, to find anyone better qualified than Anderson to carry out what is perhaps the most important restructuring and reorganization of the Corps since the end of World War II. A three-war combat veteran with experience in both the Atlantic and Pacific theatres, Anderson also had a background of assignments providing experience vital to the reassessment directed by Cushman. He had previously headed the Marine Corps Research and Development program as well as its personnel department. Further, as former Commanding General, Fleet Marine Force Atlantic/II Marine Amphibious Force (II MAF, consisting of the 2nd Marine Division and the 2d Marine Aircraft Wing), he was the field commander who actually triggered the Corps' review and reorientation by initiating a series of messages in late 1971 pointing out what he considered to be the "lack of readiness [of II MAF] commensurate with deployment and war contingency commitments and the Mideast political situation."

(The last of the messages—described by "Head Shed" officers as "the first realistic report we ever received of a command's actual readiness status"—was sent to Headquarters USMC in early March 1972 shortly before Anderson became Assistant Commandant.)

The first order of priority in the still ongoing reorientation review had to be, of course, an upgrading of (aries Kissinger and Schlesinger) "the same priorities for men and equipment for II MAF" as for III MAF in the Western Pacific, then the forward edge of Marine Corps strategy and priorities. The result, and early payoff: By the time the October 1973 Yom Kippur War had started, II MAF was more ready than it had been at any time since the 1972 Cuban Missile Crisis, when it had mounted out prepared, if necessary, for an invasion of Cuba.

Some problems remained, however. Although II MAF readiness had improved steadily, the 2d Division and Wing were still only mirror images of the two Marine divisions and wings in the Pacific, "organized to fight well anywhere but not optimized or specialized for any one geographic area or type of warfare." And an analysis of the Yom Kippur War has made two points "crystal clear": (1) "The worldwide proliferation of more sophisticated armor, especially in the Middle East, indicates that the Marine Corps itself must place more emphasis on procuring new armor and anti-armor capabilities"; and (2) There is today, more than ever before, "an absolute need for fully integrated tank-infantry-air forces combined with maximum electronic countermeasures capabilities."

Shift to Armored Divisions

The Marine Corps has, of course, always prided itself on the close integration and working effectiveness of its air-ground teams, now supplemented by what Anderson describes as "perhaps the world's best airborne electronic countermeasures in the [Grumman-built] EA-6B [Prowler]." But each MarDiv is supported by only one tank battalion, and USMC studies of the type of war which might be expected in the European or Mideast theaters indicate that three or more tank battalions per division are needed—"making them, in effect, armored divisions."

In keeping with the Yom Kippur lessons, the 2d Marine Division has been given top priority for the new M60 tanks, now starting to flow into the inventory. The diesel-powered M60s, equipped with powerful 105mm guns, will replace the aging M48s, which are powered with highly inflammable gasoline engines and armed with less capable 90mm guns.

The 2d also has been given top priority for the much needed new anti-tank weapons which the Corps will soon be getting: the heavy long-range TOW, scheduled for initial delivery in the spring of 1976, and the lighter Dragon, which starts into the inventory in the summer of 1976. An increase in the number of M60 tanks for the 2d, beyond the division's currently approved one battalion of 70 tanks, is also being studied, as are increases in the division's planned TOW and Dragon allocations. Also under consideration are: (1) an increase in the number of Marine Corps Reserve tank units—which, as Anderson points out, "will be [in event of conflict] the initial and primary augmentation for the active forces"; and (2) equipping MCR tank units, in any case, with the new M60s or with modernized M48s, retrofitted with diesel engines and 105mm guns. (Unlike the Navy, which has given short shrift to the Naval Reserve, the Marine Corps has been praised for consistently buying new weapons and other equipment items in quantities

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THE MARINE CORPS -- CONTINUED

sufficient for Reserve as well as active-duty forces.)

To support its highly mobile tank forces, two six-gun medium self-propelled 155mm artillery batteries also have been added to the 2d Division. Current plans call for the 155s to fire the new CLGP (cannon-launched guided projectile), which will be directed against tank or bunker targets by the even newer MULE (modular universal laser equipment). The CLGP and MULE are not yet operational, but the Corps is supporting accelerated development and procurement of both systems.

Eight Minute Response

Aviation anti-tank capability also is being upgraded. The AV-8A Harrier V/STOL (vertical/short takeoff and landing) attack fighter is already proving to be an effective anti-tank platform with its varied assortment of guns, rockets, and both free-fall and guided bombs.

A long-time AV-8A supporter, Anderson is particularly appreciative of the "quick response time" made possible by the Harrier's vertical takeoff and landing capabilities, which enable it to be based far forward in any combat zone.

"This is extremely valuable against fleeting targets such as rapidly moving tanks," Anderson pointed out. He revealed that "response times of as little as eight minutes [vs. over 20 minutes in Vietnam] from mission request through aircraft launch and target attack have been attained" by the Harrier, noting at the same time that, from the combat Marine's point of view (and in answer to the charge sometimes made that the Harrier has "a limited load"), "It is more effective to get 3,000 pounds of ordnance on a fleeting target in ten minutes than 10,000 pounds over the target area 20 to 30 minutes later when the target has dispersed or disappeared."

The first USMC Harriers were assigned, incidentally, to the Corps' Mediterranean (Sixth Fleet) MAU (Marine Amphibious Unit) "to determine their feasibility and supportability in the NATO/Middle Eastern environment."

Aiding, abetting, and augmenting the Harrier's own unique capabilities are a number of other new aviation-oriented support hardware systems, such as Marine-invented lightweight airfield matting, a portable aircraft refueling system -both in demand by other services -and other portable airfield equipment items. Also coming along is the AH-1J Huey Cobra attack helicopter which will be armed with TOW anti-tank missiles. (The versatile and highly effective TOW, which the Marines need in large numbers, is also being considered for use on the LVTP-7 amphibian tractor.)

ANGLICO, MACCS, and MTDS

As they have for over a generation, the post-Vietnam Marines are also laying heavy emphasis on reliable, secure, "real-time" communications. The overall command and control system, MACCS, a still-evolving system which now integrates the top Marine air command, air defense fighters, and anti-aircraft missile defense, will in its later stages of development also bring under the same C&C umbrella a variety of close air support, helicopter operations, radar-controlled blind bombing, and air traffic control systems. In addition, MACCS provides C&C links for the Marine ANGLICO (air-naval gunfire) liaison company, which permits integration of naval gunfire and II MAF to bring that East Coast-based division/wing team (with some elements always in the Mediterranean) to the same level of readiness as I MAF (based in Southern California) and III MAF (Western Pacific). That part of the program now has been largely completed -although much still remains to be done, particularly in the hardware area, to complete upgrading of all USMC ground divisions and air wings, both active duty and Reserves. In an interview with SEA POWER, Anderson elaborated on the specifics of what already has been accomplished, and what remains to be done, in a number of hardware and personnel areas. What follows is the gist of that interview, supplemented by input from various USMC "think pieces," "position papers," and other documents.

During the Vietnam War, as Anderson reported in his EMPLANE messages, "Personnel and material readiness of II MAF units had been sacrificed to a goal of higher readiness for Pacific forces." On 18 April 1972, Cushman approved (in consonance with and, in some respects, in anticipation of, the policies later enunciated by Secretary Schlesinger) a plan to reorganize II MAF to provide close air support with Army and allied forces.

The heart of MACCS is the MTDS, or Marine Tactical Data System, which the ubiquitous Anderson ten years ago -as a colonel assigned as the first Marine weapons system project manager -godfathered to outstanding success. An MTDS unit installed on Monkey Mountain near Danang proved its worth during the 1972 North Vietnam Easter offensive by coordinating the complex and multi-faceted operations of South Vietnam's air and ground forces, U.S. Navy gunfire support ships and air support aircraft, USAF aircraft, and USMC helicopter and attack aircraft units. The MTDS was then, and still is, the only C&C system which could coordinate air, ground, and naval operations of all U.S. and allied forces.

Togetherness in Training

At the same time the Corps has been adjusting its equipment requirements, it has also been reorienting its training, with the heaviest emphasis on tank and desert exercises to familiarize units with the type of conflict situations most likely to be encountered in Europe or the Mideast.

Cold-weather training, for a Northern Europe scenario, also has been stressed -at Camp Drum, N.Y., for example, on the coast of Maine, and in the 1972 multi-nation NATO "Strong Express" exercise in Norway and offshore waters. The use of combined arms—tank, aircraft, and infantry units working as a team -is the invariable rule. "Tanks and infantry *together*," the Marines say. "The October 1973 War showed us tanks by themselves aren't enough; you also need the infantry, working with the tanks."

In keeping with the Schlesinger-directed emphasis on service "interdependence," Marine personnel and equipment are now often flown, under the interservice Joint Airborne and Air Transportability Training program, to assigned training areas by Air Force C-5 and C-141 heavy transport aircraft (augmented by USMC C-130s).

The increased Marine use of airlift, which again illustrates the current emphasis on rapid response capability, serves also to relieve the current U.S. sealift shortage -of which all Marines are keenly aware, but don't like to talk about (not for the record, anyway).

Schlesinger on Sealift

Schlesinger is not so reticent, however. In his FY 1976 "posture" testimony he spells out the current unsatisfactory situation: "The present amphibious force of 65 ships has sufficient capacity ... to transport simultaneously the assault elements of slightly more than one Marine Amphibious Force (MAF), i.e., one Marine division/wing team and supporting elements. Our amphibious shipping, however, is about equally divided between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Thus, to conduct a single MAF-size lift ... it would be necessary to shift half of our amphibious shipping from one ocean to the other. Moreover, about 15 percent of the Navy's ships are in overhaul status at any given time and thus are not immediately available."

The unstated implication: The Navy could not, at present, conduct even a half-MAF lift on short notice in either the Atlantic or Pacific theaters. If the previously cited "Miles Ignotus" Saudi Arabia two-MAF contingency plan (written long before the Faisal assassination and its still unknown but potentially explosive aftermath) has any validity, it is obvious the Navy has less than one-fourth the amphibious lift capability which it might need in a Mideast or Persian Gulf emergency.

There is help on the way, if still over the horizon, in

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Part II -- Main Edition - 22 May 1975

THE NEW REPUBLIC - 3 MAY 1975(22)

The POWs

by Chester L. Cooper

When future historians set out to trace the course of the Vietnam war they may find that a definitive turning point was reached during a few months in mid-1966. From that point on the men of Hanoi must have realized that they could not lose. It is worth rehearsing the events of those months for they explain a great deal about the agreement that was reached in 1973.

In mid-April 1966 the Strategic Air Command was given a chance it had been seeking for the past several months—the B-52s would now be making regular bombing runs over North Vietnam. The air force would have a chance to demonstrate that it, too, had a role to play in "limited war." The awesome power of the "Flying Fortresses" was soon demonstrated; in late June the bombers struck oil installations in Hanoi and Haiphong. Damage was heavy and by no means confined to the primary targets. There were civilian casualties, there were losses of planes and crews. Two weeks later Hanoi announced that captured American airmen were to be tried as "war criminals." A massive campaign was promptly launched from Washington to apply pressure on the North Vietnamese to call off the trial. A mixed but impressive bag of international leaders, administration officials, American pacifists, a score of "doves" in the Senate, the Pope and U Thant appealed to and/or warned Hanoi. By the end of July Ho Chi Minh announced that there would be no trial.

The Americans had won the battle of the war crimes. But in the process the North Vietnamese had gained a critical piece of intelligence: American prisoners were an extremely important weapon. And as the war went on and the bombing of North Vietnam intensified, more airmen were taken captive.

The North Vietnamese exploited their growing arsenal with great skill. By ignoring the terms of the Geneva Convention, even to the point of refusing to release a list of the prisoners they held, they fueled American anxiety. By exhibiting a handful of POWs to selected foreign visitors, they fed a growing popular determination to extricate the captured men.

During the summer of 1968 the POWs were playing an important, if unwitting, role in American politics. And the issue of a prisoner exchange became a principal point on the negotiating agenda of the American delegation to the peace talks that were just starting in Paris. By 1970 freeing American prisoners became, paradoxically, a reason for continuing the war.

This was Henry Kissinger's legacy as he began his secret meetings with his counterpart from Hanoi. By the autumn of 1972, with a presidential election at hand and another wartime Christmas looming, the 500 American POWs must have provided considerable negotiating leverage for the North Vietnamese. The meetings in October came to naught, but when they were resumed after the first of the year, progress was swift and a cease-fire agreement emerged late in January. The last contingent of American troops and the POWs were soon on their way home. But remaining behind in Vietnam were 150,000 North Vietnamese soldiers—almost 100 times the number there when the United States first became militarily involved, eight years before. The cease-fire arrangement was, at best, a fragile one; only the hopelessly naive would have expected either Hanoi or Saigon to observe it, or the puny International Commission to enforce it.

Americans have a right to be saddened, but not surprised, by what has happened. Saigon's chronic inability to attract the support of the Vietnamese people made the Communists a long-term favorite in the ultimate outcome. And the outpouring of American concern for the POWs gave Hanoi a tremendous negotiating advantage in the contrived "peace."

There is a somber lesson for Americans in all this: we must recognize that American military assistance cannot compensate for fatal political weaknesses. And before we once again commit our troops to battle, we must reckon the total cost of war: the maimed, the dead—and the prisoners.

Chester Cooper, a former State Department official, was involved in the Vietnam peace negotiations.

THE MARINE CORPS -- CONTINUED

the form of the LHA (multi-purpose amphibious assault ship), SES (surface effect ship), and AALC (amphibious assault landing craft) programs. With Cushman leading the cheers, the Corps strongly supports, and would be happy to accelerate, all three programs. The first LHA is expected to be delivered to the fleet in September 1975. The fifth, and last—the originally planned nine-ship buy was cut to five "for budgetary considerations"—won't come into the inventory, according to Schlesinger, until FY 1978, "about 44 months beyond the original delivery date." When all five LHAs finally are operational, the Marine forces afloat will have the best amphibs in the world supporting them. But they'll still be grievously short of the total sealift they really need.

'Terrific Boats'

The SES and AALC programs, further down the road, show even greater promise. "Using surface effect ships," Cushman pointed out in the May 1974 Naval Review (published annually by the U.S. Naval Institute), Marine and other U.S. forces "could respond to crises four or five times faster than they can now—arriving at some of their destinations within hours, instead of days or weeks." In today's onrushing world such accelerated response time, of course, might well mean the difference between mission failure or success.

The Marines are just as strong on the AALC: "When we get those machines [test-craft AALCs now being developed by Aerojet General and Textron's Bell Aerospace Division]—and they're both terrific boats—we'll be able to project a ship-to-shore movement at 50 to 60 knots instead of eight," Anderson points out. "In addition, using air cushion landing vehicles would open up 70 percent or 80 percent or more of the beaches otherwise unusable by standard landing ships and amphibian tractors—which makes them almost impossible to defend against. Also, they can move across most beaches and inland to unloading points, which means no more of that logistics congestion along the beach line which has fouled us up so many times in the past."

Whether, and how soon, the Marines will get the additional lift needed will be up to the Navy Department, Defense Department, OMB (Office of Management and Budget), White House, and, eventually, Congress. But in the meantime the Corps is moving along on its own at flank speed in preparation for the next crisis, the next contingency, the next emergency, and, if need be, the next war.

And now it is also looking East as well as West, toward, among other places, the Shores of Tripoli, where in 1804, barely six years after their post-Revolutionary War reconstitution, the fledgling Corps fought and won against the Barbary Pirates who had been plundering American and European merchant ships during the Napoleonic wars. ■

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NEW YORK TIMES 21 MAY 1975(22)

Sweeping Change in U.N. Is Urged by World Panel

By KATHLEEN TELTSCH
Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., May 20—A 25-member international panel has recommended sweeping changes in the structure of the United Nations to improve its handling of economic issues and increase cooperation between rich and poor countries.

Its recommendations marked the first such major attempt at fundamental change since the world organization was formed 30 years ago.

Its recommendations marked the first such major attempt to revise the United Nations since the world organization was formed 30 years ago.

The panel's report, entitled "A New United Nations Structure for Global Economic Cooperation," was presented today to Secretary General Waldheim. He said that this was "a historic moment in the life of the United Nations."

A major innovation suggested by the panel, consisting of one expert from each of 25 countries, including the United States and the Soviet Union, was a revamping of the present decision-making process, which has led in the last year to confrontation and deadlocks between the rich and poor members in the General Assembly.

Instead of voting showdowns in the Assembly, where the developing third-world countries easily outnumber the industrial powers, the group recommended an intricate but still imprecise process of negotiating disputes to get agreements by consensus within the Economic and Social Council.

However they ruled out any proposal that would require a revision of the United Nations Charter, clearly because they saw no prospects for agreement at this time, especially from the big powers.

The panel's report is expected to be taken up at the special General Assembly session beginning Sept. 1. But it appears to face an uncertain fate because its recommendations are not likely to satisfy either the minority of industrialized countries or the majority of developing nations that have demonstrated here that they can rush through resolutions supporting their demands for a larger share of the world's resources.

However, the high caliber of the experts, each nominated by the government of the country represented, suggests that the recommendations will get serious study from the 138 members of the United Nations. An American official said that the United States intended to give the report its closest attention. But he declined to comment on the recommendations beyond saying, "They pose some problems."

One of the recommendations that are expected to stir controversy calls for revising the present voting system in the World Bank and International Monetary Fund to provide greater decision-making power for the developing countries. The existing weighted voting arrangement now gives the United States a vet over some decisions and heavy influence on lending policies.

The panel calls for the creation of a new post of Director General for Development and International Economic Cooperation that would be second in importance only to that of the Secretary General. It would go to a citizen of one of the developing countries when the Secretary General was elected from a developed country.

The panel implied that the new Director General would outrank the heads of the 15 specialize agencies in the United Nations system, such as the Food and Agricultural Organization and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Criticizing the fragmentation of aid programs currently funneled through 23 separate funds, the report advocated that they be merged into a single United Nations Development Authority —dubbed by some panelists as the "tunnel of funnels."

The amalgamation contributions now going for population control, food assistance, environmental protection and other activities would give the proposed new authority a half-billion yearly to disperse to needy nations. The United Nations Children's Fund would remain separate.

The authority would be headed by an administrator who also would serve as one of two deputies to the new Director General and would be selected from an industrialized country.

It was expected that there would be a vigorous lobbying against the proposal for a new Director General and the Development Fund—this coming from the heads of United Nations agencies who would see their authority threatened.

Role of Existing Agencies

Under the recommended changes, each agency would keep its autonomy but become less involved in running projects in the field and act rather as a standard-setter.

Some of the recommendations, such as the appointment of a new Director General, were proposed for action at the Assembly this year; others were not expected to be taken up for two to five years. Among these was a recommendation that an International Trade Organization be established.

Although the 25 panel members signed their report as individuals—meaning they did not signify their governments' approval — their conclusions would be expected to carry some weight since 19 hold government positions, two at cabinet level.

The panel chairman was Al-Noor Kassum, a Tanzanian lawyer-economist. The Soviet member was Aleksond A. Molchanov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Department of International Economic Organization.

The American member, Richard N. Gardner, Professor of Law and International Organization at Columbia University, served as rapporteur of the document, drafter over an eight-week period.

Copies have not reached delegations, but one panelist predicted it could run into strong opposition from the United States on several counts, but particularly because of the idea of having a third-world representative serving in the second highest post in the United Nations hierarchy — he would be selected by the Secretary General with the approval of the Assembly.

Other saw prospects that the third-world countries would negotiating procedures, seeing a threat to curb their numerical voting strength, although the report stipulates that the Assembbly could go on voting resolutions as long as it "takes account" of the private conciliation efforts being tried elsewhere.

The panel's' work was authorized by a General Assembly resolution of January, 1975, requesting that it propose structural changes to make the United Nations system "fully capable of dealing with the problems of international cooperation."

The resolution called for a broad geographical representation on the panel, which was appointed by Secretary General Waldheim on the basis of nominations by governments. China was offered a seat on the panel but declined.

The panel sought through its recommendations to enhance the standing of the Economic and Social Council, which is listed in the Charter as one of the major organs of the world organization. However, it has not enjoyed high prestige. The most recent session was marked by high rates of absenteeism among the 54 members.

In its efforts to steer away from the voting contests that split the Assembly membership into seemingly that the Council establish small negotiating groups to deal in private with deadlocked key issues. None such might be the continuing dispute over compansation for nationalized foreign properties —an issue that brought on a major dispute at the late Assembly.

The small groups would include representatives of the countries most deeply involved and would be headed by a prominent individual who would devote full time to trying to bring about agreements, traveling as necessary between capitals and serving, as one official suggested, as "a Kissinger for economic, instead of political, disputes."

Each such negotiating effort would be limited to one or two years, but several could be tackled simultaneously.

The panel also advocated a major overhaul of the Economic and Social Council to abolish at least eight of its subsidiary commissions.

The commission on the status of women would be eliminated along with the commissions on population, social development and natural resources. The Human Rights Commission would remain.

The business formerly handled by the others would be dealt with directly by the Council, thereby avoiding duplicating debates.

In support of such streamlining, the panel report said that the Council, as it currently operates, "lacks the necessary degree of authority," and has become bogged down by unmanageable documentation.

As part of the proposed structural change, the panel recommended that the Council be given a new role in organizing the economic matters dealt with by the Assembly.

They proposed that the Assembly's Economic Committee be renamed the Committee on Development and International Economic Cooperation, and that it take on all items currently discussed by the Social Commitee that concern development. The Social Committee would be left mainly with human rights matters and humanitarian questions. Each has a membership of 138 countries.

In the field of trade, the experts proposed a gradual phasing out of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which was organized in 1964 by the poorer

(SEE 12-F

The Members Of U.N. Panel

Abdel-Hamid Abdel-Ghany, Egypt
Adebayo Adedeji, Nigeria
Abdelaziz Bennane, Morocco
Wilmot Blyden 3d, Sierra Leone
Sérgio Corrêa da Costa, Brazil
Juan M. Figuerero, Argentina
Richard N. Gardner, U. S.
Peter Hansen, Denmark
Paul-Marc Henry, France
Axel Herbst, West Germany
Lal Jayawardena, Sri Lanka
Al-Noor Kassum, Tanzania
N. Krishnan, India
Peki Kana Kwala, Zaire
Evan T. Luard, Britain
Akhtar Mahmood, Pakistan
José Carlos Mariátegui, Peru
A. A. Molchanov, Soviet Union
Jan Meijer, Netherlands
Donald O. Mills, Jamaica
Saburo Okita, Japan
Manuel Pérez Guerrero, Venezuela
Majid Rahnema, Iran
Ljubomir Sekulic, Yugoslavia
Evzen Zapotocky, Czechoslovakia

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NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE 26 MAY 1975(22)

Robert E. Baskin

And the Dominoes Fall

Senior Political Analyst

The full impact of the humiliating defeat of the United States is being felt quickly in all of Southeast Asia.

Perhaps never in its history has the prestige of this country—and the trust of other nations in it—been so devastated.

Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger's statement that the United States had obligations of a "moral nature" to defend Thailand was met with scorn in Bangkok.

At the same time, the government of the Philippines was showing equal contempt for the confidence that could be given the United States in future dealings. In Bangkok, Schlesinger's statement drew this comment from Foreign Minister Chartchai Choonhavan:

"Moral? The United States does not have any morals at this point. They have already pulled out from Cambodia and South Vietnam, so we are going to have to depend on ourselves. . . "

THAILAND IS now under the gun of the Communists. This is a country that has been a faithful ally of the United States in its conduct of the war in Vietnam, supplying airbases and other facilities for our operations in that area.

But now it is a different situation. Thailand wants the 27,000 U.S. military personnel removed. The Bangkok government also is prepared to return military airplanes flown out of Vietnam to the new Communist government of South Vietnam.

In short, Thailand is preparing to come to terms with the Communists. It is abandoning its ties with the United States.

Shortly, we may face a similar situation with the Philippines and other nations in the area.

President Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines has indicated that he feels that his country can no longer place trust in the United States, and in Manila the demands that U.S. installations including such important facilities as Clark Air Force Base and the Subic Bay naval base, be given up are gaining force.

Marcos, Chinese Ties

Meanwhile, Marcos is building up ties with the Chinese Communist government. His wife in the last week has been visiting there.

We may see in a very short time that our 50 years of rule over the Philippines, in which we endeavored to instruct them in the ways of democracy, were all for naught. Marcos is now a dictator.

Ironically, he assumed such a position, through imposition of martial law, in an effort to beat down Communist insurgents on Luzon and Moslem fanatics in the southern islands.

But the strength of the Communist movement in Indochina is bound to have profound effect upon him.

This was reflected Friday when the Philippines government announced that it will arrest military and government officials of the former South Vietnamese regime who come into American bases in those islands.

The announcement was more of an insult to the United States than an exercise in reality. The Filipinos do not have the capacity to move into an American base and make these arrests. And by the time they might act the South Vietnamese may well have been hurried on to Guam or some other destination.

Marcos, despite his earlier protestations of friendship for the United States, has always been an uncertain ally.

In 1965, we covered his campaign for the presidency against the incumbent President Diosdado Macapagal, in which Marcos won handily. At that time the United States was much interested in obtaining military support from other nations in the area. We queried Marcos during a visit to a small village in Luzon about the possibility of Filipino troops being sent to Vietnam.

He was evasive. But a few days later, after he had been elected, he reluctantly stated that some Filipino forces would be dispatched to Vietnam. It was months later that they arrived—and they were a small group of engineer troops who repaired roads.

AT THE 1966 Manila conference Marcos gave a superficial appearance of support for the American position in Southeast Asia, but at that time we were making headway against the Communist onslaught and our troop commitment was nearing its peak.

At this juncture, it would seem to be appropriate to rule out Thailand and the Philippines as friends and allies. The disaster of Vietnam is bound, we are afraid, to spread far beyond those two nations.

countries because of dissatisfaction with Western domination of the existing machinery for dealing with trade issues.

The work on trade and commodity agreements would go to the proposed international trade organization under the panel's recommendations, the organization also might take over the work of GATT, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which has been the major forum in which negotiations to lower tariff barriers have been conducted, particularly among the developed countries. The trade organization also might assume responsibility for commodity arrangements.

In proposing the new post of director general for development, the panel recommended that the duties include direct charge of the existing Department of Economic and Social Affairs—the largest in the United Nations—and that the present post of under-secretary general be abolished.

Proposed on Development Unit

The proposed United Nations development authority, it was recommended, should be managed by a small operations board of 18 to 27 members who would be "equitably balanced" between countries which are net donors to United Nations aid programs, including oil-exporters, and the net recipients of help.

Although the contributions would be collected in a single fund, the identities of some units would be preserved, mainly because it would assist them in fund-raising—as in the case of the environment and population funds. The staff of the environment agency would remain at the agency's headquarters in Nairobi.

No additional increases in personnel would be required to carry out the panel's decisions, the report said. However, its members advocated a major effort to improve staff personnel policies.

They urged competitive examinations for United Nations job candidates and the possible creation of a staff college for training officials from different agencies in the system. They also said that a unified system should be accepted for all employes in regard to recruitment and salaries.

They also favored employing more women in nonclerical positions and hiring younger applicants from all regions.

In an attempt to insure that action would be taken on at least some proposals without delay, the panel asked Mr. Waldheim to appoint a committee that would report regularly on the progress made in restructuring.

NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE 26 MAY 1975(22)

MORE STARS FOR LEONID BREZHNEV

Leonid Brezhnev's comrades have given him a new hat—that of a full general of the Soviet Army. At the Moscow V-E Day celebrations, Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny officially elevated the party leader to that rank. (He had once worn a maior general's stars as a political officer during World War II.) Washington experts read a nuance in the promotion: it confirms Brezhnev's status in relation to the armed forces—he now ranks among the most senior officers—and also within the ruling Politburo. Actually, as chairman of the Soviet Defense Committee, Brezhnev has been Russia's commander in chief since 1965.

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RADIO - TV DEFENSE DIALOG

RADIO TV REPORTS INC. WASH.,D.C., SUMMARIES NOT TO BE QUOTED.

FRIDAY, MAY 23, 1975 (BROADCASTS OF MAY 22, 1975)

SUMMARY OF NETWORK NEWS IN THIS ISSUE

John CHANCELLOR and Don OLIVER, NBC News, report on events in Laos. CHANCELLOR reports on the evacuation of 18 USAID employees out of Savannakhet. OLIVER reports that Laotian students still hold the USAID compound in Vientiane where two Marines and a communications specialist are holed up and that Americans in a housing complex are in effect prisoners. CHANCELLOR reports that Secretary KISSINGER told Turks that renewal of U.S. military aid hinges upon progress in Cyprus talks. CHANCELLOR and Catherine MACKIN report that 76 Senators signed a letter of support for continued military and economic aid to Israel. MACKIN reports on comments by proponents and opponents of the letter. CHANCELLOR reports that according to a Cairo newspaper the Soviets are in the process of obtaining bases in Libya and will grant them extensive military aid.

Walter CRONKITE and Maria McLAUGHLIN, both of CBS News, report on the letter of support sent by Senators to the President concerning military and economic aid for Israel. Ike PAPPAS, CBS, reports on a Pentagon assessment of the military capabilities of the Syrians, Egyptians and Israelis, comparing numbers of hardware and ground forces. He notes that the Pentagon weighs out in favor of the Israelis but are worried about an Israeli pre-emptive strike. CRONKITE reports that although KISSINGER is trying to reassure the Turks about U.S. trustworthiness, the Turks may be planning to close some U.S. bases.

Harry REASONER and Lou CIOFFI, both of ABC News, report on the situation in Laos. CIOFFI reports that the Laotian government seems unwilling to protect American citizens and their possessions and that USAID employees will be evacuated soon. Tom JARRIEL reports that according to Secretary KISSINGER the U.S. will drastically cut military and economic aid to Laos and will bring home most American citizens from Laos.

Lesley STAHL, CBS Morning News, reports on a survey of Vietnamese refugees on Guam taken by the Catholic Conference which states that half of the refugees there are illiterate and unskilled. Task force chief Dean BROWN did not confirm nor deny this. Hughes RUDD reports that the Iranian government knows who killed the two American officers in Tehran and are presently searching for the terrorists. Marvin KALB reports that Secretary KISSINGER has been reassuring the members of CENTO and that he is pleased that Syria renewed the U.N. peace force.

Lou WOODS, the "Today" show NBC TV, reports that NATO defense ministers are concerned about the southern flank of NATO, but that Secretary KISSINGER is trying to smooth things out with the Turks.

PREPARED BY THE AIR FORCE SAFAA AS EXECUTIVE AGENT FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE TO BRING TO THE ATTENTION OF KEY DOD PERSONNEL MATTERS WITHIN THEIR OFFICIAL RESPONSIBILITIES.

FOR INFORMATION REGARDING THIS PUBLICATION CALL MR. HARRY ZUBKOFF, OX 52884

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NBC NIGHTLY NEWS NBC TV
7:00 PM MAY 22

USAID Situation In Laos

JOHN CHANCELLOR: The rising tide of anti-Americanism feeling in Laos led the United States today to fly 18 Americans and a number of foreigners out of Savannakhet in Laos to the Udorn Airbase in Thailand. The group had been under house arrest in Savannakhet for nine days. Air Force 3-47s landed in Savannakhet to get them. Neither pro-Communist Pathet Lao troops in that town nor anti-American students interfered with their departure. In Vientiane the student protests kept up their campaign today to get the American Agency for International Development out of Laos and Don Oliver has that story.

DON OLIVER: The anti-American demonstrators still held the USAID compound in Vientiane despite the protests of U.S. Embassy officials to government of Laos officials. It was obvious the Laotian government will even want to do much about the situation. Pathet Lao soldiers have joined the protestors inside the compound. Two American Marines and one U.S. civilian communications worker were also in the building, but they were where the demonstrators couldn't get at them. From time-to-time one of the Marines could be seen on top of the building checking the ground below and radioing reports back to the U.S. Embassy. The demonstrators still were demanding that the property here be turned over to the Laotian government and that Americans in the AID mission be ordered out of the country. The students may not care much for Americans but they had obviously acquired a taste for American beer, looted from the commissary. The Laotian employees had done nothing. Finally a government spokesman held a news conference expressing regret for what had happened. But he said in effect that the U.S.AID mission in Laos is through. The Laotian government wants U.S. money but it wants it in direct payments. He said equipment and buildings should be turned over to the Laotians. About three miles outside of Vientiane is the American housing village where most of the USAID families live. The Laotian police force was not allowing any cars to leave. The 500 or so who live here were virtually prisoners for a time. Then the rules were changed, cars were allowed out after they were searched. Word came from the Embassy for all families here to get their health certificates up to date so they could leave the country. The families came through the gates in small groups and got their smallpox vaccinations and their typhoid shots. The American kids didn't seem to concerned about the situation, but inside the houses their parents were packing up as fast as they could. The U.S. Embassy hopes to bring a fleet of chartered planes in here tomorrow to begin evacuating the American families. A spokesman for the Embassy emphasized that only the USAID personnel and their families are going to be taken out, the U.S. Embassy staff will stay and they hope to keep the Embassy open. Don Oliver, NBC News, Vientiane, Laos.

CHANCELLOR: In Washington the White House said today that the uncertain situation in Laos has led it to cut back on aid to that country. But the White House added that despite American departures from Laos no full scale evacuation has been ordered.

Kissinger On Turkey

CHANCELLOR: Secretary of State KISSINGER is in Turkey today and he told the Turks that a resumption of American arms aid is dependent on progress on a settlement of the Cyprus question. After Turkish troops invaded Cyprus last year the American Congress cut off arms aid to Turkey. The Senate voted this week to restore the aid, but KISSINGER told Turkish leaders today that the House probably won't go along until it sees some movement toward a Cyprus settlement.

Senate Urges Israel Support

CHANCELLOR: Seventy-six members of the Senate sent word to President FORD today that they will not accept any reduction in American military and economic aid to Israel. The President responded, cautiously, that he welcomed all suggestions. Catherine Mackin has more on the letter and Congressional reaction to it.

CATHERINE MACKIN: The 76 Senators cut across the entire political spectrum from the most liberal to the most conservative. Senate leader Mike MANSFIELD sharply rebuked the signers. He said the letter sets up a possible confrontation between the FORD administration and the Senate. He called the letter an unwise move at this time and said it would have been better muted until the President completes his meetings next month with the leaders of Israel and Egypt. But the Senators

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clearly wanted to move ahead of FORD's meetings.

SENATOR BIRCH BAYH: There have been voices of concern raised about the validity of United States committments because of the events of SE Asia. And many of us on the Hill felt that it is important to let everybody know, friend and foe and those who have no position, that the United States committment to the continued existence and security of the state of Israel is undiminished.

SENATOR LOWELL WEICKER: The committment was made to the state of Israel in 1948 and has not been changed by the facts that have intervened. Because indeed when the committment was made it had nothing to do with the cold war, it had nothing to do with oil. It had everything to do with a people who had been hounded and persecuted, tortured and killed, for 2,000 years.

MACKIN: Senator Charles PERCY was another critic of the letter. He said it looked like a tilt in favor of Israel, which will not help either side.

SENATOR CHARLES PERCY: We have credibility with both sides. But we must keep that credibility and it's in Israel's interests to not have us so one sided or so aligned with one side that we cannot assume the role that both sides have asked us to play in this conflict.

MACKIN: Apparently the reason for the letter is that the American-Jewish community is jittery about United States support for Israel and wanted this reaffirmation now. Catherine Mackin, NBC News, Washington.

Soviets Get Bases in Libya

CHANCELLOR: In world news today the Russians are reported to have established a new beachhead in the Middle East of great potential importance. According to the semi-official Cairo newspaper, Al Ahram, the Russians will set up military bases, air bases and naval bases in Libya. And the paper said the Russians have agreed to a $4.5 billion arms deal with the Libyans.

In Portugal there were huge street demonstrations tonight by the Socialists after the leader of the socialist party threatened to quit the government unless it stops drifting toward Communism.

CBS EVENING NEWS CBS TV
7:00 PM MAY 22

Congressional Letter To President

WALTER CRONKITE: Seventy-six Senators have sent a letter to President FORD urging him to make clear that the United States "stands firmly with Israel in the search for Middle East peace." The White House said the President will consider the letter and welcomes all suggestions from all sources as Middle East policy is reassessed. More from Maria McLaughlin.

MARIA McLAUGHLIN: The letter urged the President to continue a strong policy of support for Israel and asked Mr. FORD to guarantee Israel all the help it needs "to detour a renewal of war by Israel's neighbors." Predictably the Israelis liked the letter the Arabs didn't.

ARAB SPOKESMAN: There will be in the back of the Arabs minds a large measure of questioning of whether policies enunciated by the United States administration can be delivered on in the life of this congressional withholding of its support or pre-empting the outcome of the reassessment policy.

McLAUGHLIN: What do you think the significance of that letter is?

ISRAELI SPOKESMAN: Well I think it has great significance because I humbly believe it echoes the opinion of the great majority of American people that a strong and viable Israel is an important element in bringing about peace in the Middle East, which is after all what we all want. So I think it's a constructive and a very helpful move that the Senate of the United States has taken.

McLAUGHLIN: The Arabs were particularly disappointed that Senators like Charles MATHIAS and George McGOVERN, who have recently travelled through Arab countries, had signed. McGOVERN was quick to send a clarifying letter and an Arab spokesman said maybe that indicated the signers' hurried judgment would be replaced by a more studied one.

Maria McLaughlin, CBS News, Washington.

CRONKITE: New York's Republican Senator JAVITS was the moving force behind the letter. Its purpose was to make clear the American position in light of developments in SE Asia and in advance of President FORD's meeting with Egyptian President SADAT. With the breakdown of recent peace efforts in the Middle East there's a growing concern of yet another Arab-Israeli war. Ike Pappas gives us the Pentagon's assessmen on how the two sides now stack up militarily.

IKE PAPPAS: Both sides quickly restocked with weapons following the October war, the Israelis with American arms, the

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Arabs with Russian. Today with the possibility of a new war increasing the Arabs outgun and outman the Israelis more than two-to-one. Together Egypt and Syria, the major threats to Israel, have over 4,000 Russian built tanks. The Israelis have about 2,500 tanks, most of them American M-60s and Pattons. In artillery Egypt and Syria have 1,800 pieces and over 12,000 missiles including the latest Russian anti-aircraft rockets. Israel has some 900 pieces of artillery, over 600 Hawk surface-to-air missiles and what is reported to be an unknown number of the newest American hand-held heat seeking rockets the Red Eye. In air power Egypt and Syria have over 1,000 fighter-bombers, French Mirages and Russian built MIGS. The Israelis have about 400 warplanes, most of them American Phantoms and Skyhawks. In manpower Egypt and Syria combined can throw at Israel a ground force made up of 450,000 soldiers. The Israelis have only 125,000 men and women in uniform, but have another 250,000 reserves who could be mobilized in a matter of hours, total 375,000. So in military hardware the balance of power in the Middle East clearly favors the Arabs. But the consensus among Pentagon analysts and the intelligence community is that the Israelis would still win. They point out the Israelis are equipped with more sophisticated weapons this time, that they use their equipment far more efficiently than the Arabs and they have better military leadership. In fact, some analysts say, there is a growing concern the Israelis may be the first to attack, aiming to knock out the Arabs warmaking potential for years to come. Pentagon sources admit the threat of a new war in the Middle East is very serious. Ike Pappas, CBS News, the Pentagon.

Kissinger In Turkey

CRONKITE: Secretary of State KISSINGER was in Ankara today trying to reassure Turkey that the United States is a trustworthy ally. But Turkey questioned these reassurances. Marvin Kalb reports from Ankara that Turkey was not encouraged by the one vote margin the United States Senate gave earlier this week to end the ban on arms sales to Turkey. Kalb says Turkey is now expected to begin closing American bases there in the near future.

ABC EVENING NEWS ABC TV
7:00 PM MAY 22

USAID and Laos

HARRY REASONER: Eighteen Americans and other foreigners were evacuated today from Savannakhet, Laos and flown on U.S. planes to Thailand. The Americans, earlier thought to number only 12, had been under house arrest by Pathet Lao demonstrators for more than a week. It's now certain that most U.S. citizens will be pulled out of Laos as quickly as possible because similar incidents of harrassment against Americans are increasing. Demonstrating students still occupy the American AID compound in Vientiane and two Marine guards and a civilian communications specialist who locked themselves inside an AID building remain the only Americans inside. More on the story from Lou Cioffi.

LOU CIOFFI: Despite official American protests the Laotian government so far has been unable or unwiling to force the students to leave the USAID compound. The government here suggests that negotiations with the students might be a way out for the Americans, the U.S. Embassy is willing but also argues that it's the responsibility of the Laotian government to protect foreign diplomats, their families and their possessions. The situation is forcing the United States to drastically speed up the evacuation of USAID personnel and their families, it's also causing some thought about a complete withdrawal of all 1,100 Americans here in Laos, including the Embassy staff if they cannot be protected. At the housing area where many Americans live government and Pathet Lao soldiers appeared at the same time as the USAID compound was occupied. They started by checking every car that left, saying that they are looking for weapons. But they're also preventing anyone from taking out personal possessions. One man was forced to unload two porcelain elephants he had crated, obviously to be shipped home. The students and the Pathet Lao say that everything inside the housing area now belongs to the people of Laos and it could very well be that the Americans who are evacuating may be forced to leave most of their possessions behind. There's another problem, many of them have their passports locked up inside the USAID compound with no way to get them out. Even as the evacuation is being organized the Laotian civilians who used to work for the American families inside

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have already packed their bags and are leaving. There's no panic among the Americans here but there is an increasing sense of urgency. The schedule now is for 50 or 60 people, starting with dependents, to be evacuated each day. But that figure might very well be increased as the situation worsens. The thing that has American officials here really concerned right now is will they be allowed to leave. The answer will come in the next day or so. This is Lou Cioffi, ABC News, Vientiane.

TOM JARRIEL: This is Tom Jarriel. The United States is all but pulling down the flag in Laos. The White House recognized the realities of the political situation today by saying the Pathet Lao control is increasing, so U.S. aid and personnel are being reduced. Secretary of State KISSINGER in Ankara, Turkey today told ABC diplomatic correspondent Ted Koppel the reduction will be very substantial. KISSINGER said it makes no sense to continue U.S. military aid, which has been running up to $30 million a year. The $33 million U.S. economic assistance program will be substantially cut. Most of the 400 civilians who administer it will be brought home. The 800 American government employees in Laos will be reduced to little more than a token force of diplomats and intelligence personnel. The official U.S. view is that the Communists have not yet completely taken over the government, so the U.S. evacuation will not be a total one. But the substantial reduction appears to be a face saving way to prepare for the rapidly moving trend toward Communist domination of Laos. Tom Jarriel, ABC News, at the White House.

CBS MORNING NEWS CBS TV
7:00 AM MAY 22

Vietnamese Refugees

BRUCE MORTON: Lesley Stahl says the Vietnamese refugees already in this country maybe the easiest ones to resettle, that the problem is the people still on Guam.

LESLEY STAHL: A preliminary rough survey of the 46,000 refugees on Guam indicates that about 21,000 of them are illiterate peasant farmers and fishermen. The survey was conducted by agents of the U.S. Catholic Conference which also estimates that about 21,000 of those on Guam are Catholics. The voluntary agencies say they will have a much more serious problem settling this group than the refugees at Camp Pendleton, where, according to a task force study, 58 percent are professionals, skilled workers or clerks and only .9 percent are agricultural. Executive Director of the Catholic Conference John McCARTHY said, these people on Guam will be more difficult to resettle. But, he said, we must remain optimistic. Task force chief L. Dean BROWN said he knows of no such survey. His task force has no recent data on the occupational status or literacy of the refugees on Guam. BROWN says he will await the computer print out of biographical sheets which are now being filled out. Lesley Stahl, CBS News, Washington.

Statement On Iranian Terrorists

RUDD: In Iran the government says it knows who killed two United States Air Force officers in Tehran yesterday and is looking for the killers. The officers were shot to death on their way to work as advisers at an Iranian air base.

Report On CENTO

RUDD: Secretary of State KISSINGER was in Turkey when he got the news about the Golan extension, involved in still another diplomatic job. We have a radio report from Marvin Kalb in Ankara.

MARVIN KALB: KISSINGER brought his words of reassurance to the Central Treaty Organization, CENTO, an anti-Soviet alliance created in the mid 1950's and consisting now of Pakistan, Turkey, Iran, Great Britain and of course the United States as principal observer. The Secretary said the U.S. is determined to reaffirm its ties to its allies and he went on, the U.S. is deeply conscious of the inescapable responsibility it bears. During the break between the opening sessions and the closed door deliberations the Secretary told reporters he was pleased by the Syrian decision to extend the U.N. mandate on the Golan Heights for another six months. Adding that it's a constructive development that offers an opportunity for progress in a calmer atmosphere. On another subject KISSINGER said the U.S. has not ordered a total evacuation of Americans from Laos, but he did admit there has been a rather substantial reduction. Marvin Kalb, CBS News, Ankara.

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THE TODAY SHOW NBC TV
7:00 AM MAY 22

NATO Meeting

LOU WOODS: NATO defense ministers are meeting in Brussells today. The formal reason is to discuss weapons production but much of the talking really concerns worry about NATO's Mediterranean flank. Secretary of State Henry KISSINGER is working on that aspect in Turkey today. He hopes the Turks will soften their stand on Cyprus. That might convince Congress to ease its arms embargo against Turkey and help the NATO defense ministers breath a bit easier.

Radio-TV Program of Interest

MONDAY, MAY 26, 1975

Evening Edition, 7:30 p.m., Ch 26, WETA (PBS)
Vice Adm William P. Mack, Superintendent, US Naval Academy and Maj Gen Robert G. Gard, Jr, Commander, Army Military Personnel Center will discuss the military today and where it is going in the post-Vietnam era with Reporters Martin Agronsky and Robert Heinl (Col, USMC, RET) Detroit News.

Radio-TV Programs of Interest

SUNDAY, MAY 25, 1975

Face the Nation, 11:30 am, Ch. 9, WTOP(CBS): Guest not announced at this printing.
Meet the Press, 12:30 pm, Ch. 4, WRC(NBC): Arthur Burns, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.
Issues and Answers, 1:30 pm, Ch. 7, WMAL(ABC): Alan Alda and Joe Ruckelshaus (the two leading members of International Women's Year).

Documentary Special, 7:30 pm, Ch. 9, WTOP(CBS): "The Ups and Downs of Henry Kissinger", traces the Secretary of State's diplomatic achievements and setbacks.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 28, 1975

Documentary Special, 8:00 pm, Ch. 5, WTTG: KGB: The Soviet Secret Police. The history and workings of the USSR's security and intelligence organization are examined.

FRIDAY, MAY 30, 1975

Documentary Special, 10:00 pm, Ch. 7, WMAL(ABC): ABC News Closeup - A dossier on the Central Intelligence Agency.

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CURRENT NEWS

PART I - EARLY BIRD EDITION - 0730

PART II - MAIN EDITION - PUBLISHED AT 1130

THIS PUBLICATION IS PREPARED BY THE AIR FORCE AS EXECUTIVE AGENT FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE TO BRING TO THE ATTENTION OF KEY DOD PERSONNEL NEWS ITEMS OF INTEREST TO THEM IN THEIR OFFICIAL CAPACITIES. IT IS NOT INTENDED TO SUBSTITUTE FOR NEWSPAPERS, PERIODICALS AND BROADCASTS AS A MEANS OF KEEPING INFORMED ABOUT THE NATURE, MEANING AND IMPACT OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL NEWS DEVELOPMENTS. USE OF THESE ARTICLES HERE, OF COURSE, DOES NOT REFLECT OFFICIAL ENDORSEMENT. FURTHER REPRODUCTION FOR PRIVATE USE OR GAIN IS SUBJECT TO THE ORIGINAL COPYRIGHT RESTRICTIONS.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 21, 1975

GENERAL NEWS SUMMARY FROM THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MAY 21, 1975

World-Wide

FIFTEEN AMERICANS DIED in the Mayaguez rescue, the Pentagon said.

In a report termed "as close to final as possible," the Defense Department said that, in addition to 11 Marines, two airmen and two Navy medics known dead, three Marines who landed on Tang island off Cambodia are missing and probably dead. Of the 15 killed, 13 were lost when a helicopter crashed 100 feet off the island, one died in a helicopter crash farther out and one was a Marine shot on the island. Fifty-men were wounded, two seriously.

With recent events in Indochina in mind, members of the House overwhelmingly rejected efforts to cut a $32 billion weapons procurement bill and to reduce overseas troop strength. The arms bill passed, 333-63.

* * *

Communist Pathet Lao troops took over Savannakhet, the central Laotian city where leftist students are holding 12 Americans under house arrest and demanding that U.S. aid programs be ended. The Pathet Lao forces were welcomed by crowds in the streets and joined by some rightist soldiers.

* * *

Kissinger and Gromyko ended two days of talks in Vienna without announcing any substantial progress toward a strategic arms limitation agreement or a Mideast settlement. But the U.S. officials still expect that a SALT accord based on last fall's Vladivostok agreement will be ready for signing next fall when Brezhnev comes to the U.S. Kissinger and Gromyko will meet again soon, perhaps in July.

Brezhnev is undergoing treatment for an undisclosed condition that isn't serious, UPI said it had learned from Western diplomatic sources.

* * *

United Brands was accused by the Securities and Exchange Commission of trying to cover up the full story of its $1.25 million bribe to win a reduction in Honduras' banana export tax. The SEC also confirmed that the company had paid $750,000 to Italian government officials.

Costa Rica accused three U.S. companies of conspiring against Central American banana-producing countries to keep them from raising export taxes. The three, United Brands, Del Monte and the Standard Fruit unit of Castle & Cooke, denied the charge.

* * *

Bolivia said **Gulf Oil** will be criminally prosecuted for making political contributions, and its chairman, Bob Dorsey, will be summoned to testify. The chief prosecutor threatened to jail Dorsey, who last week disclosed $460,000 in gifts to Bolivian politi-

(See NEWS SUMMARY, Pg. 3)

BALTIMORE SUN 21 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

House votes against overseas troops cut

By CHARLES W CORDDRY
Washington Bureau of the Sun

Washington—The House of Representatives in a major foreign policy victory for President Ford, overwhelmingly rejected yesterday any cuts in American troops overseas and turned aside all amendments that would have reduced the $32 billion weapons authorization bill.

The House then sent the measure to the Senate by a 333-to-63 vote.

While it defeated all efforts to cut the bill, the House gave a resounding endorsement to the admission of women to the military academies on an equal basis with men. It ignored contentions that this was a step on the way toward sending women officers into combat, and voted, 303 to 96, to give women the same chance as men to pursue full careers in the officer corps.

A proposal to bring home 70,000 of the 416,500 troops stationed around the world was defeated, 311 to 95, after the house heard extended arguments that such cuts would signal a pullback from U.S. commitments and damage negotiations with Russia for mutual reductions in Europe.

The victors were led by Representative Thomas P O'Neill, Jr., (D., Mass), the House majority leader, who had changed his position from last year when he favored troop cuts, but now argued this was the "wrong time" for reductions, in the wake of Indochina and with new threats looming in Korea and elsewhere.

In the last crucial vote before sending the bill to the Senate, the House rejected, 216 to 183, a proposal of Representative Les Aspin (D., Wis.) that it make an across-the-board slash of $1.9 billion in the bill. The Pentagon would decide how to distribute the cut.

Supporters contended the bill would add $1.5 billion to the congressionally approved federal budget deficit of $68.8 bil-

(See TROOPS, Pg. 2)

WASHINGTON POST 21 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Gains Cited By Kissinger In Vienna

By Murrey Marder
Washington Post Staff Writer

VIENNA, May 20—Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko made marginal progress on a complex of difficult problems in two days of talks here and agreed to meet again soon, probably in mid-July.

The unexpected plan to hold a second round of Kissinger-Gromyko talks so soon was made primarily to permit decisions to develop on new attempts to deal with the continuing Middle East crisis. President Ford is scheduled to meet with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat in Salzburg on June 1-2, followed by talks in Washington between Mr. Ford and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

These meetings will determine for the United States whether, and how, to shift the aborted Arab-Israeli peace negotiations to Geneva, as the Soviet Union and Egypt urged after the collapse of Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy last March.

American sources said today that Gromyko gave them the impression that the Soviet Union is prepared to explore "a cooperative approach" with the United States in resolving the Middle East dilemma at Geneva.

American officials said it remains to be seen exactly what that means but it was said that Kissinger and Gromyko did discuss who might participate in a Geneva conference and possible procedures for such a meeting.

(See SAME, Pg. 2)

NEW YORK TIMES
21 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

U.S.-SOVIET EFFORT ON MIDEAST IS SET

By LESLIE H. GELB
Special to The New York Times

BONN, May 20—Secretary of State Kissinger and Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko have agreed to try to cooperate on a framework for reconvening the Geneva conference on the Middle East, reporters aboard Mr. Kissinger's plane were told today.

The newsmen were also told that the agreement remained to be tested and that details had not been discussed in the two days of talks in Vienna.

The two foreign ministers entered this morning and through a working lunch began at the Soviet embassy before Mr. Kissinger flew on to Bonn.

To Meet In July

They announced on the steps of the embassy that [illegible] their Middle East [illegible]

(See MIDEAST, Pg. [illegible])

JAMES KILLINGBECK, CHIEF, CURRENT NEWS BRANCH, OX 78765 HELEN YOUNG, ASSISTANT CHIEF

FOR SPECIAL RESEARCH SERVICES OR DISTRIBUTION CALL HARRY ZUBKOFF, CHIEF, EXECUTIVE AGENCY SERVICE, OX 52834

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GAINS -- [illegible]

Israeli suspicions automatically are bound to be raised by talk of U.S.-Soviet cooperation at Geneva, for fear that this means the United States may be shifting position to give the Palestine Liberation Organization a seat at the conference, over the violent opposition of Israel.

American officials strongly denied that there is any such intention. They said the United States remains opposed to seating the PLO, headed by Yasser Arafat, especially as long as the PLO remains committed to the destruction of Israel. Even so, Israel is likely to remain apprehensive, as U.S. officials well know, because the United States is still formally engaged in "reassessing" its Middle East policy.

The projected new Kissinger-Gromyko meeting also will provide opportunity to grapple again with still unresolved political decisions for speeding up the U.S.-Soviet Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT). On the American side, progress was reported in the Gromyko-Kissinger talks on two or three of the lesser of a half dozen or more obstacles for reaching a SALT accord this year. A final agreement is supposed to be concluded this fall at a Washington summit conference between President Ford and Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev.

A guardedly phrased statement was issued today by Kissinger and Gromyko after six hours of discussions, following five hours of talks on Monday. It said, "The conversations which proceeded in a constructive spirit were, in the opinion of both sides, useful."

In diplomatic jargon, that is very noncommittal language Kissinger, however, was more positive orally, telling newsmen "progress was made on issues that were discussed."

In this first high-level U.S.-Soviet meeting after the collapse of American policy in Indochina, and the breakdown of Kissinger's Arab-Israeli negotiations which excluded the Soviet Union, these talks were a test for future U.S.-Soviet diplomacy.

Today's meeting was in the Soviet embassy where President John F. Kennedy and Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev met 14 years ago.

After an overnight stop in Bonn, where he was met by West German Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Geuscher, Kissinger will visit West Berlin on Wednesday to reassert U.S. commitments to that city's survival.

There was a relaxed atmosphere today as Kissinger and Gromyko emerged from the embassy to chat with newsmen.

"The foreign minister and I had very good and useful dis-

REACT -- CONTINUE

be discussed at a later meeting Newsmen were advised that the new meeting would probably be in July somewhere in Europe.

The foreign ministers were also said to have made progress on the nuclear arms talks due to reconvene in Geneva in June. But the only specific information was that virtual agreement had been reached on language about reductions in missile forces after both sides first agree on a new strategic arms treaty setting a ceiling on such forces.

The main topic to be discussed at the next meeting in July is the Geneva conference, but nuclear arms will also be a topic.

With regard to the Middle East conference, newsmen were informed that Mr. Gromyko had reiterated that the Palestine Liberation Organization must participate, but he was said to be flexible on the timing of that participation.

The conference is to get under way in late August or early autumn, newsmen were told. A date is yet to be agreed on.

Officials in Washington said earlier that Mr. Kissinger sought to avoid setting a date in Vienna.

"The question is how little we can get away with in talks with Gromyko," said one of these officials, before President Ford meets with President Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt and with Premier Yitzak Rabin of Israel in the coming weeks.

American diplomats have said that the Arabs themselves are not eager for the Russians to play a major role in Middle East negotiations. They are said to be generally afraid of Moscow, and feel that only Washington can bring about Israeli compromises.

The diplomats related that third parties had been telling Washington that the Russians, too, were now beginning to wonder whether Geneva would

CASH FOOD TO PAY

Pg.

Road Reopened 28

PHNOM PENH—Phnom Penh radio reported that the road to the Cambodian capital [illegible] South Vietnam has been reopened. It said [illegible] workers had repaired bridges and many stretches of road along the 200-mile highway.

solve the problems. Mr. Kissinger fears getting into any situation where the radical Arab states force moderate Arab leaders into radical positions that decrease the chances of subsequent negotiations and increase the odds on war.

Mr. Kissinger's spokesman, Robert Anderson, said at a news conference last night that most of yesterday's session had been devoted to the European securiy conference, and discussions would continue today on nuclear arms. He also stated that Mr. Kissinger had used the opportunity to tell Mr. Gromyko that détente would be jeopardized by Soviet attempts to gain tactical advantages in peripheral areas such as Indochina.

Arab Ministers to Meet

CAIRO, May 20 (Reuters)—The foreign ministers of Egypt, Syria and Jordan and a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization will meet next month to coordinate their positions on Middle East peace efforts, Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmy said today.

He did not give the site or the exact date of the meeting, but said agreement to convene the gathering was reached in Damascus last week during President Anwar el-Sadat's visit.

The Egyptian leader, whose visit to Damascus was part of a tour of Arab capitals, which also took him to Kuwait, Amman and Baghdad, met the Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat, in Damascus.

Mr. Fahmy made his announcement after a meeting here, with Farouk Kaddoumi, head of the Palestinian organization's Political Department.

TROOPS -- C[illegible]

tion Opponents won with the same arguments as they used against troop cuts

Earlier in the day the House turned down by voice vote an amendment that would have deleted $560 million for a fourth Trident missile submarine It defeated, 276 to 124 an amendment that would have barred the testing of new nuclear warheads for missiles known as maneuvering re-entry vehicles. Such vehicles, called MARV's, would be able to change course as they approach targets, and thus vastly improve the accuracy of intercontinential rockets.

The annual weapons bill authorizes appropriation of funds for research, development and production, and fixes military manpower ceilings. Administration proposals were left virtually intact in the bill passed yesterday.

The vote to admit women to Annapolis, West Point and Colorado Springs, making a success of a crusade of Representative Samuel S Stratton(D., N.Y.), provided the major drama of the second day of debate on the annual arms measure.

Maryland's two women representatives, Marjorie S. Holt (R., 4th) and Gladys Noon Spellman (D., 5th), voted for the measure, which would put women on an equal footing with men in applying for entrance to the academies.

Describing the measure as his "women-in-the-academies amendment," Mr Stratton said the military services have been promoting the enlistment of women and it was time to "remove sex discrimination" at the schools that turn out officers.

He contended that the move would not make it necessary for women academy graduates to be assigned to combat roles, as some opponents maintained.

cussions in a cordial atmosphere," Kissinger said. He told reporters, "We agreed to meet again in the near future for a further detailed review of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, prospects of peace in the Middle East and other matters of mutual interest."

"I agree with the secretary," said Gromyko. "We discussed several problems. All of them are important. I think—I am convinced—the discussion is useful and it is necessary. We agreed, of course, to have further discussions with each other. . . ."

Asked if any compromise had been reached on the difficult SALT problem of verifying how nuclear strategic weapons are distinguished and counted in the ceilings set for 2,400 missiles and bombers on each side, of which 1,320 could have multiple warheads, Gromyko drily replied, "It is a small detail."

Actually, this is the most difficult problem in the nuclear negotiations.

U.S. sources refused to be specific about just what did happen in the SALT discussions here, except to say that some proposals were exchanged and that they continue to believe that the barriers can be overcome. On Saturday, the day after Kissinger returns to Washington, he is scheduled to meet with the National Security Council's nuclear verification panel on this subject.

In the two days of talks here, an American source said, no new obstacles arose while the old obstacles were diminished, but not removed.

The Soviet Union did not gain the satisfaction it seeks for a date to convene the 35-nation European security conference on post-World War II relations between Eastern and Western Europe. The consensus among the Allied powers, it was said, is that this conference may be held in late July, but bargaining over it continues.

The Kissinger-Gromyko joint statement also reiterated the determination of both sides to continue the development of U.S.-Soviet relations.

It was said to have been Kissinger's suggestion to schedule the subsequent meeting with Gromyko, for which no date or place was specified. A meeting in the first half of July is likely. Members of Kissinger's party said they were satisfied with the meetings here and that they had achieved about what might have been expected. However there was no air of high accomplishment evident in the American delegation on any issue.

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WASHINGTON POST 21 MAY 1975, Pg 1

Seoul Asks Aid to Show U.S. Resolve

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Foreign Service

SEOUL, May 20 — South Korea called on the United States today to demonstrate by deeds, including additional military aid, that it will not let this Asian ally suffer the same fate as that of South Vietnam.

In a unanimous five-point declaration prepared at the behest of the government, the National Assembly declared a national resolve "to resolutely crush any provocation or invasion by North Korea." The statement said events in Indochina have had a heavy effect on the balance of power in Asia and, together with North Korean statements and maneuvering, created "new tension" on the Korean peninsula.

"We hope the United States . . . will demonstrate by deeds its firm determination not to commit the same failure on the Korean peninsula as it did on the Indochinese peninsula," the resolution said. "Without such a demonstration, the United States will lose all credibility in its foreign commitments and this will lead to a debacle in world peace and order."

The assembly's resolution was passed on the final day of a special four-day session convened for this purpose. Parliamentary sources said the measure was designed to demonstrate broad anti-Communist unity despite recurrent internal political dissension, and to serve special notice to the United States that its deeds as well as words are being watched.

The resolution also suggested that the United States display its undaunted attitude by expediting the lagging military aid plan for Korean forces and by deploying U.S. military forces near the Korean peninsula — a reference to elements of the 7th Fleet and U.S. strategic air power, assembly sources said.

The U.S. aid plan for Korean forces, adopted in 1970 as a price for the removal of one American combat division from this country, called for $1.5 billion in military assistance during the five years ending June 30. About $1 billion has been approved, and some $140 million more in grant aid and military sales is expected to be approved this year. The Koreans have been pushing for quicker completion of the program but Congresional cuts in U.S. military aid appropriations have resuted in a stretch-out of allotments to Korean military modernization.

Some 38,000 American troops, including one infantry division and three jet fighter squadrons, remain on duty here, armed with large numbers of tactical nuclear weapons.

In a related development, the government announced reactivation of the "Student Defense Corps" which functioned during the Korean war almost a quarter of a century ago. An Education Ministry spokesman said mobilization of all high school and college level youth, including women, was designed to increase the "war potential" of students and make them more conscious of national security.

Many high school and college students participate in close-order drill and other military activities under existing laws and policies. Reestablishment of the defense corps — with each school comprising a "regiment" — will mean a broadening of the numbers involved and an increase in the hours of training and special encampment.

While Phnom Penh was falling and Saigon tottering a month ago, Korean army commanders announced after a special meeting that the situation in this divided peninsula is "a virtual state of war" and resolved not to yield an inch in case of attack.

With the passage of time and almost daily public statements of resolve about Korea from the top echelon of the U.S. government, Seoul's officials and the populace here have calmed considerably about immediate danger.

As today's assembly declaration suggests, however, there is still much apprehension about the future. Government statements during the closed-door special assembly session suggested that the period around Oct. 10, the 30th anniversary of the founding of the North Korean Workers' Party, may be a time for special vigilance.

While publicly expressing faith in the reliability of the U.S. commitment, government officials are reported to be privately warning civic leaders that the United States cannot be relied upon in the long run. Both in public and private, high officials are appealing for unity and seeking to drive home the message that dissent within was a major cause of the collapse in South Vietnam.

A week ago today, President Park Chung Hee used emergency powers to issue a decree banning virtually all internal opposition on threat of 15 years' imprisonment.

Tighter controls have been clamped on the press and the determined opposition of anti-government politicians, churchmen and students has been silenced, at least temporarily. The new mobilization plan for high school and college students — along with sections of last week's decree authorizing school closures and ouster of offending students, faculty members or administrators — is said to be an attempt to silence the feisty campus activists once and for all.

The assembly resolution spoke of national determination and unity in the anti-Communist cause and mentioned fealty to a "free democratic system," a point demanded by the opposition party as a price of support. As in recent statements by Park, the resolution warned North Korea that renewed hostilities would result in "self-destruction," with no indication of the basis for that statement.

NEWS SUMMARY -- CONTINUED

cians. Bolivia put Gulf's representative under house arrest.

* * *

Uruguay's armed forces and President Juan Maria Bordaberry neared a showdown over the president's firing Monday of National Meat Institute director Eduardo Peile, who Bordaberry says defied him by issuing an order favoring small ranchers. The army demands that Peile be reinstated.

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A vote on the energy tax bill was postponed by House Democrats until after Memorial Day in an action that could prompt Ford to impose his delayed oil-import tariff. Earlier, the President criticized Congress for failing to produce an energy program as he vetoed the strip-mining bill.

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Palestinian guerrillas in Lebanon and rightwing Phalangist Party militiamen fought with mortars and machine guns in Beirut, renewing violence that killed at least 150 persons in April. Four persons died in yesterday's fighting. Lebanon is currently without a government, Premier Rashid Solh having been forced to resign over his failure to use the army to halt the April clashes.

* * *

Portuguese workers took over an Otis Elevator subsidiary in Lisbon with the government's tacit consent, Otis said. The government has been nationalizing industry, but foreign-owned companies were supposed to be exempt. Meanwhile, a Socialist newspaper taken over by Communist printers Monday was temporarily closed by the government; Maoists beat up two U.S. Marines accused of being spies, and a military court was set up to deal with political crimes.

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A strike in Italy by more than a million government employes disrupted transportation, education and medical care. The workers are seeking reforms in public administration during a week of walkouts.

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The California doctors' strike over malpractice-insurance rates spread to 40 hospitals in the Los Angeles area. The walkout in 10 counties around San Francisco entered its 21st day as a special session of the state legislature sought a solution.

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Ad-testimonial guidelines were issued by the Federal Trade Commission providing that experts who endorse products must have checked them and that organizational endorsements must reflect the group's collective judgment. Three additional standards were proposed. The guidelines aren't law, but violations of them could prompt FTC action.

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New York fire officials said two of seven fires that broke out in the World Trade Center Monday night were caused by arson and the five others may have been.

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A Titan III-C rocket and two 1,200-pound military communications satellites were lost in space as the rocket's third stage apparently failed to make scheduled burns after launch from Cape Canaveral.

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Sales of pet turtles will be banned next month because they spread infections, the Food and Drug Administration said.

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Sirhan Sirhan, the convicted killer of Robert Kennedy, will be paroled in February 1986 unless he commits a serious breach of prison rules, California corrections officials decided.

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NEW YORK TIMES
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The Broken Telephone Line

By James Reston

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., May 20 — The mini-war in Cambodia, with its sudden attacks in the dark and bizarre misunderstandings, illustrates the need for a more efficient worldwide communication system, and suggests a new and practical peace-keeping role for the United Nations.

There were serious breakdowns in the transmission of messages from Washington to Phnom Penh in Cambodia after the seizure of the Mayagüez, during which President Ford landed the Marines in Thailand, without permission, and ordered the attack on Cambodia.

It is not clear, even now, whether the new Khmer Rouge regime ordered the seizure of the Mayagüez, or if it did, wanted to hand over the ship and its American crew before the Marines landed, but in any event, the orders from the Pentagon to attack moved much faster than the appeals from the State Department to Peking and Phnom Penh to make peace.

There were comparable problems at the height of the Greek-Turkish crisis over Cyprus, though not so serious, but the problem is the same: The military network of communications in the world is swift but diplomatic communications in many of the most inflammable areas are slow.

Without raking over the past in Cambodia or Cyprus, the point here is fairly obvious: We need, not only a hot line between Washington and Moscow to avoid atomic wars, but a worldwide fire-alarm or early-warning system that can communicate the facts to every capital of every nation.

The technology is available. There are now communications satellites in the heavens over every continent. Even the smallest capital of the newest nation in Africa, Asia, or Latin America can hook into this fantastic system by telephone, teletype or even television, if it has a ground satellite station.

These earth stations are not prohibitively expensive. They cost about $4 million. As modern technology improves, they are getting smaller and cheaper all the time. They are already portable, and can be folded up and transported in a Boeing 707.

Henry Kissinger took one along with him on his original mission to China. He could set one up in the desert in the Middle East, if his shuttle failed, and call securely through the scrambler system to the White House within an hour.

■

This is no secret superpower mystery. The International Telecommunications Satellite Organization (Intelsat) runs the communications satellites and sells its service. You have to put more than a dime in the slot, but if you have an earth satellite in Phnom Penh and a mob at the door, you can call up Secretary General Waldheim here at the U.N., or even Henry Kissinger in Georgetown, and discuss your problem.

With this kind of open communications technology available to every nation in the world, it is odd and even ridiculous that wars have to start or go on for lack of facts. We have communications but we don't communicate. "Natural folly is bad enough," Thomas Fuller observed back in 1732, "but learned folly is intolerable."

Maybe, then, there is a practical role here that can be played by the United Nations, as communicator or postmaster, if not as peace-maker. At San Francisco, a generation ago, the U.N. was conceived as a world organization with its own military organization that could impose peace on the world, but that dream has long since vanished.

Then it was seen as a research organization, gathering the facts of impending disasters in a hungry world, and as a debating society for conflicting views on the coming age, and occasionally as a weak but symbolic police force between contending armies in Cyprus and the Middle East.

But even in these limited roles, it has been hobbled by the most inadequate communications, and has been reduced to begging Intelsat for free access to the world satellite system, which Intelsat refused.

The experience of the Cambodian incident and the Cyprus war suggests at least a modest remedy. Namely, that an earth communications satellite should be available to every nation in the world, financed through the United Nations budget, so that potential military crises can be reported and dealt with in time.

This would be no assurance that inexperienced and turbulent revolutionary regimes like the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia would pick up the phone when the bell rings in the Intelsat system; but at least there would be a line of communication that might save lives and might even avoid wars.

The major powers have recognized the need for emergency "hot lines" to avoid misunderstanding and even atomic wars, but the outlook is for conflict in places where there are no

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House Rejects 70,000 Cut In Troops Abroad, 311-95

By JOHN W. FINNEY
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 20—The House of Representatives, in the first post-Vietnam war test of its attitude on military policy, voted overwhelmingly today against reducing American troops overseas.

By a 311-to-95 vote, the House rejected an amendment by Representative Ronald V. Dellums, Democrat of California, that would have required a 70,000-man reduction in the 416,500 troops stationed abroad.

The one-sided vote was interpreted by members as reflecting a more cautious attitude in the House toward reducing military commitments or the defense budget following the forced American exodus from South Vietnam and Cambodia.

Particularly after the infusion of 75 freshman Democrats, the House had seemed headed toward a more critical attitude toward the defense budget. But this critical attitude, according to members, changed perceptibly after the collapse of the American policy in Indochina.

A new majority attitude began to emerge, reflected in a number of votes on the annual military authorization bill, that Congress should not contribute to uncertainties about American policy in the post-Vietnam war period by reducing troops committed abroad to the defense of various allies.

In the opinion of some Congressional leaders, such as the Senate majority leader, Mike Mansfield of Montana, the military action taken to rescue the seized American freighter Mayagüez in the Gulf of Siam, also contributed to the stature of President Ford and made it more difficult for Congress to cut the defense budget or foreign troop commitments.

'The Wrong Time'

Representative Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. of Massachusetts, the majority leader, told the House that he had come to the conclusion that this would be "the *wrong time*," in "*a troubled world*" for Congress to direct a reduction in overseas troops.

Last year, in cooperation with Mr. Dellums, Mr. O'Neill sponsored an amendment that would have required a 100,000-man reduction in troops abroad. The amendment lost by a 240-163 vote, considerably closer than the margin in today's vote.

As in last year's debate, Mr. Dellums continued to argue that with the nation's "limited resources," Congress must begin to reduce overseas commitments to free funds "to address mounting human problems at home."

His amendment did not specify where the troop reductions should be made, but as a "theoretical" plan he suggested all the 70,000 men could be withdrawn from the Western Pacific through reduction in American forces in such countries as South Korea, Japan, the Philippines and Thailand.

Leading the opposition, Representative G. William Whitehurst, Republican of Virginia, said the Dellums amendment, if adopted, would "contribute to instability" among Asian nations and "send out a message" that the United States was "abdicating its responsibility in the world."

After three days of debate, the House was moving toward passage of legislation that would authorize the $26.5-billion in weapons procurement and development in the coming fiscal year. In addition, the bill would authorize $5.5-billion in weapons programs during the the three-month transitional period as the Federal Government shifts next year from a fiscal year beginning on July 1 to one beginning on Oct. 1.

During the debate, the House, usually by decisive margins, rejected proposals to reduce the funding for individual weapons programs, such as the B-1 strategic bomber being developed by the Air Force at a potential cost of at least $20-billion.

In a brief strategic debate, the House defeated, 276-124, an amendment by Representative Robert L. Leggett, Democrat of California, that would have prohibited the testing of New maneuverable missile warheads being developed, known as MARV's for manueverable re-entry vehicles.

With charts seeking to demonstrate that the United States has already a greater "kill capability" with its missiles than the Soviet Union, Mr. Leggett argued that the new warheads, with their ability to manuever with precision against an enemy missile silo, would have a destabilizing effect on the nuclear arms race.

Opponents of the amendment contended development of the new warheads was necessary to maintain a technological lead in missile accuracy over the Soviet Union.

The House spent far longer time debatting and adopting, by a 303-96 vote, an amendment by Representative Samuel S. Stratton, Democrat of upstate New York, that would permit women to be students in the three military academies

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From the Finland Airport

By C. L. Sulzberger

PARIS—Next week's Bonn meeting of the Western European Union Assembly will coincide, one or another way, with a crisis over air defense between the United States and its trans-Atlantic NATO partners.

The decision by Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark and Norway on whether to accept the recommendation of their defense ministers en bloc and replace their obsolescent American F-104 Starfighters with another U.S. plane, the F-16, has been deferred to coincide with the Bonn gathering, even if the timing of such a postponement was merely coincidental.

The defense ministers recommended that the F-16 be purchased in preference to the rival American F-17 or the French Mirage F-1E. Other (Swedish and British) competitors were apparently disregarded.

Although the French Government was initially downcast by this recommendation, it has fought back hard at the political level to recapture at least a share of the "market of the century" for supersonic aircraft. It now seems likely that Belgium, at least, will be induced to disregard its defense minister and opt for the Mirage.

Just as the moment for final decision arrives, the Western European Union (W.E.U.) will face a report by its own experts stressing that the issue posed underscores "Western Europe's extraordinary inability to take political action."

This applies above all to the European Community (threatened by Britain's possible resignation) which is being urged by China to make itself stronger and more independent vis-à-vis the two superpowers (particularly Russia). Peking now plans to send the Community its own ambassador.

The W.E.U. report complains: "It is incredible to witness Europeans proposing to commit themselves to a mass production program for an

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The French have fought hard to recapture a share of the supersonic aircraft market.

American fighter aircraft larger than that to which the Americans have committed themselves to date. . . . What is really incredible is that Europe should have allowed itself to get into a position where there should be any doubt whatsoever about its ability to supply 350 aircraft from its own resources."

It denounces "our continued inability in Western Europe to see our aerospace industry as a European entity and not as a series of separate national aircraft industries." This, of course, is the heart of the matter. Although distinguished experts have proclaimed the two American planes, F-16 and F-17, superior to the Mirage, an amalgamated European industry could certainly provide an advanced, more economically competitive model to that of any individual Community member, in this case France.

Britain has hitherto contributed substantially to Europe's defense. Unfortunately, however, the present London Government believes it must cut its contribution. Therefore: "Europe's misfortune," the report comments, "is that it now should take into account a reduction in the strength of the British defense industries and therefore in its capability to supply its defense from its own resources."

In the directly related field of civilian aircraft, the report complains the governments linked in the W.E.U. have ignored proposals that they act "immediately to establish Western Europe as a single unified air transport market." The United States holds ascendancy in this field and bitter remarks are appended to U.S. objections to trans-Atlantic links via the supersonic Anglo-French Concorde.

"This year," W.E.U. is told, "Europe looks forward to the introduction of Concorde into passenger service. Objections from the other side of the Atlantic now seem to be based more on nationalistic than realistic grounds. It is worth reflecting that the total cost of getting this magnificent aircraft into service will be equivalent to that which the Americans spent on producing a wooden mock-up of their proposed SST [supersonic transport] before it was cancelled."

In all these observations there is an air of bitterness. But the answer is obvious. If Europe is to produce truly modern and competitive weapons that can match—or excel—those offered by the United States for sale to its NATO allies, Europe will have to unite more effectively.

Only a Europe capable of taking the complex political decisions to manufacture the expensive weapons required and of allotting responsibility for individual components to each member state is a Europe that can endure as an independent entity for long.

Sadly, however, the biggest question facing Europe today is whether a key member, Britain, will break its pledged word and tell the club to go to hell. With that kind of mood prevailing, no Continental statesman can plan for any serious alternative other than reliance on the United States—or Finlandization.

BROKEN LINE -- CONTINUED

quick lines of communications.

Secretary General Waldheim here at the United Nations is eager to assist in the development of an early-warning system, but he has neither the power nor the money to set it up. He needs the support, or at least the understanding of the members of the world organization, and particularly the acquiescence of the major powers. All that is at issue here is merely that modern communications should be used to get the facts of potential wars to the world in time, and that is not asking very much.

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Cambodian Sailors, With No Navy Now, End O.C.S. Training

Special to The New York Times

NEWPORT, R. I., May 20—Twenty Cambodian sailors who no longer have a navy graduated quietly today from the Officers Candidate School here.

They had been scheduled to graduate on Friday, along with the current class of United States officer candidates and 32 Iranian naval officers, but the ceremony was moved up to early this morning to avoid press coverage, United States Navy officials here said.

The Cambodian students requested the private ceremony and also asked that they not be interviewed by reporters or have their pictures taken for fear of jeopardizing the safety of relatives in Cambodia, according to Capt. Howard N. Kay, commander of the Naval Education and Training Center.

"It's a very difficult situation and we wanted to respect their wishes," Captain Kay said.

The Cambodian officers are to remain in the student dormitories here for the present. The Navy said they would deal directly with the Immigration and Naturalization Service, with international volunteer agencies and with "officers in third countries" to determine their future.

The Pentagon said that as of May 9, there were 300 Cambodians and 230 South Vietnamese being trained at 50 United States military bases. After they complete their courses, they will also be held in a similar refugee status.

NEW YORK TIMES
21 MAY 1975 Pg. 16

Thai Premier Says He Hopes to Avoid Hasty Exit by U.S.

BANGKOK, Thailand, May 20 (Reuters)—Premier Kukrit Pramoj said today that a hasty withdrawal of United States forces could create problems for the Thai Government.

He told reporters that it might be difficult for Thailand to take over the four United States air bases and other facilities without preparation.

Protest groups have demanded the withdrawal of the 27,000 United States servicemen from Thailand after an uproar over the Mayagüez incident.

Only yesterday, with demonstrators besieging its gates, the United States embassy was forced to express regret for American use of the U Taphao air base to airlift marines to help rescue the container ship Mayagüez from Cambodia.

The Thai Government said it would review its military and economic ties with Washington as a result of the incident.

As matters stand, the United States has agreed to remove its forces from Thailand by next March at the latest. But student protest groups are demanding a pullout by July 4.

"It is possible that the withdrawal could be sooner than March, but it would be difficult for us because we would have to take over all their facilities in a hurry," Mr. Kukrit said. "However, we will listen to the public and political parties' intentions."

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WASHINGTON POST, Monday, MAY 19 1975

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U.S. Now Reports 15 Dead In Recapture of Mayaguez

By PHILIP SHABECOFF
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 20—The Defense Department, in a casualty report that a spokesman called "as complete as we can make it," said today that 15 Americans had been killed in last week's operation to rescue the Mayagüez and its crew from the Cambodians.

The count also listed three marines as missing in action and a total of 50 as wounded. Yesterday, the Pentagon reported five dead, 16 missing and 49 wounded.

The spokesman said that it was possible that further information could lead to the addition of the missing marines to the list of those killed in action and that a few more names could raise the total of wounded. But he indicated that today's report was likely to stand for the immediate future.

Of those listed as killed in action, 11 were from the Marine Corps, two from the Navy and two from the Air Force. The wounded included 41 marines, seven from the Air Force and two from the Navy.

The military assault was undertaken last Wednesday to recover the Mayagüez and its crew of 39.

Another Question Raised

The defection of a Cambodian warship to Thailand last week, added still another to a number of unanswered questions about the Mayagüez incident.

A Pentagon spokesman, Joseph Laitin, confirmed today that a 170-foot submarine chaser with 40 Cambodians aboard had been turned over to Thai authorities in the port of Sattahip.

But in answering questions at a news briefing, Mr. Laitin said he did not know if the ship had taken part in the Cambodian seizure of the Mayagüez on May 12.

Members of the Cambodian vessel's crew apparently told the Thais, at least initially, that their vessel had taken part in the seizure of the Mayagüez and that the crew had then thrown a Cambodian Communist soldier overboard and sailed for Thailand.

Mr. Laitin said that the Pentagon did not have "any facts" on whether the submarine chaser, originally commissioned by the United States Navy, had played any role in the Mayagüez incident.

No Mention of Craft

All previous accounts from the crew of the Mayagüez and from Administration officials on the incident indicated that only small Cambodian gunboats and fishing craft had participated in the seizure. There was never any mention of a vessel the size of the submarine chaser in reports of the seizure and the subsequent American surveillance and recapture of the Mayagüez.

These questions were raised concerning the submarine chaser:

If the bigger vessel, which has been in Cambodian hands since the nineteen-fifties, was involved in the Mayagüez incident, why was the involvement not reported? And why did its crew defect afterward?

If it was not involved, why did its crew members say so when they reached Thailand? Why did the Pentagon have no firm information today about the Cambodian submarine chaser, which reached Sattahip last week?

The Pentagon was able to trace the background of the submarine chaser, explaining that it had passed from the United States to the French Navy and then to the Cambodian Navy in the early nineteen-fifties.

Pentagon spokesmen were unable to give an explanation of how a United States-made patrol boat known to have been used in the attack on the Mayagüez had been obtained by the Cambodians.

A photograph published in today's issue of the New York Times and other newspapers, taken by a Mayagüez crew member at the time of the capture, showed a patrol boat of the Swift class alongside. The Mayagüez.

Swifts Given to Saigon

Jane's Fighting Ships for 1973-1974 does not list any ships of this class in the Cambodian Navy. Jane's indicates that a number of the Swift craft were given to the South Vietnamese but gives no indication that any were turned over to Cambodia before the communist victory in that country.

A Pentagon spokesman, asked when and how the Cambodians had obtained this patrol boat, could not give an answer. He said he would try to check it out, but several hours later he still was not able to provide any information.

Meanwhile, interviews today with members of the Mayagüez crew members raised anew a question whether the Cambodians might have released the ship and crew without a military attack by the United States.

Wilbert Bock, radio operator on the Mayagüez, said today that Charles T. Miller, captain of the ship, had rejected an offer that he return with some of his crew to his vessel the night before the marine assault.

Mr. Bock, interviewed in San Francisco while on his way home to New Jersey, said that the Cambodians had offered to let Captain Miller send a radio message to American forces to call off the air attacks. Mr. Bock seemed to believe that the offer had been part of a plan to free the crew.

Another crew member, Emil Funtillo of Kienosha, Wis. told an interviewer in Hong Kong of a Cambodian offer to send the captain and seven crew members back to the ship last Tuesday night. Captain Miller had told of the offer and said he had turned it down because he did not want to split the crew and because the boat to return them to the Mayagüez might have been sunk by United States planes.

But the Cambodian offer would seem to suggest that, at a minimum, the Cambodians were willing to negotiate. And as Captain Miller suggested, they might have let the Mayagüez and its crew go when they were satisfied it was not a spy ship.

Captain Miller has expressed an opinion that the crew would not have been rscued without the marine assault. But his account and those of his crewmen would seem at least to raise a question of whether a delay in the attack and further attempts to negotiate with the Cambodian captors might have led to the release of the crew and ship without bloodshed.

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Senate Refuses Reinstatement Of Butterfield's Military Status

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 20—The Senate defeated today, 16 to 42, a bill that would have reinstated Alexander P. Butterfield, the former head of the Federal Aviation Administration who first disclosed the existence of the White House tapes, as a retired Air Force colonel.

The vote, several Senators said, was not aimed personally at Mr. Butterfield but reflected a growing Senate concern about what they called a blurring in recent years of civilian and military authority in the Government.

It was Mr. Butterfield who told the Senate Watergate committee in 1973 about the existence of the extensive taping system in the White House, which played a major role in the resignation of President Nixon.

But that incident was not mentioned in the debate today, which focused instead on what normally would have been a routine bill to restore to Mr. Butterfield his retired military status.

Mr. Butterfield, who had 20 years service in the Air Force, resigned his commission as a retired colonel before being confirmed for the F.A.A. post in 1973 to comply with a 1958 law requiring the agency's head to be a civilian.

He resigned from the aviation agency last March, and two of the more senior members of the Senate Armed Services Committee, John C. Stennis of Mississippi, and Howard W. Cannon of Nevada, both Democrats, sought the bill reinstating his military benefits on the ground that he was entitled to receive his accrued retirement benefits.

But Senator John C. Culver, a freshman Democrat from Iowa who is on the Armed Services Committee, fought the bill on the floor, arguing that it would be an exception to the constitutional principle of "the scrupulous separation of civilian and military functions."

This separation, he argued, "has been blurred and systematically abused on too many occasions." Too often, he said, military officers have advanced in rank "on their political connections."

Mr. Culver and Senator Gary Hart, a freshman Democrat from Colorado, had argued in committee that there was growing concern about high military officers switching to key appointive civilian Government posts and then resuming their military careers.

"In the wake of events of the past few years wherein we have seen the weakening of our constitutional system by the development of massive conflicts of interest, we have in my judgment the duty to preserve the laws that guard against such a situation," Senator Culver said.

Mr. Cannon contended that it was "only fair" to restore the retired rank to Mr Butterfield because congress had passed special bills in the past to permit two other former F.A.A. heads—Elwood R. Quesada and William F. McKee, both Air Force generals—to retain their military status.

But Senator Culver argued that this was "governing by exception" and made what he called "a mockery" of the law requiring a civilian to head the agency.

He said that defeat of the bill would not impose a financial hardship on Mr. Butterfield and would deprive him only of post exchange and commissary privileges and military health care.

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FORD PLEDGES U.S. TO STAND BY SEOUL

By The Associated Press

President Ford has committed his Administration to standing its ground in South Korea in the event of attack from the North.

"We have a treaty with South Korea," he said in an interview published in The New York Daily News today. "The South Koreans have done an outstanding job in building up their own military capability, defending their economy, and they are a loyal ally.

"I think it's important that we let them as well as others know that at least this Administration intends to live up to our signed obligations."

In an interview with the paper's chief Washington correspondent, James Wieghart, the columnist Jerry Greene and the White House correspondent, Paul Healy, Mr. Ford also defended his handling of the Mayagüez incident and the retaking of the American freighter and ther crew from the Cambodians.

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WEDNESDAY MORNING, 21 MAY 1975

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4-Star Admiral Brothers in Shift

The first brothers to hold simultaneously the rank of four-star admiral in the Navy are both involved in a current shift in high-level commands. In a ceremony at the American Embassy in London yesterday, command of American naval forces in Europe passed to **Adm. David H. Bagley**, who is 54 years old. Newly appointed to the rank, he has been in Washington as Chief of Naval Personnel.

The European command was held in 1973 and 1974, by Adm. Worthvbcm avb cm his brother, **Adm. Worth H. Bagley**, 50, who will retire June 30 as Vice Chief of Naval Operations in Washington. He will be succeeded by **Adm. Harold E. Shear**, whom Adm. David Bagley is succeeding in the European command.

Rear Adm. Samuel L. Grave Jr., who in 1971 became the Navy's first black admiral, has been named commandant of the 11th Naval District in San Diego. Admiral Gravely, 52, has been commander of a cruiser-destroyer group.

James R. Schlesinger, the Secretary of Defense, said yesterday that he had accepted with regret the resignation of **William Beecher** as deputy assistant secretary for public affairs, effective May 30. Mr. Beecher, who went to the Pentagon two years ago from The New York York Times bureau in Washington, will join The Boston Globe as diplomatic correspondent.

WASHINGTON POST - 21 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

House Votes for Women In Service Academies

By Richard L. Lyons
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House voted last night to admit women to the U.S. military, naval and Air Force academies as it worked toward passage of the $32 billion military hardware authorization bill.

By a vote of 303 to 96 the House cracked one of the final barriers of discrimination in government after voting 284 to 113 to reject a proposal by opponents that the matter of creating a women's service academy be studied for a year by the Defense Department.

Opponents argued that admitting women to the service academies would be a first step toward putting them in combat, which is now forbidden by law. The principal publicly stated reason for opposing letting women learn soldiering at elite academies is that this training is intended to prepare officers for combat; thus admission would be a first step toward repealing that law or would be a waste of tax money, it is argued.

But Rep. Sam Stratton (D-N.Y.), who led the fight to admit women, said a study showed that more than 10 per cent of the present academy graduates never have seen combat. He called it discrimination to permit more than 100,000 women to serve in the armed forces, including ROTC and officer candidate schools but to forbid them to attend the top-rank academies and thus compete equally with men for promotion.

The House had never before voted to admit women to the service academies, but the Senate did in the last Congress.

The authorization bill sets ceilings for purchase of planes, ships and missiles for a 15-month period beginning July 1. Funds must be provided later in an appropriation bill. The Senate Armed Services Committee voted to authorize $30.3 billion for the same period.

The tallies against defense cuts during two days of voting were surprisingly lopsided. The big new crop of new members had seemed likely to push the House in the direction of defense cuts.

The freshmen voted more strongly for reductions than the House as a whole. For instance, they voted by a margin ment funds for the B-1 bomber of 2 to 1 to cut out procurewhile the House as a whole rejected the amendment, 227 to 164. One reason for the big votes against the money cut probably was to send a message that after defeat in Indochina the United States was not preparing to withdraw from the world in isolation.

An attempt by Rep. Ronald V. Dellums (D-Calif.) to order a return to this country of 70,000 U.S. troops abroad was defeated, 311 to 95. Dellums argued that maintenance of the present 416,500 U.S. troops abroad is costly and not needed and that the 70,000 could be withdrawn without reducing the number stationed in Europe. Opponents said it would be viewed as a return to isolationism.

Rejected 276 to 124 was a proposal to forbid testing of MARV, a device to permit changing the course of missiles in flight and more accurate targeting. Rep. Robert Leggett (D-Calif.) said testing the device would only push the Soviet Union into a race for a first-strike capability. But Rep. Joe D. Waggonner (D-La.) said: "There is no assurance if we stand still, the U.S.S.R. will."

Leggett also lost by a voice vote an attempt to cut out $559.9 million for contruction of a fourth Trident nuclear-missile submarine. His purpose was not to kill the program but only to defer funds which he said would not be spent next year.

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21 MAY 1975 Pg. 40

U.S. Rocket Fails, Losing 2 Satellites In the Defense Net

CAPE CANAVERAL, Fla., May 20 (UPI)—A United States rocket carrying two satellites was lost in space today, dooming a $57-million mission aimed at establishing the final link of a worldwide military communications network.

Air Force officials said the "transtage," or third stage, of the Titan 3-C rocket athe two, 1,200-pound satellites connected to it began rolling and tumbling out of control far above the earth after being launched from Cape Canaveral.

Officials said the space package would soon plunge into the earth's atmosphere and be consumed by the searing heat of re-entry.

Scientists said they believed a power problem aboard the transtage was respoible for the failure. The third stage was to have made two short rocket burns after launching to place the satellites in their proper orbits, but officials said they had received no indication that the burns took place.

This was the first failure of a transtage in 10 years. In 1965, two satellite missions failed as a result of problems in the third stage. The last failure of a satellite mission at Cape Canaveral occurred on Feb. 20, when an Atlas-Centaur rocket malfunctioned during the launching of an Intelsat 42 commercial communications satellite.

The two satellites were Ko have been positioned in stationary orbits 6½ ½ hours after the liftoff—one over the Pacific Ocean and the other over the Indian Ocean.

The satellites, designed to handle 1,300 phone calls or relHy televised or printed messages without danger of evesdropping or jammingby enemy forces, were to have completed a worldwide military communications network begun in 1973 when two similar satellites were launched over the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

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21 MAY 1975 Pg. 16

2 ENVOYS SOUGHT ASIA NEWS CURBS

Asked Voice of America to Play Down April Events

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 20—The United States ambassadors to South Vietnam and Cambodia asked the Voice of America to play down news of the deteriorating situation in Indochina in early April.

Representative Bella Abzug today produced texts of a message to this effect from John Gunther Dean, the last American envoy in Cambodia, and another cablegram from Graham A. Martin, the last American envoy in Saigon.

In testimony before the Government Operations subcommittee on Government information and individual rights, neither Eugene P. Kopp, deputy director of the United States Information Agency, nor Bernard Kamenske, news director of the Voice of America, questioned the authenticity of the messages.

Mr. Martin's cablegram, dated April 6 and classified as "confidential," said "speculative and unofficial comments" would "contribute to apprehensions amongst Vietnamese and Americans."

"Staying with minimum official announcements most helpful," the cablegram went on.

The cablegram from Mr. Dean, dated April 14, said he "strongly" advised the Voice of America against carrying an account of student demonstrations in Phnom Penh at which the resignation of President Lon Nol and the termination of American military aid were demanded. Voice of America coverage could be "misconstrued as representing [United States) mission support for student demands," he explained.

WASHINGTON POST
21 MAY 1975 Pg. 28

Bases in Thailand

BANGKOK—Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoji said an overhasty withdrawal of U.S. forces from Thailand could crate problems for the Thai government, which might find it difficult to take over four U.S. air bases and other facilities without careful preparation.

In a radio broadcast, Foreign Minister Chatichai Choonhaven welcomed an offer of friendship from the new rulers of Cambodia.

In Thailand's northeastern province of Nong Khai, a spokesman announced formation of an anti-Vietnamese movement to boycott goods being sold by the large Vietnamese business community in the province.

The Interior Ministry announced, meanwhile, that Thailand is currently taking care of an estimated 11,000 refugees from Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam.

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A033 R A DAY LD BY WARREN L. NELSON VESSEL 5-21

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- THE PENTAGON SAYS ITS FINAL COUNT OF CASUALTIES IN THE BATTLE OF KOH TANG ISLAND SHOWS 15 SERVICEMEN KILLED, THREE MISSING AND 50 WOUNDED, TWO OF THEM IN SERIOUS CONDITION.

ABOUT 210 MARINES ENGAGED IN COMBAT ON THE ISLAND IN THE OPERATION TO RECOVER THE MERCHANT SHIP MAYAGUEZ AND ITS CREW FROM THE CAMBODIANS. A FEW DOZEN AIRMEN CAME UNDER FIRE AHILE FLYING THE HELICOPTERS THAT CARRIED THE MARINES.

PENTAGON SPOKESMAN JOSEPH LAITIN SAID "EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS" INDICATE LITTLE LIKLIHOOD THE THREE MISSING MEN, ALL MARINES, ARE ALIVE. HE DID NOT ELABORATE.

PRESIDENT FORD WAS SENDING PERSONAL CONDOLENCES TO THE FAMILIES OF THE MEN KILLED. FIFTEEN OF THE WOUNDED MARINES RECEIVED PURPLE HEARTS AT SUBIC BAY, PHILLIPINES, TUESDAY.

THIRTEEN OF THE DEAD WERE KILLED IN AN AIR FORCE HELICOPTER THAT CRASHED 100 FEET OFF KOH TANG AS THE INVASION FORCE MOVED IN UNDER ENEMY FIRE. ONE WAS AN AIR FORCE CREWMAN ON ANOTHER HELICOPTER, WHICH WAS HIT AS IT TRIED TO LEAVE THE ISLAND AND WENT DOWN MORE THAN TWO MILES OUT AT SEA. THE 15TH WAS A MARINE KILLED ON THE ISLAND.

THE BATTLE ENDED THURSDAY MORNING WASHINGTON TIME, BUT IT TOOK 4 1/2 DAYS FOR THE PENTAGON TO DETERMINE THE TOLL. THE WHITE HOUSE INDICATED DISSATISFACTION WITH THE TIME IT TOOK TO MAKE THE COUNT. A MARINE SOURCE SAID OF THE TIME INVOLVED IN THE COUNT, "SOME HEADS ARE ABOUT TO ROLL OVER THIS."

ON MONDAY, THE PENTAGON ESTIMATED THE KILLED AND MISSING AT 21. LAITIN SAID THAT INCLUDED SOME DOUBLE COUNTING. PENTAGON OFFICIALS SAID THE COUNT WAS CONFUSING BECAUSE THE MARINES WERE SCATTERED AFTER THE BATTLE TO AT LEAST THREE DIFFERENT SHIPS AND THREE DIFFERENT COUNTRIES.

LAITIN SAID NONE OF THE BODIES WAS RECOVERED.

THE BREAKDOWN SHOWED 11 MARINES, TWO AIRMEN AND TWO NAVY HOSPITALMEN KILLED; THREE MARINES MISSING, AND 41 MARINES, SEVEN AIRMEN AND TWO SAILORS WOUNDED.

ONE MARINE AND ONE AIRMAN WERE LISTED IN SERIOUS CONDITION, BUT LAITIN SAID "BOTH ARE STABLE AND EXPECTED TO RECOVER."

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A031 R A DAY LD BY GENE BERNHARDT WEAPONS 5-21 UPI 05-21 03:19 AED

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- THE HOUSE, REJECTING ATTEMPTS TO CUT BACK MAJOR WEAPONS PROGRAMS AND THE NUMBER OF U.S. TROOPS STATIONED ABROAD, HAS PASSED A $32 BILLION WEAPONS PROCUREMENT BILL INTACT.

SUPPORTERS OF THE BILL SAID IT IS THE WRONG TIME TO REDUCE THE NUMBER OF FOREIGN BASED TROOPS NOW THAT U.S. MILITARY RESOLVE MIGHT BE IN DOUBT BECAUSE OF SETBACKS IN INDOCHINA.

THE BILL INCLUDED AN AMENDMENT ORDERING THE SERVICE ACADEMIES TO ADMIT WOMEN AND TRAIN THEM FOR COMBAT. THAT MEASURE PASSED 303-96 BEFORE THE ENTIRE BILL WAS APPROVED ON A 333-63 ROLL CALL TUESDAY.

THE BILL NOW GOES TO THE SENATE, WHICH BEGINS DEBATE THIS WEEK ON A $30.3 BILLION VERSION. A FINAL SENATE VOTE WILL PROBABLY COME THE FIRST WEEK IN JUNE.

IN TWO DAYS OF VOTING, THE HOUSE TURNED BACK EFFORTS TO TRIM THE B1 BOMBER PROGRAM AND THE TRIDENT SUBMARINE PROGRAM AND TO ELIMINATE THE A10 FIGHTER PLANE PROJECT ALTOGETHER. AMONG OTHER AMENDMENTS REJECTED BY THE HOUSE WAS ONE TO CUT BACK U.S. TROOPS STATIONED ABROAD BY 70,000 PERSONS. IT WAS DEFEATED 311-95.

A FINAL EFFORT TO SLICE $1.9 BILLION FROM THE MEASURE, A PROPOSAL THAT WOULD HAVE LEFT IT TO THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT TO DESIGNATE PROGRAMS TO BE CUT BACK, WAS BEATEN 216-183.

"THIS IS THE WRONG MONTH OF THE WRONG YEAR OF THE WRONG CENTURY TO OFFER SUCH AN AMENDMENT," SAID REP. WAYNE HAYS, D-OHIO, A SENIOR MEMBER OF THE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE IN ARGUING AGAINST A TROOP CUT. "IN THE WAKE OF VIETNAM, EUROPE IS JITTERY ABOUT WHAT THE PURPOSES OF THE UNITED STATES MAY BE."

HIS VIEWPOINT WAS ECHOED BY A REPORT FROM THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE, WARNING SPECIFICALLY AGAINST TROOP REDUCTIONS IN THE PACIFIC.

BUT REP. RONALD V. DELLUMS, D-CALIF., SAID A REDUCTION IN FORCES FROM THE ESTIMATED 416,000 TROOPS ABROAD WOULD HAVE LITTLE IF ANY EFFECT ON THE NATION'S DEFENSES, AND THAT CONGRESS, NOT THE PENTAGON, SHOULD DICTATE U.S. MILITARY POSTURE IN FOREIGN NATIONS.

DELLUMS SAID THE PENTAGON COULD DECIDE WHERE TO MAKE THE CUTS, BUT HE SUGGESTED THEY COULD COME IN THAILAND, JAPAN, SOUTH KOREA, THE PHILIPPINES, TAIWAN, BERMUDA, CUBA AND MOROCCO. HE SAID NONE SHOULD COME IN EUROPE.

THE BILL, ALREADY CUT $3.7 BILLION BY THE HOUSE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE FROM THE $35.7 BILLION THE PENTAGON REQUESTED, WOULD AUTHORIZE WEAPONS PROCUREMENT, RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT OVER A 15-MONTH PERIOD.

THE MEASURE IS A MAJOR SEGMENT OF THE OVERALL $129.3 BILLION DEFENSE DEPARTMENT BUDGET FOR THE 1976 FISCAL YEAR THAT STARTS JULY 1 AND EXTENDS TO SEPT. 30. 1976.

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CURRENT NEWS
SPECIAL EDITION

THIS PUBLICATION IS PREPARED BY THE AIR FORCE AS EXECUTIVE AGENT FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE TO BRING TO THE ATTENTION OF KEY DOD PERSONNEL NEWS ITEMS OF INTEREST TO THEM IN THEIR OFFICIAL CAPACITIES. IT IS NOT INTENDED TO SUBSTITUTE FOR NEWSPAPERS, PERIODICALS AND BROADCASTS AS A MEANS OF KEEPING INFORMED ABOUT THE NATURE, MEANING AND IMPACT OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL NEWS DEVELOPMENTS. USE OF THESE ARTICLES HERE, OF COURSE, DOES NOT REFLECT OFFICIAL ENDORSEMENT. FURTHER REPRODUCTION FOR PRIVATE USE OR GAIN IS SUBJECT TO THE ORIGINAL COPYRIGHT RESTRICTIONS

20 MAY 1975 No. 6

U.S. NAVAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS MAY 1975

The Projection of Power by Air

By Colonel A. P. Sights, Jr., U. S. Air Force (Retired)

I believe that the mobility of our forces is extremely important. From the first day I walked into the Pentagon, I have been focusing on that subject. . . .

Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger
Congressional Testimony 1974

Being able to fly infantry divisions across oceans is a possibility Admiral Mahan either did not foresee or considered too speculative for useful comment. If he were around today, one supposes he might praise it as a technical achievement that reflected the continuing inventive genius of the American people. But how would he, as a strategist, advise us to use this new military capability? Indeed, after acquainting himself with the many problems involved, would he recommend that we use it at all?

Not until the advent of large, long-range transport aircraft in the late 1960s and early 1970s did overseas deployment by air become a practical possibility. Long before this, however, the conception began to take shape of giving wings to large ground force units in order that they might go quickly on short notice to distant trouble spots where U.S. interests were threatened.

Events as well as people helped form this conception. One such event was the Berlin airlift of 1948–49. For 14 months the planes shuttled back and forth, day and night, in fair weather and foul, to carry a total of two and one-half million tons of supplies into that beleaguered city while Red Army troops idly watched the weeds grow around their useless roadblocks. This undertaking, with its drama, suspense, and final happy ending, served to impress two thoughts on the public mind: first, that with suitable planes and enough of them, there was virtually no limit to what could be transported by air; and second, that under certain circumstances, a large military airlift fleet could be enormously useful.

Another contributing event was the long-drawn-out buildup of U.S. forces in the Far East after North Korea's surprise attack across the 38th parallel in June 1950. More than 55 days passed before the first division arrived from the United States. Meanwhile theater forces, thrown into the breach, were slowly compressed into the Pusan perimeter and seemed on the point of being driven into the sea when the bold amphibious assault at Inchon brought them an eleventh-hour reprieve. Yet it was a close call. Monday morning quarterbacks agreed that our lack of readiness had cost us dearly but disagreed on what should be done about it.

Korea, the first major conflict in the nuclear age, had been fought with the supposedly obsolete weapons and tactics of World War II. The Air Force, firmly wedded to the concept of massive retaliation, viewed it as an unaccountable throwback not likely to recur. On the other hand, the Army, having little capability and still less enthusiasm for using nuclear weapons, took it as the probable pattern of future conflicts. Accordingly Army planners, under the leadership of World War II paratrooper generals (most notably Matthew B. Ridgway and Maxwell D. Taylor, who both served as chief of staff, and James M. Gavin, chief of research and development), began to develop the doctrine and seek the means to deal with future crises cast in the Korean mold.

The new doctrine of "flexible response," to use the name General Taylor gave it in his 1959 book, *The Uncertain Trumpet*, called for rapid and discriminating (meaning nonnuclear) responses to limited conflagrations. Combat forces tailored to the particular task would move in quickly while the aggression was still in its incipient stages, and seize the initiative before the enemy had time to build up his strength. Hopefully the early arrival of such forces on the scene would have a stabilizing influence and prevent the outbreak of hostilities altogether.

The overriding emphasis was on speed, which meant—in most cases—deployment by air. Army planners soon discovered, however, that the available trans-

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JAMES KILLINGBECK, CHIEF, CURRENT NEWS BRANCH, OX 78765 HELEN YOUNG, ASSISTANT CHIEF
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PROJECTION OF POWER BY AIR...CONTINUED

port planes could neither lift the total tonnages required nor accommodate all the oversize pieces of equipment such as tanks, artillery, and helicopters, that would have to accompany the troops.

A modernization of the airlift force, begun soon after the Berlin airlift, had been carried through to completion after the Korean Armistice. But there was no move thereafter by the Department of Defense to further improve or enlarge it despite the Army's expressed dissatisfaction. The Navy and Marine Corps, were naturally oriented toward sealift. Moreover, unlike the Army, they had some transport aircraft of their own. Hence, they needed comparatively little Defense airlift support and, generally, were satisfied with the amount available. So too was the Air Force which, during the 1950s, measured the adequacy of airlift by its ability to support the deployment of Strategic Air Command bombers in case of general war. This view prevailed within the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Army made little headway in its campaign for more and larger planes until, early in the 1960s, it gained two important and influential allies.

One was the newly-elected President, John F. Kennedy. He read General Taylor's book, liked the ideas it expressed, and made the ability to respond "flexibly" one of the goals of his administration.

The other was Congressman L. Mendel Rivers, chairman of the special subcommittee on national military airlift established by the House in January 1960. In a legislative *tour de force*, Rivers provided the main impetus and leadership in working out a program, acceptable to the executive branch as well as to Congress, for another modernization of military airlift. This program laid the foundation for the present Military Airlift Command (MAC) fleet of long-range C-141 and C-5A jet transports that, with few exceptions, can lift every item of equipment an Army division has.

In a typical service briefing we would learn that "our global airlift capabilities now permit rapid deployment of ready U.S. forces to any area of real or threatened conflict." While this is quite true in a general sense, various qualifications and addenda are needed for an appreciation of what can be done in specific circumstances. Let us look first at what has to be lifted, and then at how the airlift is carried out.

The phrase, "U.S. forces," may be taken to mean ground forces—divisions or smaller units of the Army and Marine Corps—with supporting tactical air. Ground forces are divided into companies, battalions, regiments, and so on, but one usually thinks of deploying them in terms of divisions. This is because normally the division is the smallest unit that is self-sufficient and capable of operating independently. When a smaller unit, say a battalion, is all that is needed, it can be augmented for independent operation. However the division is a convenient unit of measure and, if the airlift forces can move it, they can always move something smaller. How big then is a division? Like the question, "How big is a dog?" it depends on the type and whether you include the tail in the measurement.

The Army has five types of divisions—infantry, armored, mechanized, airborne, and airmobile—and the Marine division, not precisely like any of these, would make six. The Army divisions all have around 17,000 men (except airborne which is slightly smaller) but they vary widely in weight of equipment from about 11,000 tons for airborne and airmobile to over 50,000 for armored. Depending on the type of division, there are between about 100 and 400 aircraft and between about 3,000 and 5,000 vehicles in each. But this is only the basic unit. Also to be considered is its logistic "tail."

If the division went into action it would quickly need its "initial support increment"—another 18,000 men and 40,000 tons of equipment, and not long after that, if combat continued, its "sustaining support increment" which presumably would come by sea. On top of all this are the consumable supplies such as food, fuel, and ammunition, that would have to flow in a continuous stream to the deployed unit. Altogether a formidable array of personnel and materiel.

Movement of the troops themselves by air should present no problem. The commercial airlines have more than enough passenger capacity to support any foreseeable deployment. However the equipment is another matter. The air cargo industry is still small and, in any event, its planes are not designed for efficient handling of military equipment, especially vehicles. In fact, a large percentage of the Army's items could not be carried by those airplanes at all. Hence the task of deploying division equipment would fall mainly on the MAC fleet.

The Military Airlift Command has 275 C-141s and 77 C-5As manufactured by Lockheed and delivered in 1965–69 and 1969–73 respectively, these jet cargo planes are relatively new. They were designed, in response to Army requirements, specifically for the rapid deployment mission. On a flight from the United States to Europe the C-141 could carry about 34 tons and the much larger C-5A over three times that amount. More significantly, the C-5A has a capacious cabin with almost seven and one-half times more cubic feet of storage space. This permits it to accommodate all but the very largest pieces of division equipment. The exceptions include such things as landing craft, paving machines, heavy cranes, and fixed-wing aircraft (which last can fly themselves overseas).

When the division is alerted for air deployment, its equipment must be broken down into planeload lots. The ideal load would be one filling the cargo compartment from floor to ceiling and, at the same time, weighing the maximum that the plane could lift. Such a balance is rarely achieved in practice. A capacity load by weight of heavy dense items like mortar shells would leave unused cabin space whereas a cabin full of pylon fuel tanks would be far under the allowable weight. The C-141 presents a particular problem in this respect because it tends to be space-limited on most Army deployment missions. Studies have indicated, according to testimony by the Air Force Director of Transportation, "that the average C-141 payloads, which would be achieved in a deployment to Europe, range from 22 tons for an armored division to 13 tons for an airmobile division." In other words the average plane, even though fully loaded, would be carrying only 63 per cent, or 38 per cent, of what it could actually lift.

As a further complication, the maximum allowable cargo weight will vary a great deal according to the length of the flight. This is because the weight of fuel, a factor of little or no importance on cargo ships, is of major importance on cargo planes. For example, in the 1973 airlift to the Middle East, if the C-5s had

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PROJECTION OF POWER BY AIR...CONTINUED

had to fly nonstop from the United States to Israel, they could have carried no more than about 33.5 tons of payload per trip. As it was however, by refueling in the Azores, they were able to carry an average of 74.2 tons—more than twice as much. Thus the weight of fuel consumed may well exceed the weight of cargo carried. And the longer the flight, the greater the fuel requirement and the less the allowable cargo weight.

Considering the various types of divisions, their differing support requirements, the complications of weight and cube in loading aircraft, and the inevitable last-minute decisions on where the force is going and how it will get there, the logisticians have an unenviable task. However they have worked out tables, graphs, computer programs, and so on, to handle the mass of detail. And they, along with Army troops and Air Force air and ground personnel, have rehearsed procedures in many tests, exercises, and actual deployments over the last few years. So there is good reason to believe that, even under conditions of extreme urgency, the combat force can be loaded out and speeded on its way with order and efficiency.

When one hears that such and such infantry division is being rushed overseas by air to cope with some real or simulated emergency, the image may come to mind of an airfield jammed with huge transport planes parked wingtip to wingtip. Long columns of men, tanks, and guns are queued up behind the planes and move slowly up the ramps into the cavernous interiors. Once all are aboard, the hatches are secured and engines started. The planes taxi out in column to the end of the runway, take off in quick succession, and assemble in loose formation as they head out over the ocean.

That indeed was the general pattern of the great airborne assaults of World War II in which tactical transport planes lifted airborne divisions *en masse*, flew them behind enemy lines, and delivered them via parachute or glider onto the battlefield. And it is still the pattern of many military air operations, including bombing raids and fighter sweeps as well as airborne assaults.

Strategic airlift, however, operates in a different fashion. Instead of sending aircraft off in groups, maximum efficiency is achieved by dispatching them singly at regular intervals. Frederick C. Thayer, author of *Air Transport Policy and National Security*,[1] has likened the process to a conveyor belt extending from point of departure to final destination with the transports spaced at more or less equal intervals along it. The rate of flow is regulated according to the capabilities of departure, enroute, and arrival airfields for parking and handling aircraft, loading and discharging cargo, refueling, and suchlike. If one conveyor belt, or "channel" to use the technical term, cannot produce the desired flow, others are established using different airfields along alternate routes.

Thus an airlift comprises more than just cargoes and the airplanes and flight crews to haul them. There must be a route structure made up of bases, ground personnel, maintenance and servicing facilities, and cargo handling equipment. Also navigation and landing aids, rescue facilities, and weather reporting and communications nets must exist. Fighter escorts might be necessary to prevent enemy interference with the airlift. If there is no existing route structure to support an emergency deployment, one must be quickly established. To be able to do this requires detailed planning ahead of time, extensive stocks of supplies and equipment, and—above all—an effective system of management.

The Military Airlift Command, with headquarters at Scott Air Force Base, Illinois, not far from St. Louis, is responsible for organizing and operating a worldwide airlift system and for providing airlift service to all agencies of the Department of Defense. Befitting its global mission, MAC divided the world into two parts, giving half to each of its two major subordinate commands. The 21st Air Force at McGuire AFB in New Jersey got everything east of a north-south line near Kansas City, Missouri; and the 22nd at Travis AFB, California, everything west of that line. On the far side of the globe, the dividing line is in the vicinity of Karachi, Pakistan. Within their respective hemispheres these two commands manage the existing routes, used primarily for air logistic support of Defense activities in various parts of the world, and stand prepared to establish and operate new routes as and when the situation requires. The airplanes and flight crews that move passengers and cargo along these far-flung routes can come from a variety of sources.

First there is MAC's own fleet, previously mentioned, comprising four squadrons of C-5As and 13 of C-141s—352 aircraft altogether, including spares. Then there is the Civil Reserve Air Fleet (CRAF), MAC's principal source of augmentation in peace and war. Established in 1952, it provides specifically designated aircraft from the civil airlines as backup airlift in emergencies and national crises.

Planes committed to the CRAF program are, for the most part, the latest types in commercial use. Numbers vary somewhat from month to month but, as a general indication of size and composition, there were on 1 September 1974 a total of 247 long-range aircraft. These included 90 passenger, 72 cargo, and 85 convertible types, the latter being a passenger plane designed for quick removal of seats and conversion (say in 36 hours or less) into a cargo carrier. The purely passenger types are mostly wide-bodied jets whereas the majority of cargo and convertible types are much smaller machines. However, below the main passenger deck of the big jets is a low-ceilinged but otherwise cavernous compartment that can handle the palletized load of an average air freighter. Yet despite its substantial cargo lift capacity, the CRAF fleet is ill-suited, as we shall see, for hauling ground force equipment.

Another possible source of augmentation is the Airlift Command's fleet of C-130 aircraft with over 230 in regular squadrons and some 200 more in Reserve and Air National Guard units. The C-130, also built by Lockheed, bears a family resemblance to the C-141 and C-5 though it is smaller and slower, being equipped with turboprop instead of jet engines. This very successful plane, used by air forces around the world and still in production after 19 years, was designed as a tactical transport. However it can lift up to 20 tons and the later models have enough range for use on international routes. Consequently, long-range flights were commonly made by C-130s in the early 1960s before the jet transports came along. Despite all this, MAC planners probably could not count on getting many of these aircraft in time of emergency because,

[1] Chapel Hill, N.C., Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1965, pp. viii-ix

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PROJECTION OF POWER BY AIR...CONTINUED

presumably, they would be otherwise occupied, either in theater airlift tasks or in helping with the overseas deployment of tactical air units. Indeed, until December 1974 most of them were in the Tactical Air Command. Now all are in MAC.

As for strategic airlift reserves, there are 17 Air Force Reserve Associate Squadrons, so-called because they have no aircraft of their own but share the same location as MAC's regular C-5 and C-141 squadrons and use the same equipment. This arrangement enables reservists to operate first-line aircraft and give immediate support in emergencies that require increased flying hour rates. The Air National Guard, which elected to retain its own transport aircraft, is now mostly converted to C-130s. Until recently it operated a few C-124s. These prop-driven strategic transports, dating back to the early 1950s, were once the workhorses of the MAC fleet. Now all have been retired to desert storage, to be used only if needed. Even though slow and weary, they can still lug some heavy loads across the seas.

Just to complete our look at long-range airlift resources, let us note that there are a few others around which could be used in emergencies. For example, the aerial tankers—Strategic Air Command KC-135s and Marine Corps KC-130s, and the Navy's C-9B jet transports recently acquired for fleet logistic support. The late Will Rogers was asked many years ago what he thought of a proposal to make Oklahoma's Red River navigable. He replied that it would be cheaper to pave it. In similar vein, one suspects MAC could build new planes sooner than it could borrow these. Be that as it may, there is still a lot of available airlift. But is it enough? What determines the amount needed?

Compared with estimating requirements for bombers to interdict a supply line or for fighters to gain air superiority, it is a simple matter to figure the number of transports needed to move passengers and cargo at a given rate from point A to point B. A junior logistician could make a rough estimate on the way to his coffee break. But the rub is, of course, that troop movements involve questions of strategy as well as logistics. What, precisely, has to be lifted? To where? And in what length of time? While subordinates may assemble facts, prepare analyses, and conduct war games, the answers ultimately rest on the assumptions and judgments of political and military leaders at the highest levels of government.

The Department of Defense's approach, outlined by Secretary Schlesinger in his annual report for Fiscal Year 1975, was to base airlift requirements on the most demanding contingency likely to arise—namely, an attack on NATO by nations of the Warsaw pact, led by the USSR. These requirements, he said, were then checked against lesser contingencies "to see whether what can lick the cat can also lick the kitten."

While current NATO strategy does not rule out the early use of tactical nuclear weapons, it does retain the option of offering a conventional defense, at least initially, against a conventional attack by the Warsaw Pact. The forces deployed on the crucial central front comprise 29[1] NATO divisions facing 58 Warsaw Pact divisions. In terms of manpower the disparity is not as great as these figures would indicate, with NATO having [illegible],000 men in its forces compared to the Warsaw Pact's 925,000. An assessment of the comparative advantages in such things as the quality and quantity of tactical aircraft, tanks, and other weapons, and the cohesion and political reliability of the constituent national forces, suggests an approximate military balance in deployed forces. Hence, a key factor in all calculations is the question of how rapidly each side can bring up reinforcements.

The United States has four and one-third divisions in Europe along with enough prepositioned equipment for at least two and two-thirds more divisions. In the continental United States are three and two-thirds active divisions that could be committed to Europe and four more regular divisions, plus several reserve brigades, that could be sent later. Proportionate numbers of tactical fighter squadrons would have to accompany these divisions as the buildup progressed. The weight of men, equipment, and supplies in the part of the force to be airlifted comes to about half a million tons. Planes on the Berlin Airlift carried five times that tonnage but it took them 13 months to do so over a very much shorter distance. How soon do our reinforcements for NATO have to be delivered?

"Almost everyone in Europe," reported Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia after his February 1974 visit, "writes off the usefulness of forces that . . . would take more than 10–20 days to arrive."[2] While American military authorities generally take a more optimistic view of NATO prospects than do their European counterparts, they agree that the United States must be able to reinforce NATO quickly by air. Questions on such matters hardly admit to precise answers, though they tend to get them anyway in Pentagon planning—and keep them.

One objective, dating back at least to the mid-1960s, and recently reaffirmed, is to be able to fly an army division to Europe in seven days, an average figure since, as we have seen, divisions differ widely in size and weight. With present airlift resources, that task is said to take about 19 days. In case the reader gets a different answer, using data previously given, it should be pointed out that there are additional factors involved. For example, other urgent tasks would have to be carried out concurrently; the possible one-half war of the one and one-half war strategy would require consideration; and the percentage of outsize equipment rather than total tonnage would be the pacing factor in deployment times.

During the FY 1975 budget hearings, the Secretary of Defense recommended three steps to cut the average division deployment time from 19 to 7 days. None involved the purchase of new planes. Whether or not one agrees on the need for more airlift, these proposals are of interest for the additional light they shed on the nature of airlift systems.

The first proposal was to get more airlift out of the existing MAC fleet by increasing the wartime utilization rate. "Aircraft utilization" may be defined as the average number of hours flown daily by a single airplane. It is a basic management tool, widely employed in all air operations but especially useful for measuring the productivity of airlift operating on the conveyor belt principle. The higher the utilization rate, the less time the airplanes will spend on the ground and the more cargo it will deliver on the conveyor belt. Ground

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[2] U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Armed Services, *Force, Troops and the NATO Alliance* (Report of Senator Sam Nunn), Washington, GPO, 1974, p. 8.

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PROJECTION OF POWER BY AIR...CONTINUED

time is required for such purposes as taking on and discharging cargo, refueling, and making any necessary repairs; also for crew rest when another flight crew is unavailable to take the plane on to the next stop.

It follows that some of the ways to reduce ground time are to acquire more flight crews and mechanics, build up stocks of spare parts, expand maintenance facilities, introduce more efficient cargo-handling methods, and establish alternate routes to avoid base saturation with attendant pile-ups of aircraft. Also, for limited periods during emergencies, it is possible to increase flying hours between crew rests, defer aircraft maintenance not directly related to safety, and go to a six- or seven-day work week. Such actions, if prepared for in advance, enable a military airlift system to operate at a low utilization rate in peacetime but to "surge" to a much higher rate immediately upon the outbreak of war.

With a low peacetime utilization rate of its own airplanes of around four or five hours a day, MAC can give the commercial airlines a reasonable share of defense airlift business and, at the same time, conserve valuable military equipment, especially the C-5A whose wing fatigue problems still curtail its expected service life. (In emergencies this aircraft, according to Air Force officials, can and will be flown without restrictions.) For some years past, MAC's planned wartime rates have been ten hours on initial surge (for up to 45 days) and eight hours for sustained operations thereafter. It was proposed to increase these rates to twelve and one-half and ten hours respectively, thus providing—at least in theory—a 25 per cent increase in airlift capability. The estimated price of the additional personnel and supplies, while not cheap, was obviously less than that of additional transports. But how far can we push such a concept? In a hostile environment, when planes are being shot down, extra planes might be a lot handier than extra surge.

The second proposal was to lengthen the C-141 fuselage by some 23 feet in order to provide 30 per cent more cabin space. This would allow more efficient use of the airplane which is, as previously noted, space-limited on army deployment missions. The remedy involves major surgery—i.e., cutting the fuselage fore and aft of the wing and grafting in two new tubular sections. Pilots may cringe at the thought, but other aircraft have survived like operations and been the better for it.

The third proposal was aimed at building up the CRAF cargo capability. About 116 wide-bodied commercial aircraft (Boeing 747s or the somewhat smaller McDonnell-Douglas DC-10 and Lockheed 1011s) would be transformed at government expense from passenger to convertible types. The changes would include strengthening the floor of the passenger compartment, installing a nose door or a large side door aft of the wing, and providing cargo-handling kits. Thus modified, the planes could be shifted quickly from passenger to cargo service and, on army deployment missions, they could accommodate about a third of the outsize equipment which now will fit only in the C-5A.

It remains to be seen whether all or any of these actions will be taken to provide more airlift. But even with the existing capability, which is substantial, the question arises of what to do with it while it is not engaged in deploying ground units. Of course airlift can be used in the logistic support of U.S. forces overseas—perhaps even on the seas if some means of delivery is devised. But to view air logistics in the proper context, one must first recognize the essential role of sealift in deploying as well as in supporting military power.

Historically, the great bulk of military tonnages have gone overseas in ships—an estimated 98 per cent in World War II and, despite the intervening growth of airlift, about 95 per cent in the Vietnam War. And in future wars there seems little reason to expect any major change in these percentages. Cargo airlift may continue to grow, but surface shipping itself is on the increase with the recent development of fast containerships and intermodal transport systems.

Many people continue to look upon air and sealift as competitive and to extol the advantages of one over the other. However both are needed and they are so markedly different in the services they provide that most of the usual comparisons seem irrelevant. Like cost, for example. The question is not whether air transport costs more (which generally it does, though not always), but whether it is worth its cost. The answer will depend on matters such as the sort of items being shipped, where they are going, and how soon they must get there.

A transport plane has two unique characteristics. One is speed. The other, an ability to pass unhindered over surface obstacles. Hence airlift is used when it is important to save time or, regardless of time, when no other means of transport is feasible. People fly to save time. So do orchids and electronic parts. On the other hand, in the Second World War, drums of fuel flew "over the hump" of the Himalayas into China simply because they had no other way to get there. And in 1948–49, sacks of coal flew into Berlin for the same reason.

Supplies in the military logistic system are normally airlifted to save time and, despite the higher cost for shipping by air, the saving of time can often result in the saving of money. There is the familiar case of the idle machine or weapon system awaiting a part from the factory. Less obvious is the opportunity to eliminate thousands of items for which there is infrequent demand from the shelves of military warehouses and storerooms around the world. If the air transportation service is fast, frequent, and reliable, these local stocks—sometimes entire depots—can be dispensed with. Items can be ordered only when they are needed, for they will arrive within a few days from a central source in the United States. And longer range aircraft flying polar routes now make it possible for any U.S. aerial port to serve any overseas destination without the necessity of transshipment.

Another aspect of air logistics is the "backhaul"—which is to say, the return trip to the United States. In wartime, the sick and wounded routinely are evacuated, and so are prisoners of war. Captured enemy equipment may be rushed back for study and analysis by technical experts. And in peace and war, the return of reparables offers potential savings not yet fully realized. Some years ago a joint logistics task group estimated that repair, as a source of resupply for reparable items, would produce from 30 to 75 per cent of all resupply requirements, depending on the particular

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commodity. Aerial evacuation of reparables permits a reduction of maintenance facilities in forward areas with resultant savings in skilled technicians, precision machinery, and stocks of spare parts—all usually in short supply, especially in wartime.

The MAC fleet, geared for the massive lift requirements of the rapid deployment mission, probably could satisfy the needs of all the Services for peacetime logistic support. Why not use this fleet then to the fullest extent—which is to say, at or near the wartime utilization rate? The Defense Department could thus capitalize on its investment in aircraft and perhaps achieve even further economies by using any excess lift capacity to bring still more items into the air logistic system. This beguiling thought raises two interrelated questions.

First, what would happen to air logistic support when military transports are pulled off to carry out an emergency deployment? Should it slacken or stop, organizations might find their flow of supplies disrupted at the very moment of greatest need, assuming they too had to increase readiness in the emergency. Moreover, the problem would be especially acute for those organizations that had reduced their inventories, and closed their maintenance facilities in order to derive maximum benefit from the air resupply system. The planned course of action, and the one taken with apparent success when MAC planes have previously been diverted from channel traffic to other purposes, is to call on CRAF to take up the slack.

This leads to the second question. Will CRAF always respond to the call? Participating airlines will doubtless honor their contractual obligations. But until CRAF is "activated" by an official declaration of emergency, member contributions are voluntary. There never has been any such activation so far, despite several crises including a major war, so there may be none in future crises. Naturally the airlines will volunteer equipment when they have idle capacity as they did, for example, at the time of the airlift to Israel in the fall of 1973. But what of a crisis that comes inconsiderately when tank farms are bulging with jet fuel at reduced prices, tourist travel is at a peak, and the long-heralded boom in air freight is finally upon us? Would, indeed, should, CRAF members switch their patrons to nonparticipating airlines, including foreign carriers, and thereby lose a competitive advantage?

The problem resembles that faced by the Military Sealift Command (MSC) when there is insufficient idle shipping to meet the requirements of some lesser emergency. But MSC, having few ships of its own, must contract for most peacetime sealift requirements. The Military Airlift Command, on the other hand, with its large air transport fleet, faces a serious conflict of interest in deciding how much Defense airlift business to give the civil airlines and how much to keep for itself.

As we have seen, the commercial operators in the CRAF program have substantial capacity not only to carry passengers but also containerized and palletized cargo. Such cargo, according to industry spokesmen, represents about 90 per cent of the military logistic support requirement.[3] Since the civil airlines constitute a valuable wartime asset, it is in the interest of the Defense Department to foster their growth and development by giving them as much business as possible. Moreover, the prospect of receiving such business is one of the main inducements for airlines to participate in the CRAF program. Yet the practical effect of awarding contracts to the airlines is to idle the MAC fleet which must itself be exercised to stay in readiness for emergencies. Therein lies the dilemma.

The course now taken is to operate the C-5As and C-141s at a low utilization rate (rather than park them as some airline spokesmen have urged) and contract for some 90 per cent of passenger lift but use military transports for most air cargo traffic. If neither party is happy with the arrangement, perhaps that is how it should be.

Actually the airlines are helped indirectly in other ways. U.S. world leadership in commercial aircraft production is due in no small measure to Defense support of the airplane manufacturing industry. The new family of wide-bodied jets--Boeing's 747, McDonnell-Douglas's DC-10, and Lockheed's L-1011—could not have come along when they did without the mass of design data these companies developed largely at Defense Department expense during competition for the C-5 contract. True, the surge of passenger traffic, which made them so attractive in the mid-1960s, has since abated, leaving some airlines with excess capacity and dampened enthusiasm for the wide-bodies. Nevertheless these aircraft, along with the C-5A, represent a major advance in aviation technology that will inevitably pay off in one way or another.

During the procurement of the C-5A some of its critics charged that the 747 was cheaper, faster and could carry a heavier payload. Why, they asked, wasn't it being bought instead? For one thing, the cargo versions then offered could accommodate only 34 percent of the equipment (by weight) of an armored division. But, in a broader sense, the two aircraft simply illustrate the differing needs of military and commercial interests.

To the airline industry, whose air cargo business is so much smaller than its passenger business, the simplest and cheapest approach is to adapt the same basic airplane to both purposes. Thus all commercial long-range jet cargo planes now in use are modifications of aircraft originally designed for passenger service. Such planes, if not ideal, are at least acceptable for transporting the pallets and containers that make up most of the air cargo business.

On the other hand, for deploying a military unit with its large number of heavy, bulky vehicles, the converted passenger plane has two conspicuously bad features. One is the side door entry which means that everything has to turn a corner on its way in and out. The other is the location of the cabin on top of the wing which puts the main cargo deck high above the ground—about 16 feet in the case of the 747, DC-10, and L-1011. For scheduled air cargo service, special high-lift ground handling equipment can be stationed at regular stops to load and unload pallets and containers. However for an emergency force deployment such equipment might have to be brought in before the airlift could start. And, in any event, to muscle a 50-ton M-60 tank out through a side hatch and lower it some 16 feet to the ground would be a challenge with even the best of equipment.

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[3] Berkeley Rice, *The C-5A Scandal*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1971, p. 55.

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To obviate such problems, military planners wanted the main cargo deck close to the ground—at truck-bed height—and the access door at the end of the compartment instead of at the side. Cargo could then be unloaded directly onto ordinary commercial trucks, and vehicles could be driven straight out down the airplane's own built-in ramps. This is the configuration of current military transports. The C-141 has rear access doors and the C-5 has front access as well to permit loading and unloading at both ends.

In airplane design, almost every advantage has a corresponding disadvantage. The convenience of rear access carried the penalty of a steeply swept-up tail with a less efficient aerodynamic shape that increased drag and reduced speed. The truck-bed-height floor required a high-wing design that added structural weight and decreased payload. (The extra weight comes largely from having to beef up the fuselage which carries the landing gear and must therefore support the weight of the plane. On the usual low-wing passenger plane, the landing gear is secured directly to the massive wing structure and the fuselage, resting on top of the wing, needs only to support its own weight.)

The military transports found no buyers among the airlines who felt the added convenience in cargo handling was not worth the sacrifice in speed and payload. Moreover the planes had other features that added much to their cost and little to their commercial utility. The average airline operator, for example, rarely has occasion to refuel planes in the air, deliver passengers and freight by parachute, or go into short rough fields that lack navigation and landing aids. So the search continues for a large-capacity "uncompromised" cargo plane that can serve military purposes, yet be profitable in commercial use. With fleets of such aircraft, the air carriers might some day take over most of the present peacetime airlift functions of MAC. But the comparatively slow growth of the air cargo industry and the unknown implications of the energy crisis make the outlook uncertain.

We have discussed the size and general nature of airlift systems and of the ground forces they must deploy. Beyond these known factors in the equation are various unknowns—questions that can have no answers until a real-life crisis supplies them. For example, will friendly nations permit our aircraft to overfly their territories and perhaps use their bases for enroute stops? Will overseas fuel supplies be adequate for sustained operations? And will hostile nations try to stop the airlift by the use of force?

A denial of overflight privileges might necessitate wide detours, as in the 1958 Lebanon crisis when troops dispatched to that country from West Germany had to be flown around west of the Alps instead of directly over them. Without overflight rights, no aid could be flown to a landlocked state like Laos unless perhaps, in a very grave situation, the government should consider it necessary to send the transports in anyway. However, states that border on the sea, as most do, could receive aid from planes approaching over international waters.

A shortage of enroute bases might require long nonstop flights with resultant payload reductions, as in the 1973 airlift to Israel. Aerial refueling now offers a promising means not only of extending range but also of increasing payload, since a plane can carry more weight in level flight than it can lift off the ground on takeoff. The C-5 can be refueled in flight and, at present writing, its flight crews are being qualified in this technique.

At the outset of a crisis there might be no fuel at the destination. Or the threat of enemy action might require a quick turnaround without servicing, as at forward airfields in South Vietnam in the spring of 1972. In such cases the planes would have to land with enough fuel to return to the nearest recovery base in the area. Here, too, the problem is largely a matter of extending range.

But what would happen, one must ask, if all overflight was denied, no enroute or recovery bases were available, every destination airfield was knocked out by enemy bombers, and none of our resupply tankers could run the submarine gauntlet?

Even in these dire circumstances, troops and supplies might still be delivered overseas by air though, of course, on a greatly reduced scale. However, not everything will go against us. Experience tells us to expect a mixed bag. Some friends will cooperate. Others won't. Some enemy attacks, if they come at all, will succeed, while others will fail. A strategic airlift is the same in this respect as any other military venture, on land, or sea, or in the air. Historically, airlift, aided by all the services, has managed to solve its own peculiar problems and deliver its cargoes. On this basis, we have reason to believe, paraphrasing a remark by Stanley Baldwin, a British prime minister of the 1930s, that, "the transport plane (like the bomber) will always get through."[4]

Strategic airlift has another application closely related to the rapid deployment of combat forces and possibly rivaling it in importance. This is what might be called logistic quick reaction—the ability, as the phrase suggests, to rush military supplies and equipment to any part of the world in support of U.S. interests. It offers new opportunities to mitigate the consequences of tactical defeats, to retrieve some of the blunders and oversights that inevitably occur in any military operation, and to adjust to technological surprises such as the enemy's introduction of a lethal new weapon. On the other side of the coin, the opportunity to exploit unexpected success should not be lost while awaiting supplies. Logistic quick reaction can help friends and allies as well as our own forces. The Middle East crisis in the fall of 1973 provides a recent illustration of how a sudden emergency may arise and what can be done in response to it.

In this instance the United States was seeking to preserve an approximate military balance between Israel and the Arab states while endeavoring, on the diplomatic front, to find some basis for a peaceful settlement of this bitter and long-standing conflict. Early in the afternoon of 6 October, Israel was attacked on two fronts—by Syria in the Golan Heights area, and by Egypt across the Suez Canal. The attackers, using new Soviet antiaircraft and anti-tank weapons with deadly effect, took Israel by surprise. Her armed forces fell back initially with heavy casualties and much loss of equipment. However, they rallied and succeeded in stopping the Arab advance. Then, on 10 October, they counter-

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[4]Baldwin said, "The bomber will always get through . . ." As quoted in Eugene M. Emme (ed), *The Impact of Air Power*, New York, D. Van Nostrand Co., 1959, p. 51.

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attacked. Still the military balance seemed tipped against Israel, the more so as the USSR that day began a massive air and sealift operation to resupply the Syrian and Egyptian forces.

Also on the 10th, as a precautionary measure, the U. S. Joint Chiefs of Staff directed the Military Traffic Management and Terminal Service (MTMTS)—later redesignated the Military Traffic Management Command (MTMC)—to begin moving items quickly to airfields and ocean terminals in the United States. As a result, when the President authorized an emergency U. S. air and sealift three days later, on the 13th, operations could begin at once. Within nine hours, the first MAC plane, a C-5 loaded with 96.5 tons of cargo, was airborne and headed east toward Tel Aviv.

C-141s and C-5s followed at regular intervals and, within the first three days, the airlift built up to almost 1,000 tons a day. Because of political sensitivities over the Arab oil embargo, the only available refueling stop was in the Azores. Lajes Field, a key air base used by American forces since World War II, had been bypassed in recent years by most of the longer range jets. Now came a sudden surge in air traffic—not only a procession of big transports but also of F-4 fighters and A-4 attack planes being ferried to Israel. The smaller aircraft either landed for service or were refueled in flight by KC-135 tankers based on the field.

All the unaccustomed activity at Lajes began to draw down its fuel reserves which brought a hurry-up call to CINCLANT for replenishment. In due course a tanker arrived and operations continued without interruption. The Commander Sixth Fleet also assisted the air movement by stationing two carriers along the flight path of the planes as they threaded their way the length of the Mediterranean, remaining at all times well offshore from the countries bordering it. The carriers could have provided search and rescue service, aids to navigation and communication, and—more importantly—fighter escort had such been necessary.

On November 2nd, about a week after the cease-fire, a truce was agreed upon. Also, on that date, the first ship arrived with military supplies from the United States. The airlift continued for a few days more at a reduced rate. Then, on the 14th, a C-5 discharged the last plane load at Lod Airport, near Tel Aviv, and the airlift was over. Meanwhile, sealift was beginning to bring in its massive cargoes which ultimately exceeded airlift tonnages by more than three to one.

Yet airlift had been first, if not with the most, with what was urgently needed during the battle—items ranging from 50-ton M-60 tanks and CH-53 "Super Jolly Green Giant" helicopters to tents, blankets, and helmets. And beyond any material aid, the airlift and follow-on sealift had important psychological effects, lifting the spirits of the hard-pressed Israelis and giving Arab leaders, perhaps, some sober second thoughts after their initial successes. Thus, by taking this means to correct an apparent imbalance, the United States may have helped both sides toward a clearer recognition of the futility of their long-continued struggle.

The flight paths of the U. S. and USSR airlifts crossed in the eastern Mediterranean and some MAC crews occasionally heard radio transmissions by their Soviet counterparts. However there was no reported interference by either side with the operations of the other. The Soviets flew into Damascus and Cairo from bases averaging about 1,700 miles away. Their planes were of two types: the An-12, a four-engine turboprop roughly comparable to the C-130 tactical air transport; and the An-22, also a turboprop, at one time the world's largest plane, but somewhat smaller than the C-5A. The An-22 is capable of hauling outsize military cargo. In comparing the two airlifts, the Secretary of the Air Force said, with obvious satisfaction: "The C-141s and C-5s moved half-again as much cargo, over three and one-half times the distance, on little more than half the missions, in a week's less time."

Even so the Soviet airlift, and accompanying sealift, represented a substantial effort. Why was the task undertaken? Because of a perceived opportunity, perhaps, to exploit an unexpected success, a breakthrough. Knowing the United States could ultimately "outlogistic" them, they tried for the quick grab, the *fait accompli*, before superior American resources could be brought to bear. If this was the objective, their failure to attain it must be attributed primarily to Israel's ability to recover from an initial setback. But undoubtedly the speed and weight of the U. S. response was also a factor. In any event, whatever the real or assumed shortcomings of the Soviet air and sealift operation, it is not to be dismissed lightly. As the first major projection of military power beyond their contiguous land borders, one must ask what it portends for the future.

Drew Middleton, New York *Times* military correspondent, writing on "The Next War" in the November 1973 *Atlantic*, said: "Containment is dead. The expansion of the Soviet fleet and, equally important, of Soviet air transport has relegated it to the history books."

But does he not overstate the case? While an expanded Soviet fleet has indeed ventured far afield, it has done so unopposed. What it might do against the active opposition of U. S. and allied naval forces is another matter. And air transport is not, of itself, military power. If it was, Liberia with its large registry of merchant vessels would, by the same reasoning, be the world's foremost naval power. Transport planes are helpless if attacked. They can operate only by sufferance or behind the protective shield of superior air and naval power. Therefore, in war the USSR cannot use transport aircraft, or cargo ships, to project power overseas unless it has the means to protect them.

All this sounds fine, at least in terms of traditional strategy. But now, being 30 years into the nuclear age, we are not so sure.

Many things have changed since 1945. True, we have continued to have wars—a good many in fact. But they have been peculiar wars. Hostilities have begun without declarations of war and ended without peace treaties. Cease-fires have brought continued firing. Uneasy truces have satisfied no one. American warplanes have flown thousands of bombing sorties from land bases and carriers that rarely, if ever, have been bombed themselves. Nor have cargo ships and transport planes been attacked as they brought in equipment and supplies to help sustain the war effort on both sides. Though possessed of overwhelming air and naval superiority throughout most of the period, the United States has seldom used it in any decisive way. Lucrative targets have been avoided, opposing forces granted sanctuaries,

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and war goods allowed into enemy ports. Will wars ever again be fought in the classic style?

Vice-Admiral Sir Peter Gretton, in his book, *Maritime Strategy*, lists as one of six wartime principles "*The need* to strike at enemy sea communications in order both to damage his economy and to prevent him using the sea for military purposes." The principle seems eminently sound and surely most naval strategists would agree with it. And yet, in light of recent events, we must ask ourselves. Who will fire the first shot?

When and under what circumstances will Washington order the first Soviet cargo ship sunk or air transport shot down in international waters; and when will Moscow order our ships and planes attacked?

Upon the outbreak of general nuclear war?—Undoubtedly.

Following a large-scale conventional attack on NATO?—Very probably.

In other contingencies?—As one goes down the scale, a wait-and-see attitude becomes increasingly likely.

This is not meant to suggest that we can reduce the readiness of our naval forces. Their readiness may well be the reason we have had no major fleet engagements in the nuclear age. What it does suggest, though, is that limited war planners should make a clear distinction between two very different types of war: (1) one in which the use of the high seas is contested, and (2) one in which it is not.

In the first type of war, the USSR would have little ability to project military power overseas without first establishing naval supremacy, however in the second type, which now seems more probable, she could use her substantial air and sealift forces to cause all sorts of trouble in the most distant quarters of the globe. Imagine the already familiar scenario, for example, in which hostilities are confined to the land, territorial waters, and superadjacent airspace of the opposing states. Each adversary is sustained by a flow of supplies across the seas. The war becomes something of a contest in logistic prowess between the United States and the Soviet Union to see who can send in the most military assistance in the shortest time. The winner of that contest may decide the issue. Or perhaps war may be averted altogether if one side's arsenal grows conspicuously bigger than the other's before the shooting begins.

In view of the constraints imposed on warfare by the world's nuclear stockpiles, British military historian Michael Howard suggests the possibility that land warfare between the nuclear powers may become more a matter of posturing and maneuvering than of actual fighting, as in the days of pre-Napoleonic strategy. Napoleon's 18th century predecessors were, as Professor Howard describes them, "men who had much to lose and little to gain from war, who fearfully committed their forces to battle and maneuvered them cautiously; men with limited resources and often a divided public opinion within their domains."[5] Their similarities to leaders in the nuclear age, if not exact, are close—though for entirely different reasons.

[5]Michael Howard, "Relevance of Traditional Strategy," *Foreign Affairs*, January 1973, p. 265

Should posturing become a substitute for fighting, so much the better. The U.S. Marines are masters of both. Their fighting prowess has been amply demonstrated in every war the country has engaged in. Their deterrent effect on the wars that might have been is less easily proven. But in Lebanon in 1958, the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, the recurrent eruptions in the eastern Mediterranean, the continuing strife in Southeast Asia—embarked in amphibious ships and keeping close to the scene of action—they have provided an effective military presence that could not be ignored. Now garrison troops at Fort Campbell, Kentucky, though thousands of miles away, can also become a stabilizing influence in situations like these. So too, in its way, can a line of parked M-48 tanks at a depot in Anniston, Alabama, for airlift has changed the accustomed relationship between distance and time.

Going from 20 knots to 400 is no mere "advance" in mobility but a telescoping of time, a discontinuity with the past that offers commanders much wider flexibility in making decisions and seems to cry out for new approaches to military planning. While jet transports are fast, they do not, in themselves, assure that a movement by air will be either rapid or productive. If troops or equipment fail to load and unload quickly, they might as well go by ship. The longer they take, at any rate, the less their advantage in going by air. To capitalize fully on an air transport fleet, a suitable military stance is required. Designated troops on alert, of course, and supplies packed for shipment—but a great deal more, besides, for wars rarely go according to plan and the unexpected emergency does not announce its specific needs in advance.

The administrative and logistic machinery of the Department of Defense, including all the Services, should be geared to the speed of jets in identifying the people and things actually required, locating them, and moving them to aerial and water ports of embarkation; meanwhile marshaling the air transports and arranging secure flight paths to the point of delivery; and, with no less urgency, assembling the follow-on sealift and making plans to expedite and protect its passage.

Such a stance is difficult to assume and costly to maintain. But if we do adopt it, our strategists and tacticians, and those of our adversaries as well, will have a new range of possibilities to ponder over.

Albert P. Sights, Jr.

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RADIO - TV DEFENSE DIALOG

RADIO TV REPORTS INC. WASH., D.C., SUMMARIES NOT TO BE QUOTED.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 21, 1975 (BROADCASTS OF MAY 20, 1975)

SUMMARY OF NETWORK NEWS IN THIS ISSUE

John CHANCELLOR and Tom BROKAW, NBC News, report on Mayaguez news. BROKAW reports that President FORD was in North Carolina for a bicentennial celebration and the role of the Mayaguez incident in his reception there. CHANCELLOR reports on the final casualty count of the Mayaguez operation; 15 dead, 50 wounded and three missing-in-action.

CHANCELLOR and Richard VALERIANI, NBC News, report on the Vienna talks. VALERIANI reports that KISSINGER and GROMYKO agreed to cooperate in some way on the Mid-East peace problem and that KISSINGER believes a new SALT agreement will be ready by this fall's summit.

CHANCELLOR and Kenley JONES, NBC, report on refugee news. JONES reports that the President's advisery committee went to Fort Chaffee, Arkansas to view first hand the situation of the refugees and on delays in resettling the refugees.

CHANCELLOR and Erik ERICKSON, NBC News, report on Indochina news. CHANCELLOR reports that the Pathet Lao took control of Savannakhet where 12 Americans are under house arrest. He also reports that South Korea is organizing high school and college students into defense corps. ERICKSON has a report on a celebration in Saigon and on the situation there.

Roger MUDD and Ike PAPPAS, CBS News, report on Mayaguez news. PAPPAS reports on the final Pentagon casualty list and gives the breakdown by service. He reports that the Pentagon is stopping the search for men lost at sea.

MUDD, CBS, reports that a Senate committee will investigate CIA activities in Vietnam, including the Phoenix Pacification Program.

MUDD and Marvin KALB, CBS, report on the Vienna talks. KALB reports on efforts to cooperate on the Middle East situation by the two powers; that the major issue of verification remains to be solved in the SALT talks and that the U.S. still refuses to deal with the PLO.

MUDD reports that a Titan rocket went out of control in space and is lost.

Howard K. SMITH and Frank TOMLINSON, ABC, report on Mayaguez news. TOMLINSON reports on the Pentagon's final casualty list. Harry REASONER reports on the arrival in Thailand of a Cambodian boat which claims to have seized the Mayaguez. Ed LESLEY reports on the arrival of several crew members of the Mayaguez in San Francisco.

Ted KOPPEL, ABC, reports on the Vienna talks and on SALT negotiations and the Middle East.

Bruce MORTON, CBS Morning News, reports on the action of the Armed Services Committee (House) on the Defense Appropriation Bill in which $1.4 billion has already been cut. MORTON also reports that Mr. FORD went to see a movie about Theodore ROOSEVELT sending U.S. forces to rescue American citizens in Morocco.

PREPARED BY THE AIR FORCE SAFAA AS EXECUTIVE AGENT FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE TO BRING TO THE ATTENTION OF KEY DOD PERSONNEL MATTERS WITHIN THEIR OFFICIAL RESPONSIBILITIES.

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NBC NIGHTLY NEWS NBC TV
7:00 PM MAY 20

Ford and Pentagon On Mayaguez

JOHN CHANCELLOR: President FORD was out pressing the flesh today in North Carolina, riding the crest of a new wave of popularity based on the rescue of the ship Mayaguez and its crew. After he returned to Washington the Defense Department put out new figures on the cost of that rescue, 15 killed in action, 50 wounded. But in Charlotte, N.C., the crowds that turned out for Mr. FORD were big and enthusiastic. Tom Brokaw reports.

BROKAW: Officially President FORD was in Charlotte for a bicentennial observation, but his advisers have polls which show this is Ronald REAGAN and George WALLACE country. So Mr. FORD came here in an effort to improve his political standing before next year's presidential primary in North Carolina. And last week's Mayaguez rescue apparently helped. It inspired a long standing ovation and praise from the state's two Senators, including conservative Jesse HELMS who has been critical of some of Mr. FORD's decisions. For his part the PResident didn't mention the Mayaguez, following White House strategy not to overplay it. He stressed national unity and the part that the South can play in achieving that goal.

PRESIDENT FORD: We must once again become one people, strong and unified in our national purpose. The new strength, new dynamism of the South coupled with the cherished traditions can help America achieve this essential unity.

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CHANCELLOR: The casualty figures put out by the Pentagon today on the Mayaguez operation were described by the Defense Department spokesmen as as close to final as possible, 15 killed, 50 wounded and three missing-in-action. Of the three missing men all the eyewitness reports so far indicate that no Americans were left alive on the beach. And the Pentagon spokesman, Joseph LAITIN, said there are no facts at present to support the story of a Cambodian navy boat which surrendered itself in Thailand as its crew claimed that they had been involved in the seizure of the Mayaguez.

Kissinger-Gromyko Talks

CHANCELLOR: Secretary of State KISSINGER and Soviet Foreign Minister GROMYKO ended two days of talks today in Vienna. A senior official aboard KISSINGER's plane said later that the two men agreed to try to work together on reconvening the Middle East peace conference in Geneva. Richard Valeriani is travelling with KISSINGER and here is his report.

RICHARD VALERIANI: Today was GROMYKO's turn to be the host so KISSINGER went to the Soviet Embassy for another meeting and a working lunch. During their six hours of talks KISSINGER reportedly found the Russians willing to be more cooperative on the Middle East if the Geneva Peace Conference is reconvened. But it was not clear how they would cooperate. The two men also discussed strategic arms and KISSINGER came away more confident than before that an agreement on limiting offensive nuclear weapons will be ready in time for a Washington summit meeting this fall. Afterwards both men were upbeat and GROMYKO even made light of one of the major sticking points in the arms talks, how to count missiles with more than one warhead once they're deployed. As he was leaving Vienna KISSINGER summed up his meeting with GROMYKO this way:

SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER: On the whole I'm satisfied with the visit here and I leave with the conviction that relations between the United States and the Soviet Union are essential for the preservation of peace and for the progress of mankind and that we will do our utmost to keep them on course.

VALERIANI: KISSINGER then came to Germany to fulfill a promise to visit West Berlin. He'll also brief German officials on his meetings with GROMYKO which turned out to be essentially a holding action. No decisions are possible on the arms talks until after each government reviews the latest ideas of the other. And the United States wanted to put off a decision on the Middle East until after President FORD has met with Egyptian and Israeli leaders next month. So KISSINGER and GROMYKO will get together again in early July to try to make some measurable progress on these issues. Richard Valeriani, NBC News, in Bonn.

Refugee News

CHANCELLOR: Members of President FORD's advisory committee on Indochinese refugees, which was established yesterday, visited a refugee camp today. Kenley Jones reports from Fort Chaffee, Arkansas.

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KENLEY JONES: There are 23,000 refugees at Fort Chaffee, more than twice the number at the California and Florida camps combined. That's one reason members of the President's Advisory Committee on Refugees came here there first day on the job. They came to get a first-hand look at the refugees and the facilities being used to care for them. But mostly they came to start getting acquainted with the problems of resettling the refugees. The committee's job is to advise federal agencies how to make resettlement go smoothly for both the refugees and Americans in communities where the refugees finally settle down. The committee chairman is John EISENHOWER, the son of the late President Dwight EISENHOWER.

JOHN EISENHOWER: We hope to get -- as soon as humanly possible -- to get all of the refugees distributed around the country, not concentrated in any one area, in acceptable places for them so they can begin a new life.

JONES: One of the bottlenecks in moving refugees out of the camps has been the delay in getting them security clearances from Washington. EISENHOWER says he does not expect his committee can speed up that process. He said it will take longer to get some refugees sponsors than it will take to get them security clearances. Kenley JONES, NBC News, Fort Chaffee, Arkansas.

Indochina News

CHANCELLOR: In Laos today soldiers of the Communist Pathet Lao took over the city of Savannakhet where 12 Americans are under house arrest. The Americans say they're in good shape and have not been threatened. The takeover of Savannakhet was peaceful, thousands of students and right wing troops cheered the Pathet Lao.

***(Commercials)

NBC News still has a correspondent in Saigon and from time to time he gets word out by telex. The latest word we have from Jim Lorry, our man in the South Vietnamese capital, is that while the city appears normal the new military government there is having some organizational difficulties. Lorry says military police are patrolling the streets, that a lack of paychecks has forced some Saigonese to sell personal belongings on street corners, and that some opium sellers and thieves have been executed after guilty verdicts from courts held in the streets.

And we have some film to show you this evening of the big victory celebration the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong held recently in Saigon. Our reporter is Erik Erickson of Swedish television.

ERIK ERICKSON: Thousands of soldiers participated, many from the North and some from the South, guerrillas fighters who had been preparing the military takeover in Saigon for a long time. On the reviewing stand were some leaders from Hanoi. The old North Vietnamese president Tanh Duc THANH (?) was there, the Politburo member Le Duc THO. The PRG Prime Minister Nien Ho THO (?) was there too and the PRG President Tanh PATZ (?). Madame Nguyen Ti BINH the PRG foreign minister was also there. This military show might give some impression of the situation in Saigon today. In other cities like Da Nang controlled by the new administration there are very few soldiers, in Saigon there are soldiers everywhere and the military rule might be kept for another four or five months. Many people told that they were afraid when the troops came, they had been told that the Communists were going to kill everybody and destroy the city. This didn't happen, instead the new soldiers appeared to be rather shy young boys who even paid the prices they were asked to pay which never happened in Saigon before. But life in Saigon is rather normal today, the soldiers are not the same as before and the flags sold in the streets are new flags. But shops and markets are open as before and the atmosphere is relaxed. This is Erik Erickson, Swedish television, reporting for NBC News.

CHANCELLOR: South Korea announced today that all high school and college students will be organized into a defense corp and will have to take four hours of military training each week. There hasn't been a student defense corp in South Korea since the Korean War in the 1950's.

CBS EVENING NEWS CBS TV
7:00 PM MAY 20

Mayaguez News

ROGER MUDD: The Pentagon today issued its fifth set of figures on American casualties from last Wednesday's invasion of Tang island. A spokesman said these figures are as close to final as possible except perhaps for some minor adjustments. Ike Pappas has the story in Washington.

IKE PAPPAS: Fifteen Americans have

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been confirmed killed-in-action, another 50 wounded -- two of them seriously -- and three are still officially listed as missing. Of the dead 11 were Marines, two were Navy men and two Air Force. The bulk of the deaths came when a helicopter carrying 26 men, most of them Marines, attempted to land on Tang island and was shot down 100 feet offshore. Thirteen of those aboard were rescued the other 13 died. The Pentagon holds out little hope for those still listed as missing.

PENTAGON SPOKESMAN: The three Marines who are still counted as missing-in-action were among the Marines fighting on the island and were not accounted for when the muster in various places was completed. But all the eyewitness reports so far indicate that no American fighting men were left alive on the beach.

PAPPAS: None of the bodies of the dead Americans was brought home. Diplomatic efforts are continuing to recover the bodies of those who may have been killed on Tang island, the Pentagon has no plans to resume the search effort for those lost at sea. Ike Pappas, CBS News, the Pentagon.

CIA Activities in Vietnam

MUDD: The Senate committee investigating the CIA plans to look into CIA activities in Vietnam. Daniel Schorr reports this includes the so-called Phoenix Pacification Program which allegedly involved killing Vietcong leaders. SCHORR says that Vietnamese refugees in the U.S. will be checked to see if they worked with the CIA and if so some are expected to be called as witnesses.

Kissinger-Gromyko Meeting

MUDD: Secretary of State KISSINGER took his diplomatic entourage to Bonn today after two days of talks in Vienna with Soviet Foreign Minister GROMYKO. Marvin Kalb reports.

MARVIN KALB: GROMYKO hosted this concluding session devoted, among other things, to the explosive issue of the Middle East. KISSINGER gave the impression that GROMYKO wanted to cooperate on arranging the conditions for a Geneva Conference. Not many substantive details were discussed, mostly procedural; but KISSINGER stressed that the U.S. would not deal with the PLO until it recognized Israel's existence. The other major topic was the strategic arms negotiations. There were about a half dozen unresolved issues including verification, meaning a way of checking on how many missiles each side claims to have. Three minor issues were resolved, but not verification. By the time they emerged more than six hours later KISSINGER was ready to announce that they would meet again, he and GROMYKO, probably in July.

REPORTER: Has any compromise been reached, sir, on the issue of verification, can you tell us?

FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO: It is detail, a small detail.

REPORTER: Verification is a small detail, it's been taken care of?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: We can't go into the details of the various issues that were discussed, but as I said the talks were useful and constructive.

KALB: His stop here tonight in Bonn for talks with West German leaders is really a way station on the road to West Berlin which KISSINGER will visit tomorrow, much to GROMYKO's unhappiness. On the Middle East the following has been learned. First, that the Geneva Conference has been delayed until late August, perhaps early September. And second, when it begins the PLO will probably not be present. We're told that GROMYKO eased up considerably on his earlier insistence on PLO representation, thus giving KISSINGER a chance for another Israeli-Egyptian accomodation before that conference. What is not known at this point is what price the U.S. paid to win this degree of Soviet cooperation. Marvin Kalb, CBS News, Bonn.

U.S. Rocket Lost in Space

MUDD: A $57 million U.S. rocket was lost in space today after launch from Cape Canaveral. Air Force officials said the Titan 3C rocket carrying two communication satellites tumbled out of control when its third stage malfunctioned.

ABC EVENING NEWS ABC TV
7:00 PM MAY 20

Mayaguez News

HOWARD K. SMITH: The U.S. Marines who took part in that operation to free the merchant ship Mayaguez arrived in Subic Bay in the Philippines today. Fifteen of them who were wounded received their Purple Heart decorations as their ship docked. Then here in Washington the

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Pentagon released its newest casualty lists for the operation. The cost, it is now clear beyond doubt, was very heavy. ABC Pentagon correspondent Frank Tomlinson reports.

FRANK TOMLINSON: It's been six days since the Pentagon announced the first casualty in the rescue of the Mayaguez. Since then the figures have bounced about considerably. Officials here say the fluctuations were due to the fact that Marines taken off Koh-Tang island were sent to several ships, some went back to Okinawa and the Philippines. Hopefully now the confusion has been cleared.

PENTAGON SPOKESMAN: The casualty figures that I am about to give you have now been substantiated by the three services as of this midafternoon today, and are considered accurate bar none. Killed-in-action 15. Missing-in-action three. Wounded-in-action 50.

TOMLINSON: The crewmen missing-in-action are all Marines who were fighting on Koh-Tang island, it is considered highly unlikely that any of the three are still alive. Frank Tomlinson, ABC News, the Pentagon.

HARRY REASONER: Pentagon spokesmen also say they do not have any facts on whether a Cambodian navy boat, which surrendered to Thai authorities, was involved in the seizure of the Mayaguez. The crew of the boat claim they seized the Mayaguez on their own, without government approval and they are now seeking asylum in Thailand. About half the crew members of the Mayaguez have accepted an offer from their company to come home early and some of them arrived today in San Francisco. Ed Lesley of station KGL TV reports.

ED LESLEY: After three days in the captivity of Cambodians, five days in the Philippines and 13 hours in the air, the first nine Mayaguez crewmen touched American asphalt exhausted but jubilant. That upraised hand means number one, a victory sign in the orient. And that's how these crewmen felt about being rescued by force by their government. Ship's cook, Bill BALLINGER, a Washington D.C. bachelor wanted the world to know how deeply he appreciated being rescued and he said his captors were more like pirates than soldiers.

COOK BILL BALLINGER: They shared their food with us. We were not mistreated in any way, nobody got roughed, nobody give us any hassle.

REPORTER: How about when you were in the boat and the American planes were overhead?

BALLINGER: Scared the hell out of us.

REPORTER: After capture were you ever worried that the Americans wouldn't come out to save you?

BALLINGER: I have a letter that I was writing to a friend and I made statements to that effect in that letter and I'm ashamed of them now.

REPORTER: How did you feel once the jets came in and started laying things down?

BALLINGER: Fine because I've been through close air-ground support before and I know those guys know what they're doing and it didn't threaten me.

LESLEY: BALLINGER left immediately for San Francisco and "the nearest bar." And that's exactly where fellow crewman Al MINICELLO went too.

***(unintelligible)

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SMITH: Opinion polls show that President FORD's handling of the Mayaguez incident has sharply increased his popularity rating. Today there was more direct evidence of that as the President went to Charlotte, N.C. for a bicentennial celebration. ABC White House correspondent Tom Jarriel reports.

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Kissinger-Gromyko Meeting

SMITH: Secretary of State KISSINGER and Soviet Foreign Minister GROMYKO wound up their Vienna talks today and the first signs are the results were positive. Details from ABC diplomatic correspondent Ted Koppel.

TED KOPPEL: Soviet Foreign Minister GROMYKO rarely gives anything away in public, this morning he outdid himself. He was saved from giving anything more away by the arrival of Secretary KISSINGER. Some of the cordiality appears to have spilled over into the meeting itself. For five and a half hours the Soviet and American negotiating teams edged their way toward a new strategic arms agreement, the tentative target date now for completion is October. And equally important a decision to try and solve the Middle East problems through Soviet-American cooperation.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I can say now that we agreed to meet again in the near future for a further detailed review of the SALT talks, the prospect of peace in the Middle East and other matters of mutual interest.

GROMYKO: I agree with the Secretary.

KOPPEL: For the past year and a half KISSINGER has tried to exclude the Soviets from the Middle East negotiations. He may not have totally given up yet on separate American peace initiatives, but the session in the near future with GROMYKO

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doesn't give KISSINGER much time for individual diplomacy. Senior American officials are still insisting that no final decisions on America's Middle East reassessment will be reached until after President FORD meets with Egyptian and Israeli leaders in the next few weeks. But these same officials indicate that a new spirit of Soviet-American cooperation is now shaping up on Geneva, even though they insist that compromise on the Palestinian issue will have to come from the Soviet side. This is Ted Koppel, ABC News, Bonn.

CBS MORNING NEWS CBS TV
7:00 AM MAY 20

Defense Authorization Bill

BRUCE MORTON: The House continues work on the Defense Authorization Bill today. The Armed Services Committee cut the President's request some, leaving out aid for South Vietnam, postponing some other spending and cutting $1.4 billion from other projects. So far the House has rejected all attempts to cut more than that. They'll be voting on other proposed cuts and on a proposal to admit women to the service academies today.

Movie Parallels Mayaguez

MORTON: Hughes, one of journalism's classic old cliches which you don't see very often anymore is the one involving the theater marquis. A child, you'll remember, watching her parents get run over by a bus outside the theater where "Orphans of the Storm" was playing, that sort of thing. In an effort not to let the traditions die entirely, we should report that President FORD went to the theater last night. The movie was "The Wind and the Lion" which is about how President Theodore ROOSEVELT sent the U.S. Marines into Morocco to rescue an American woman and her two children who had been kidnapped by a Berber chieftan. (Unintelligible)...it was a natural. The movie President says: The kidnapping is an insult to America. What I want is respect, the movie president says, I'm going to send the fleet. The movie secretary of state says: That's illegal. And the movie Theodore ROOSEVELT answers: Why spoil a thing of beauty with legality. The real President, the AP reports, got a big laugh out of that one. At another point someone says to the movie president: What he wants is something to hang his campaign on, something to arouse the public. The AP says the real President liked that part a lot too. Also the line in which the movie president said: The world will never love us, they may fear us, respect us but will never love us. The movie producer says the story is based on a true incident, but obviously of course it was shot months before anyone ever heard of a ship called Mayaguez. The President, the real president that is, smiled a lot during the movie. At the end a reporter asked if he liked it and the President didn't answer, he may have not heard the question. At any rate it seemed an appropriate movie for this time and place.

THE TODAY SHOW NBC TV
7:00 AM MAY 20

No News of Relevance to DOD.

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EQUAL OPPORTUNITY
CURRENT NEWS

THIS PUBLICATION IS PREPARED BY THE AIR FORCE AS EXECUTIVE AGENT FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE TO BRING TO THE ATTENTION OF KEY DOD PERSONNEL NEWS ITEMS OF INTEREST TO THEM IN THEIR OFFICIAL CAPACITIES. IT IS NOT INTENDED TO SUBSTITUTE FOR NEWSPAPERS, PERIODICALS AND BROADCASTS AS A MEANS OF KEEPING INFORMED ABOUT THE NATURE, MEANING AND IMPACT OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL NEWS DEVELOPMENTS. USE OF THESE ARTICLES HERE OF COURSE, DOES NOT REFLECT OFFICIAL ENDORSEMENT. FURTHER REPRODUCTION FOR PRIVATE USE OR GAIN IS SUBJECT TO THE ORIGINAL COPYRIGHT RESTRICTIONS.

22 MAY 1975 — No. 73

BALT SUN 7 MAY Pg.1

Hiring wrongs, coverup alleged

Washington (AP)—After finding numerous violations of federal personnel rules at six government agencies during 1973 and 1974, the Civil Service Commission kept its investigation reports secret from the public, according to Representative John E. Moss (D., Calif.).

Mr. Moss eventually obtained the critical documents and released them. He said: "The commission, which oversees the working lives of more than 2½ million federal workers who expend the entire federal budget, should be intensively probed to see whether or not it is safeguarding the public interests."

He questioned whether the commission is vigorously pursuing agency compliance with personnel rules.

The six agencies criticized by commission investigators were the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Smithsonian Institution, National Science Foundation, Defense Mapping Agency, National Technical Information Service and the United States Merchant Marine Academy

At the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the commission found problems of equal employment opportunity for the agency's own staff.

"Internal equal employment opportunity program direction and leadership is virtually nonexistent We were disappointed to find that an agency whose mission is to eradicate discrimination has done so little to assure full equality of opportunity

(See HIRING, Pg. 2)

NY TIMES 15 MAY Pg.7

U.S. AND U.N. SAID TO HINDER WOMEN

They Are Called Hypocrites by Members of Congress

WASHINGTON, May 14 (AP) —The United Nations, the United States Government, and Congress were called hypocritical today for espousing women's rights but not clearing blockages that present those rights from being enjoyed.

Senator Charles H. Percy, Republican of Illionis, and Representative Elizabeth Holtzman, Democrat of Brooklyn, among the prime sponsors of a Congressional symposium on International Women's Years, also said that the United Nations risked making a mockery of Women's Year by inadequate funding and by perpetuating lopsided male-female job ratios.

The United Nations allocated $258,000 for six I.W. Y. regional meetings and an international conference but $3.5-million for the World Population Conference the year before, Mr. Percy said.

Only 16 of the 138 United Nations member nations have contributed, he said, with only $1.2-million of the pledge of $1.35-million received.

In the United States, Mr. Percy said, only $100,000 was contributed to the fund for International Women's Year and only $350,000 is budgeted for the national commission to promote the year's observance here.

He noted that although one third of all Federal workers were women but only 4.5 per cent of the top level employees were women.

(See HINDER, Pg. 2)

NEW YORK TIMES 7 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Job Favoritism Is Found In Study of U.S. Agencies

Rep. Moss Makes Public Data Kept Secret by Civil Service Unit

By ERNEST HOLSENDOLPH
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 6—Cronyism, political favoritism and other irregular practices are being used by a number of Federal agencies to fill their employment needs, according to reports by the United States Civil Service Commission.

The studies, which showed repeated violations of regulations in 1973 and 1974, were kept secret by the commission until seven of them were made public today by Representative John E. Moss, Democrat of California. Civil Commission officials declined to say how many reports had been prepared in all.

The agencies, including the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the National Science Foundation and the Smithsonian Institution, often hire and promote with little regard to Civil Service and Equal Employment rules that protect minorities and women, the reports said.

Other agencies covered by reports were the Small Business Administration, the Merchant Marine Academy, the

(See STUDY, Pg. 2)

WASHINGTON STAR
12 MAY 1975 Pg. 3

Ford Chooses Former Athlete For EEOC Job

By Fred Barnes
Washington Star Staff Writer

President Ford today nominated ex-football player Lowell Perry to be chairman of the troubled Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Perry, once confirmed, will take over the EEOC seat that was vacated last month by John Powell, whose tenure as chairman was an exceptionally stormy one.

Powell, who became chairman in January 1974, often feuded with other members of the commission and was accused of acting in a high-handed manner. His resignation was demanded by the White House.

LIKE FORD, Perry was a football star at the University of Michigan, where he graduated in 1954. He also played professionally with the Pittsburgh Steelers of the National Football League.

Perry, 43, has been plant manager of the Eldon Avenue Axle branch of the Chrysler Corp. in Detroit since last year. He joined Chrysler in 1963.

At the EEOC, Perry, who is black and lives in Detroit, will be faced with several tough problems. For one thing, the commission has a backlog of 120,000 cases.

The EEOC also must decide whether there should be exceptions

(See FORD, Pg. 2)

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY NEWS

JAMES KILLINGBECK, CHIEF CURRENT NEWS BRANCH, OX 52685 — HELEN YOUNG, ASSISTANT CHIEF

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WASHINGTON STAR
13 MAY 1975 Pg. 13

Bell Found Lagging On Hiring

New York Times News Service

Most Bell System telephone companies have failed to comply fully with the agreement to end employment discrimination that they signed in 1973, according to government agencies monitoring the systems's hiring practices.

As a result, these companies and the parent American Telephone & Telegraph Company will be held to new and stricter hiring and promotion goals for women and minorities until they make up the deficiencies in their 1973 and 1974 performance.

The Bell System's hiring practices were being monitored to assure that it was taking so-called affirmative action, required by law, to create job opportunities for minorities.

Under an order filed in U.S. District Court in Philadelphia, AT&T and its offending operating companies also agreed to pay an estimated $2.5 million in compensation and penalties for their failure to comply with the 1973 agreement.

These payments will be made partly to those whom the companies have illegally failed to hire or promote during the last two years and partly to a fund that will be used to improve the company's ability to meet the nondiscrimination objectives.

The payments to be made to persons whom the companies illegally failed to hire or promote will range from $125 to $1,500, depending on the job involved and on the date of the discriminatory act.

While the companies and four different government agencies that have been monitoring their performance agreed to the new antidiscrimination standards and procedures, the actual court order putting them into effect has not been issued yet.

That is because the Communications Wlorkers of America has challenged the agreement as one that violates its contracts with the companies.

Other unions are expected to make similar challenges.

FORD (CONTINUED)

made for blacks and other minority workers from the rule that the employes last hired are the first to be laid off during periods of economic trouble.

ETHEL BENT WALSH, who succeeded Powell as chairman, is not expected to be renominated when her term expires next month.

Perry's term on the commission would expire July 1, 1978. He cannot be designated as EEOC chairman until after his confirmation by the Senate.

In another announcement today, the White House said that Paul MacAvoy, a professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology energy laboratory, will be nominated to the Council of Economic Advisers.

Meanwhile, the President has agreed to meet tomorrow with New York Gov. Hugh Carey and Mayor Abraham Beame of New York City. They are seeking $1.5 billion in special federal assistance for the city.

Treasury Secretary William Simon announced over the weekend that it would not be appropriate for the federal government to provide the money.

STUDY -- CONTINUED

National Technical Information Service and the Defense Mapping Agency.

The Civil Service Commission is responsible for the job rights of 2.7 million Federal employes. Mr. Moss said that the reluctance of the commission to publicize its findings raised questions about its commitment.

The reports, prepared by teams of investigators who visited various areas of the nation, made the following criticisms:

The Civil Service Commission found that most personnel management problems uncovered in a 1969 study still persisted in March, 1973.

"Internal Equal Employment Opportunity program direction and leadership is virtually nonexistent," the report said.

The report team found complaint files in "chaotic" condition, with "no one in the agency knowing precisely how many discrimination complaints were pending."

But a count by the investigators showed 63 open complaints, 36 of them more than 180 days old, in an agency that at that time had 2,000 employes.

"E.E.O.C.'s failure to process discrimination complaints of its own employes on a timely basis is unconscionable," the commission said.

NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

The commission praised the foundation for good work, but added that most high positions in the agency were filled through "colleague referral," a technique that depends almost exclusively on personal contacts of program directors at universities and research centers.

"The recruitment base is quite narrow and competition very limited," the investigators wrote, pointing out that the system drew few minorities ro women into professional positions.

They found frustration among minority employes because of "the lack of opportunities for advancement and the insensitivity of many managers and supervisors."

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

The investigators found that "partisan political sponsorship, affiliation and clearance have been significant factors in appointments to a number of district director positions in the Small Business Administration," which is a violationof Civil Service rules.

In one case, the Civil Service Commission found that Norris Cotton, a former New Hampshire Senator and a Republican, caused a local director in Concord to be removed so the executive director of the State Republican party could take his place.

The investigators cited a letter dated Feb. 26, 1973, and signed by the Senator informing the S.B.A.'s regional administrator in Boston that "Bert Teague . . . is the person agreed upon by the two Congressmen from New Hampshire and myself . . . for the position as director forr the S.B.A. in Concord."

On March 12, 1973, Josaphat Benoit, S.B.A. director in Concord, received a letter from Senator Cotton, the commission said, in which he was told that the Senator and two Representatives had "recommended a Republican to fill your position." The Senator said that he assumed that he continued to have Mr. Benoit's persona friendship, but added, "Politics is politics."

Mr. Benoit was offered a job as a bank relations specialist, the report said, but he retired instead. On July 2, 1973, Mr. Teague, who previously was executive director of the New Hampshire State Republican party, was announced in a press release as the new S.B.A. director in Concord, at two pay grades higher than the grade of his predecessor.

MERCHANT MARINE ACADEMY

The Kings Point, L. I., institution was criticized for poor personnel records and failure to provide leadership in the Equal Employment Opportunity program. In 1970, the school had one black faculty member out of 81. A follow-up by the commission in 1973 found the black teacher gone, with no others hired.

THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

Despite some steps by top management to establish an equal employment program, the Smithsonian was said not to hold managers and supervisors sufficiently accountable for following through.

HINDER -- CONTINUED

Representative Holtzman said that there were no women at all on the diplomatic staffs of 60 per cent of the permanent United Nations missions. There were 180 women to the General Assembly in 1973, compared with 2,369 men, she said.

Helvi Sipila, United Nations secretary general for International Women's Year, said that the United Nations could only urge and recommend action but that it was up to the member nations to carry out the recommendations.

She said that the international conference in Mexico City in June would be the best chance yet for women to push their governments to make changes that would improve the status of women.

HIRING -- CONTINUED

for all of its own employees."

The investigators cited unconscionable delays in handling some employee complaints, which were unresolved more than six months after filing.

Problems in equal employment opportunity also were cited at the Smithsonian, Defense Mapping Agency and Merchant Marine Academy.

At the mapping agency, one report said, "there was a very prevalent attitude expressed that EEOC required only that an individual not actively discriminate against minorities and women."

Problems in following hiring or promotion rules were found at the National Science Foundation, National Technical Information Service and Merchant Marine Academy

At the technical service, for example, investigators reported that "staffing and merit promotion actions have been handled in such a way as to give almost all employees interviewed the impression that preselection has been involved in virtually every promotion made through ostensibly competitive procedures."

The reports did not mention former President Nixon's White House political referrals, a subject of recent controversy at other government agencies.

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NAVY TIMES 23 APRIL 1975

SecDef Sets Opportunity Study

WASHINGTON — Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger has launched an intensive review of procedures set up by the services to carry out the Equal Opportunity policies.

Acting on the Schlesinger instructions an interdepartmental study group has started meeting daily in the Pentagon to investigate the services' "full compliance with the letter and spirit of laws and regulations governing equal opportunity."

Both internal procedures and those that relate to doing business with contractors, other countries and private individuals are being examined, Defense spokesmen said.

Recent publicity about the banning of Jewish service members from assignments in Arab countries was reported to have spurred the Secretary's action.

The study group's report and recommendations are to be submitted to Assistant Defense Secretary William K. Brehm by May 15, officials reported.

Authorities explained that the study group is chartered to review applicable regulations, directives and actual practices in the EPO programs.

It will examine EO guidance procedures to see whether they are sufficient where they concern assignment of military and civilian personnel and the solicitation, award and administration of government contracts for foreign military assistance.

The group is chaired by William J. Perez, Defense's director of civilian equal opportunity.

An interim report and recommendations will be prepared before the final report in May, officials said.

ARMYWIDE REVIEW ARMY TIMES 23 APRIL 1975

Equal Opportunity Report on Way

By DON HIRST
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — An intensive review of all Army equal opportunity policies ordered by Army Secretary Howard H. Callaway is moving forward at a gallop, officials say.

The comprehensive review involves an ad hoc steering committee of 21 general officers and equivalent grade civilians. A final report of their findings is to be presented to Army Chief of Staff Gen. Fred C. Weyand by April 18.

The committee, chaired by Lt. Gen. Harold G. Moore, the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, is divided into four groups, according to Col. Loma Allen, the Army's Director of Equal Opportunity Programs, who is the committee secretary. The subcommittees are: military personnel matters, civilian personnel matters, contract operations and assorted personnel hiring and assignment. The fourth subcommittee is examining "miscellaneous" areas, Allen says.

Recent reports of discriminatory practices in connection with contractor firms dealing with Arab countries "was the trigger" for the Armywide review of all equal opportunity and equal employment policies, according to Allen.

A review of DoD equal opportunity procedures also has been ordered by Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger. An interdepartmental study group is meeting daily and a final report of their findings and recommendations is to be submitted to Assistant Defense Secretary William K. Brehm by May 15.

The Army review affects "just about every staff agency in the Army ... either as backup, members of the committee or subcommittees," Allen says. He calls it "one of the most concerted efforts that's taken place at DA in recent years."

The review forcuses on operations, personnel managers, contracting and procurement officers, Allen says. He terms the effort "a first-class gutting."

The matter of alleged discrimination, particularly in connection with U.S.-Arab contracts, is being examined by the House Subcommittee on Government Information and Individual Rights. But part of the Army action "was in being a long time before" this, officials say.

Callaway's orders to the committee are to "dig it out, call it like it is, and if it isn't right, make it right," according to one official. That philosophy is shared by Moore, who reportedly told the committee they would open up every (expletive deleted) closet.

As the review continues, Allen says "a lot of areas" may surface which can't be fully examined before the April 18 deadline for the final report. But they will get a lot of attention in the weeks to come, he said.

The committee is "looking at policy, regulations and, more importantly, actual procedures," Allen says. "We're making every effort to bring it down to grass roots levels."

ARMY TIMES 23 APRIL 1975

Defense Guidelines Set

By a Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — Defense observance of International Women's Year 1975 will be guided by three general objectives, Secretary James R. Schlesinger has announced. They are:

"1. To continue striving to provide to men and women alike an equal opportunity for patriotic service in the all-volunteer military forces of the U.S., and in the civilian rolls of the Department of Defense.

"2. To encourage recognition of the concept that the common defense is a common and equal responsibility of all citizens, and through innovative and aggressive initiatives, encourage the active role of women in the mission of the Department of Defense.

"3. To acknowledge and emphasize the sacrifices of women in building the American nation, and in particular, recognize the accomplishments of women in the Department of Defense, both military and civilian."

This year was proclaimed International Women's Year by the United Nations General Assembly in 1972. An IWY 1975 National Commission was created by President Ford on January 9.

Schlesinger also has named a committee of 14 members representing the Defense agencies and the military departments to help stimulate publicity and participation in IWY observances. The group is co-chaired by Georgiana Sheldon, deputy director of the Defense Civil Preparedness Agency, and by Maj. Gen. Winant Sidle, Deputy Assistant Defense Secretary for public affairs.

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NEW YORK TIMES 3 MAY 1975

Equal Opportunity Job Laws for Disabled Have Little Effect

By JANE E. BRODY

The Federal Government and nearly half the states have passed laws granting equal job opportunities to millions of working-age Americans with physical, medical and mental disabilities. But in many cases the laws are not having the desired effect because of inadequate enforcement and difficulties in interpreting them.

In addition, in many states neither the workers covered, the voluntary agencies that represent them, nor potential employers are even aware these laws exist.

As a result, in some states fewer than a dozen complaints have been brought in the first year of a new law (in North Carolina, for example, no complaints were brought). In other cases, attempts to resolve complaints have raised more questions than they answered.

Twenty-two states, the District of Columbia and the Federal Government have outlawed job discrimination against handicapped workers, although in some states the legislation excludes certain categories of disability, such as mental illness. Four years ago, only five states had such laws.

Validated complaints that have been brought before responsible authorities in various states illustrate the wide-ranging role such laws can play. While the laws also cover promotions, nearly all cases thus far have involved hirings. They include the following:

¶A practical nurse was denied a job in a New York hospital because she had high blood pressure.

¶A woman who had been treated for breast cancer was refused a civil service job in Milwaukee.

¶A California man was denied a job as a bread truck driver because he stuttered.

¶A New Jersey computer operator was dismissed from his job at a refining company after his employers learned that he was an epileptic.

¶A young woman was suddenly told there was no job opening when her prospective employer, a Massachusetts shoe company, realized that her address was a "halfway house" for persons recovering from mental illnesses.

Except for the nurse, whose case has not yet gone through a hearing, the complainants in these cases eventually got satisfaction through the intervention of responsible state agencies.

Not a Hindrance

In the case of the stuttering truck driver, for example, an officer with the California Fair Employment Practices Commission went around the driver's delivery route, talked to customers and reported back to the employer that stuttering would not be a hindrance in the work. The man then got the job.

In many of the cases that have been successfully handled, merely informing the employer that he may be acting in violation of the law has led to the hiring of the complainant.

But the lack of teeth in some state laws—including the failure to establish penalties or specify funds and an agency to enforce the law—prevents a satisfactory outcome for the employe, even when he wins a case.

Donald Hays, a 34-year-old married man who uses a wheelchair and has a hearing problem, had worked in a federally funded manpower program helping the handicapped find jobs. After three years, he was suddenly dismissed because his employer said he lacked the mobility to do the job.

The New Mexico Human Rights Commission ruled that his discharge was unlawful discrimination based on a physical handicap. He was awarded the maximum damages, $1,000, and the commission suggested that he be rehired or given a comparable job.

However, Mr. Hays still has no job because the commission has no way to enforce its ruling.

"Maybe some day I'll get my job back or one like it," Mr. Hays said. "But all I have now is words and you can't live on that."

In other states, vagueness about the wording, meaning or intent of the law has led to varying interpretations. A test case was brought in Natick, Mass., District Court involving a 30-year-old woman who had multiple sclerosis.

Although her disease was in remission at the time, a company refused to hire her and was charged by the state Division of Industrial Safety with violating the law.

However, the case was appealed and the judge upheld the company because he said that the woman had not been rehabilitated by training but rather by taking medication, and that this was not "rehabilitation" as stated in the law.

In most states, including New York, what the law means by "physical handicap" is being broadly interpreted to include such conditions as diabetes, prior treatment for cancer, an overweight condition that has a medical cause, as well as conditions more commonly thought of as handicaps, such as blindness, deafness and missing or crippled limbs.

To Perform Duties

The prospective employe is required only to be able to perform the duties of the job at the time he applies for it. The employer cannot refuse to hire him because of what may happen in the future, such as a recurrence or progression of his disease (although employment theoretically may be terminated if the person loses the capacity to do his job).

But since these facts have not been widely publicized in about half the states with such legislation, many victims of discrimination do not know they are protected by the law.

"Most persons with illnesses don't consider themselves to be handicapped," observed Mrs. Nike Bradley, executive director of the Chicago chapter of the American Diabetes Association. In the state of Washington, for example, of 98 complaints filed so far, none have involved diseases.

Even in Wisconsin, where a broadly interpreted law has been on the books since 1961, inquires disclosed that many affected persons and the health agencies that represented them were unaware of the protection.

Executives of local chapters of the American Cancer Society, for example, said they did not know that cancer patients were covered. Among numerous complaints was one from a 27-year-old college graduate who was successfully treated for a testicular tumor five years ago and has been able to get only temporary jobs since.

Cancer Society Study

The American Cancer Society Is currently conducting a nationwide study to assess the extent of job discrimination against cancer patients and determine how best to counter it. Many companies have policies of not hiring a person until five or 10 years after treatment for cancer.

As with job discrimination against women and minority groups, the handicapped often do not know why they are turned down and thus may not believe they have a legitimate complaint.

"The insidious part of job discrimination is that frequently the employers don't tell you you are being passed over because of a physical disability," said Luther B. Francis, president of the Diabetes Association in Pine Tree, Me.

Employers, too, have their problems with laws protecting handicapped workers. Traditionally, explained Emmett Snow, who helps to enforce the Federal regulations for the United States Department of Labor, companies have been reluctant to hire such persons because "they fear they won't get longterm service from the employe or that his illness may suddenly worsen or that the company's insurance rates would go up."

Diabetic Dismissed

In North Carolina, for example, a woman was dismissed from a job as a supermarket clerk because she had diabetes and the insurance company handling the store's group policy said it would raise the rates for all in the group if the woman was kept on.

According to an interpretation of the New York State law prepared for employers by National Health Services, Inc., an employe may not be rejected even though his condition may involve a future payroll risk or if he would draw excessively on fringe benefits or if coworkers or customers would prefer he not be employed. Nor can an employer exclude an applicant on the ground that the job may turn out to be injurious to the employe's health.

The laws in several states and that of the Federal Government—whose requirements apply to Federal agencies and to companies receiving Federal grants or contracts exceeding $2,500—state that employers must make architectural accommodations to the needs of workers or applicants with physical handicaps.

In addition to widened doorways and ramps for wheelchairs, these might include using light instead of sound signals for the deaf or belts for the blind. Under the Federal law, an employer might also have to rearrange work schedules to meet the needs of the handicapped or hire two handicapped persons part-time instead of one full-time when the handicapped persons need several days off for medical treatment.

"One of the most important aspects of the law," remarked Jack Sable, Commissioner of the New York State Division of Human Rights, "is that it gives hope to people where there was no hope before. Thousands of handicapped persons have said to us that the law shows people still care about them."

"Obviously, our interpretations of the law will be challenged," he said. "But I have directed my staff to fight vigorously, into the courts if necessary, to protect a handicapped person's right to work."

NEW YORK TIMES
3 MAY 1975

22 STATES HAVE LAWS ON JOBS FOR DISABLE

In addition to the Federal Government and the District of Columbia, 22 states have passed laws granting equal job opportunities to the handicapped. They are the following:

Alaska, California, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, ew York, orth Carolina, Oregon, Rhode Island, Washington, Wisconsin and Vermont.

The Federal law covers Federal agencies and companies receiving Federal grants or contracts exceeding $2,500.

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WASHINGTON POST - 11 MAY 1975

The Battle for Equal Rights

Some Victories, Some Setbacks, a Long Way to Go

By John P. MacKenzie
Washington Post Staff Writer

When a man goes to a hospital for an elective operation, he often is compensated for lost work-time by disability benefits. Just as often, a working woman is not compensated for work loss due to pregnancy.

Many pension plans, citing actuarial data that women on the average live longer than men, pay out benefits at a lower rate to retired women than to retired men.

Federal old age and survivor benefit programs assume that a married man's wife is his legal dependent, but when a woman claims her husband as a dependent she must prove that she provides a certain percentage of his support.

Women who get jobs through affirmative action hiring programs, along with black newcomers to the work force, often are the first to be fired or laid off when times are bad.

The Army requires much higher test scores for women trying to enlist than for men. The service academies are among many military career opportunities closed to women.

The nation's prisons, deficient as they are in job training for men, are even more so for women.

These are some of the disadvantages still faced by women—and often tolerated under federal and state law—despite a decade of progress in their battle against sex discrimination.

"We've had a fair amount of success," said Lois Schiffer of the Women's Law Project, "but we have a very long way to go."

The long way takes the form of case-by-case litigation, law-by-law lobbying and community-by-community public education to achieve sex equality, especially in the economic realm. Women's rights activists say the path is still longer by virtue of the failure so far to win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment in the necessary 38 states.

Adoption of the amendment would clinch court victories more quickly and, perhaps more important, would encourage Congress and state legislatures to use a two-year grace period between ratification and the effective date to clean up laws that are biased against women.

Conspicuous victories have been won in the all-male Supreme Court in recent months, lifting the hopes of some women lawyers, but not so high that they're ready to lay down their arms.

Ruth Bader Ginsburg, a leading courtroom advocate, said the victories mean "that they can't use that slogan about 'woman's place is in the home' anymore — but they'll try anyway."

In an April 15 decision, the court, with only Justice William Rehnquist withholding approval, said it was discarding "old notions" about women's roles in light of obvious facts about increasing female participation in America's economic life. The court struck down a Utah law under which females became adults at age 18 but males were not adults until age 21.

Since December the court has ruled that women can't be systematically excluded from juries, can't be ignored as income producers when the government computes survivor benefits and, in the Utah case, can't be denied child support based on the concept that they reach adulthood sooner than males.

Potentially more significant than the results in each case is the reasoning and language used by the court in reaching its decisions. The court has taken note of evidence that women in fact are a major factor in the nation's work force, adding that it is "untenable to suggest these days" that all women must be treated as though each woman's destiny was to be "the center of home and family life."

The implication is that other sex barriers will fall as the justices apply a more skeptical view in case after case.

That is not enough for Mrs. Ginsburg or others in the sex equality drive. "We still don't have any clearly developed body of law to aid in developing a national strategy," said Judy Lichtman of the Women's Legal Defense Fund.

"It's no substitute for the Equal Rights Amendment," said Margaret Gates of the Center for Women's Policy Studies. "Anything the Supreme Court can say today it can unsay tomorrow."

The amendment would provide that "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex," putting sex discrimination in the same outlawed category as race discrimination.

Does success in courtroom battles undercut the argument that the constitutional amendment is needed? "I had that thrown at me by conservatives in Florida," said Jan Liebman, legislative vice president of the National Organization for Women. Lois Schiffer said, "I don't buy that argument and I don't think it has anything to do with why people oppose ERA."

So far the court has refused to declare that sex and race discrimination are equally offensive under the 14th Amendment's guarantee of equal protection of the laws. In last month's case the justices again declined to specify the strict standard the women had hoped for, saying that the Utah law providing a different age of adulthood for men and women flunked any test—strict, relaxed "or something in between."

But the court, in an opinion delivered by Justice Harry A. Blackmun, made statements that seemed to indicate a new attitude. One example:

"No longer is the female destined solely for the home and the rearing of the family, and only the male for the marketplace and the world of ideas. Women's activities and responsibilities are increasing and expanding . . . The presence of women in business, in the professions, in government and, indeed, in all walks of life . . . is apparent and a proper subject of judicial notice."

Some of the work ahead is mopping up. The jury service ruling will be cited in challenges to the widespread practice of granting mothers of small children, but not fathers, an automatic exemption from jury duty on request without inquiring about individual need.

The March 19 ruling that women's earnings cannot be ignored in computing survivor benefits—so that widowers as well as widows qualify for them — affects $20 million in federal Social Security outlays, but $325 million a year is spent on programs that are open to similar attack.

Women's groups suffered a setback on pregnancy disability last year when the Supreme Court ruled that state insurance programs could exclude normal childbirth cases from an otherwise comprehensive health care plan without violating the Constitution.

The groups have had more success in the employment sphere recently as lower federal courts have based their rulings favoring women on Title VII, the employment discrimination section of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The reasoning has been that Congress intended to eliminate more sex bias than the Constitution prohibited.

Possibly the hardest fight will come over the "last-hired, first-fired" problem, in which women and blacks are testing the validity of industry and labor's contractual seniority systems. Important cases are on the verge of Supreme Court review, and a major ruling could come by 1976.

ARMY

TIMES

23 APRIL 1975

Dix FWP Gets New Coordinator

FORT DIX, N.J. — Jeanne Harris of Westampton, N.J., is the post's new Federal Women's Program Coordinator. Mrs. Harris, chief of the quality assurance section in the Finance and Accounting Office here, and a member of the Fort Dix Chapter of the Civilian Managers Association, will serve the FWPC on a part-time basis, advising the commander and the equal opportunity officer on matters affecting women's employment.

The FWPC at Army concerned installations is with equal employment opportunity for women and women's problems involving race, religion and national origin.

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BALTIMORE SUN - 6 MAY 1975

Ernest B. Furgurson

Last Hired, First Fired

Washington.

I grew up around a man who has now spent 51 years and five months working in the same printing shop, and still gets up before dawn to be there five days a week. He was a union man back before there were other unions in that part of the country. He remains proud of his craft in a time when professional pride is out of date, made obsolete by technology.

Even he could agree with the conscientious commentator who said the other day that "anybody who thinks this is an easy issue probably doesn't understand it." But having acknowledged that, he would have no doubt about the answer to it.

• • •

The issue is who gets fired when recession forces payroll cutbacks in American industry. The answer, almost unanimously among employers in this worst recession since the Great Depression, has been last hired, first fired.

That suits veteran employees, union officials and the old cliches about the virtue of hard work and reliability. But it does not suit the blacks and women who have been hired most recently as employers try to make up for years of discrimination against their kind. What it does to them is put them out of work.

There have been other economic slumps since the Depression, but this is the first serious one since the Civil Rights Act was passed eleven years ago. That is why the last-hired, first-fired principle is under harder challenge than ever before.

• • •

Under the civil rights law the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission maintains that women and minority workers should be protected from layoffs to make up for discrimination against them in the past. This collides head-on with union contracts that require layoffs to follow strict seniority lines.

Although the EEOC has taken the issue to court and it is expected eventually to reach the Supreme Court, employers nevertheless are holding to the traditional policy. That applies not only to union employers, who for once see eye-to-eye with union members, but to non-union shops as well. They clearly see last-hired, first-fired as a rational approach to a difficult problem, and anything else as the opening of a can of worms that would involve bitter controversy.

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The result is that in many companies where the percentage of women and minority workers multiplied in recent years now it is back down toward the level where it started out after passage of the Civil Rights Act.

The plaintiffs in one or more cases argue that in fairness, their seniority should be figured from the date when they first applied for jobs at the plant in question, rather than when they were hired. That would help make up for the years of discrimination, whether it was conscious company policy or passive stringing along with community tradition.

The trouble is, this kind of restitution has victims as well as beneficiaries. Not to lay off Fred, who is black and a year on the job, means to lay off Joe, who is white and five years on the job, perhaps without missing a day. Further, the victims in such a case had nothing directly to do with any earlier policy of discrimination, they just worked there.

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Among the toughest adherents to union practice are those blacks who got in first, and have been accumulating seniority for ten or twenty years. Like the whites working beside them, they took their chances with last-hired, first-fired through earlier business slumps, and like those whites they may have been laid off and rehired several times over the years before becoming senior enough to ride out this recession.

The point is, they earned their standing by being stubborn and steady. Nobody gave it to them, and they would resent it mightily if their jobs were handed now to workers who have not yet paid the same price. Which proves that, as the man said, "anybody who thinks this is an easy issue probably doesn't understand it."

WASHINGTON POST - 15 MAY 1975

Equal Employment Opportunity

PRESIDENT FORD has chosen a new chairman of the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission at a time when the entire enforcement effort needs leadership and guidance. The President's choice, Lowell W. Perry, has corporate experience that should be helpful. EEOC is far behind in its caseload, the result of many administrative problems that require serious attention. It will be up to the Senate to decide if Mr. Perry is up to the task.

If he is confirmed, Mr. Perry will have to address a number of questions that are the subject of some controversy, among them whether to ask Congress for a different kind of charter for the agency. As matters now stand, the agency lacks authority to issue cease and desist orders on its own. This has meant that the individual members of the commission must rely on the chairman to share the power vested in him. Proponents of a change have argued that the commission should be allowed to make its own findings and issue its own orders, so that each commissioner could hear cases and make recommendations to the whole body, as members of the National Labor Relations Board do.

That is but one subject the new chairman will have to address. He must also face the reasons for the backlog. One of these is that the commission now attempts to review too many cases on its own. A large number of the cases in its backlog involve persons who allege that they were discharged from their jobs for reasons of racial or sexual discrimination. It might well be that the commission should devise a mechanism by which those persons could go on to court and have their cases heard without going through the burdensome process of having the EEOC first make a finding that will in all probability be appealed by one side or the other.

If the EEOC took this step, it would then be in the position to address those cases in which groups of employees in large industries charge patterns of discriminatory practice in hiring and promotion, and the very serious problems of layoffs and seniority. In a recession, the question of whether the last hired should automatically be the first fired has caused a great deal of friction in workplaces all over the country. This is because, in recent response to charges of discrimination, an abnormally large proportion of the newly hired are members of minority groups or women. The guidance of an EEOC led by thoughtful commissioners and a diligent staff could be extremely helpful.

Not all of the problems of equal employment opportunity rest with the EEOC. The Office of Federal Contract Compliance also bears a major burden in this field. The General Accounting Office has just completed a study of the performance of that agency with respect to $50 billion in federal contracts with firms employing 25 million workers. These contractors for nonconstruction services to the federal government are under an executive order to upgrade their utilization of members of minority groups and women. The GAO's conclusion is that the enforcement effort is generally undermanned and underfunded and that the effort by most federal agencies is lukewarm at best.

That problem is one that EEOC can assist in solving, but the real leadership must come from the Department of Labor, which is responsible for the contract compliance effort, and from President Ford himself. If there is an answer to the bureaucratic lethargy the GAO found, it lies in executive leadership.

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WASHINGTON STAR - 14 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Q and A

FCC's Hooks On Blacks And TV

In 1972, Benjamin L. Hooks became the first black member of the Federal Communications Commission. A lawyer, a judge and an ordained Baptist minister, he has also been host and producer of his own television program in Memphis, Tenn., "Conversations in Black and White." Commissioner Hooks was interviewed by Washington Star Staff Writer Judy Flander.

Question: *You had a pretty successful career going outside the federal government, how did you happen to take the FCC job?*

Hooks: Well, many black activists and people generally across the country felt that it was quite a shameful thing that there was no black FCC commissioner because without a black commissioner the distortion of the black viewpoint, black life and minority life would continue unabated. The Kerner Commission report pointed out that the average white person in this country had no concept of what blacks are all about and that's a shameful condition after almost 200 years. So there was a huge cry for a black commissioner. I happened to be the one selected, and I felt from my own exposure to the civil rights movement and as a lawyer and a judge that it was an important position and that I could make a contribution.

Q: *What specific contributions have you made in the time you have been here?*

A: There are many of us who believe that in important agencies and in important positions like state legislatures, or the national Congress, the Supreme Court or state courts that the very presence of a black has a good effect because it forces the white power structure, for the first time, to confront that reality daily.

Q: *But have you any tangible signs of success?*

A: Yes, well, I think that is the whole problem. Everyone wants a tangible sign. Well, the signs are in changes of attitudes. There are very few issues that arise that don't affect minority issues. But for the 38 years this commission existed nobody raised that point. Another intangible result is the type of role models you create for young black people when they see there is an opportunity to do things that previously they have not been able to do.

Q: *You mean you yourself are a role model?*

A: That's right. When I became a judge in Memphis there were hundreds and thousands of blacks in that part of the country who never thought they'd live to see a black man sitting with the full power of a judge. It adds an air of pride and accomplishment that can't be measured in terms of anything else.

Q: *Well, being a role model and nother intangible benefits of having a black FCC commissioner are certainly admirable. But has there been any improvement in programming or hiring since your arrival?*

A: Well, when I came to this commission there were two black lawyers and now we have 17 Well, I'm not saying I'm taking credit for all of them. But if they only had two black lawyers in 38 years and now they have 17 it seems that I have had some impact. I must hasten to add that without the concurrence of the other commissioners this could not have happened. I think that when black people come on board they raise the consciousness level. We have black people in other positions in the agency itself and we have a full-time equal opportunities officer. When I came here it was a part-time job handled by a man who had much too much to do otherwise. We only have one black in the supergrade at the FCC but we do have one.

Q: *There has been some criticism that the FCC's Equal Opportunities program has been dragging its feet in presenting an affirmative action program to the networks. Why is the program taking so long to get off the ground?*

A: That's a good question and I don't have the answer. I don't think it should take so long but it has. Sometimes it is simply that we are overwhelmed with work, but that is not to say that we should not have moved faster on the equal opportunities employment guidelines. I think we should have. We expect to get them out hopefully shortly after the meeting in May We have started certain things like an annual employment fund. We have a place where we deal with minority employment. We have about 10 people now employed full-time with the commission whose job it is to monitor the reports, and do the practical, pragmatic everyday things necessary to get employment moving forward. But we have not as yet published our equal opportunities guidelines and that is set for discussion on the commission's agenda I think on May 20 or 22.

Q: *Is there any other progress at all you can point to?*

A: Until about nine years ago, there was about 3.4 percent employment of minorities in radio and television. Today, it's about 12.4 percent so there is no question great progress has been made. Now from the viewpoint of black people I must hasten to add that this progress has been very slow.

Q: *What accounts for these gains?*

A: I'd have to think that much of that progress is due to the fact that the FCC does have certain authority over licensing. The print media had about the same percentage of minority employes in 1967 and today it has not changed over one percent for the better.

Q: *Do you think black and other minority news is covered adequately by networks and local stations?*

A: When we start talking about news judgment, all these great journalists insist they don't want any governmental agency to tell them what to program on the news. I certainly agree with this on a surface level. But the fact remains that if a white person is making decision on which of 600 news stories to put on and he has no conception of what a black news story is all about, then he won't fool with it. That will be the first story to get killed. Some of the largest groups of blacks can meet right here in Washington and have enormous impact on balck life. But those groups won't get covered because the people who decide about such things don't have the slightest idea of what they are all about.

Q: *What do you think of the new black comedy shows such as "The Jeffersons" where all sorts of black stereotypes are still prevalent?*

A: I was born in this great country in the golden age of radio, which was a complete washout for blacks. There was simply

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CHICAGO TRIBUNE - 14 MAY 1975

The disgrace that is 'Women's Year'

By Germaine Greer

LONDON—Despite the fact that all the nations represented at the United Nations oppress women in all degrees and in all manners, many to the point of slavery and mutilation, and are trueuently uninterested in forfeiting the privilege, some goodguy at the Secretariat decided that 1975 should be International Women's Year.

It is typical of the special brand of United Nations Pollyannaism that they did so regardless of the fact that Secretariat hiring policies are grossly discriminatory.

The decision to have a women's year was simply a belated recognition of the fashionableness of feminism in the West, whose lifestyles dominate the U.N. self-image despite their manifest irrelevance to most of the people living on the planet.

THUS WOMEN from countries where the majority of the female population is pregnant and performing unpaid hard labor in the fields are quite happy to discuss marriage or a career" in terms culled from McCall's. International Women's Year is a simple extension of Madison Avenue feminism: The agricultural laborers of Asia and Africa might as well lay down their hoes and light up a Virginia Slim.

This year, like 1974, will be a time when tens of thousands of girl babies will die because of discriminatory feeding practices, when thousands of women will have their external genitalia mutilated by custom and hundreds of thousands will be manipulated and medicated and castrated in the service of population control.

Wars will take their customary toll of women by slaughter, rapine, and prostitution. In 1975, the United States will manage not to pass the Equal Rights Amendment. Women's chances of controlling their own fertility will retreat instead of advancing. Unperturbed, the U.N. will arrange hours of chatter about "Women: Equality, Development, Peace."

This year of disgrace began willynilly; half the United Nations members had failed to give women's year even the lip-service of ratification. Only 18 of the 138 governments promised cash to the voluntary fund set up for women's year, and of these only 13 have actually parted with the money, in derisory sums—$100,000 from the United States, only 10 times as much as Finland gave. The total pledged is $1,350,000; the amount received is $1,208,633.

Next year's Human Settlement Conference in Vancouver already has millions in hand; the minibudget of women's year is expected to fund six regional conferences and the international conference in Mexico, from June 19 to July 2. The failure of the voluntary fund would have been less of a disaster if the United Nations had not "forgotten" women's year in drawing up its own budget; $258,000 was scraped up out of petty cash.

Women control neither the United Nations nor its member governments, nor the multinational corporations, nor the purse-strings of nations; nevertheless, they will be blamed for the debacle of women's year. The foolery and botching of the United Nations Secretariat will be taken as evidence that there is no public concern for the plight of women.

The U.N. has no power to force governments to cease oppressing the helpless, and no amount of shop-window funding will disguise that fact. The U.N. is too fearful of the power of its various blocs to risk offending individual governments by so much as motions of censure.

Representatives of nations that deny women the vote, shackle their legs, and veil their faces, where husbands have the right to kill their wives, are not even requested to explain these practices, especially if they produce fas they always can) tame women delegates skilled in the showy profeminist verbiage of U.N. debate.

Maddeningly, women have not even the option of ignoring the U.N. muddle because there is a real possibility that antifeminist formulations will creep into the U.N. declarations of pious intent and these ossify into immovable definitions.

If women's year had been properly planned, adequately funded, and research materials prepared in good time, women might have had cause to bless the day that Helvi Sipila became Assistant Secretary General for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs. We might then have had accurate and comprehensive information about the half of the world's population that is speechless—about its health, its morale, its work load, its contribution to national economies, its work evaluation, the effects of social and economic change upon its lifestyle and social status—all the prerequisites for realistic discussion that we do not have.

Follow-thru studies of women in population-planning programs, of women as war casualties, of women as pressure groups might have been undertaken in time to give those conferring in the various parts of the world some inkling of what the women of the world need.

Perhaps some of the 500 million illiterate women in the world could have been given a voice. Some of the hundreds of millions of unpaid family workers might have readjusted our naive materialistic views about the importance of being integrated in the process of production.

NOTWITHSTANDING that none of the necessary conditions for a successful International Women's Year exist, women are struggling to prevent the worst consequences of unlimited discussion of women's lives by the predominantly antifeminist United Nations.

The question is not now "What do you women expect women's year to do for you?" but "What do you fear that it will do against you?"

Our only way of controlling the situation is by the way of United Nations ...eg gladness itself, to work for women's year, and to swallow our gall in appearing to support it.

New York Times Special ...ssn.

Germaine Greer is the author of "The Female Eunuch."

HOOKS ... CONTINUED

no black show at all. You had one or two kind of sidekick actors on radio, but there was nothing to which a black kid could aspire. So I'm not going to be the one to kick whatever type of black shows we have now. I know what I like myself; my official role at the FCC is not to make any comments about any individual shows. I simply am happy that we do at least have an opportunity to show kids that black actors can get the exposure, that they can make the money, that there probably is an opportunity for black writers and directors and producers.

Q: *So you don't mind the stereotypes continuing?*

A: I *didn't* use the term stereotype. You did. You are presupposing answers that I am not prepared to give. All I am saying is that comedy and drama can't be real; obviously people don't live like "I Love Lucy" or "All In the Family." I think the whole idea of drama is to intensify real life. While I do not want to express complete satisfaction with all of the shows and the types of things they do at the same time I certainly am not going at this point to badmouth them. What I am pleased about is that we do have black programming now. I think that this is the first breakthrough. When you come from nothing and achieve something, I think you have to look at that first. I hope we will see dramas where we have black heroes and heroines. I hope we will have black Marcus Welbys and black people playing the part of public defenders.

Q: *If black and other minority network programming is in its infancy would you say that it has yet to be born on public television? It seems that public television appeals to an elite minority of its own.*

A: Well it does. It appeals to the elite white intellectual but I think it has a right to do that. I think that's a part of its function. I think that the history of public television shows it was designed to meet certain needs that could not be met by commercial television. It is true that a lot of cultural programming simply could not make it on commercial television because, — looking at the bottom line — it didn't produce enough audience, it didn't produce enough revenue. So that's the way the ball bounces. And even if you could get a sponsor, stations were reluctant to have a low-drawing show because they thought it had an adverse effect on the rest of their offerings. So public television has to be complimented for its catering to the elite minority to a point.

Q: *But the elite minority isn't exclusively white. What about cultured ethnic groups who might like to see some public television directed to them?*

A: I have been very critical of public television not because of what they do but because of what they don't do. I think they've gotten lost in a dream world. They've gone off on a kick that satisfies themselves, that satisfies the great television critics and a certain number of monied people in this country. Public television should also cater to elite ethnic minorities. They have a certain number of hours in the broadcast day, time enough for programs for the Spanish community, the Orientals, the feminist movement and others. But they absolutely refuse to program like that. And I also believe fervently that up until this year they have had a far worse record of minority hiring than commercial television.

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ARMY TIMES - 23 APRIL 1975

Bella Belts DoD on O'Seas Job Bias

By PHIL STEVENS
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — Rep. Bella Abzug (D., N.Y.), chairwoman of the House Government Operations Subcommittee on Individual Rights, has termed the testimony of a Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense "a bold-faced discrimination against women, blacks and other minorities."

In a hearing to determine the extent of Defense Department discrimination in overseas assignments, John Ahearn, newly appointed Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower, acknowledged that the military departments have various policies which result in keeping some service people from assignments in countries which might object to their sex, race or religion.

Committee interest in the subject apparently was sparked by reports an Army contract with the Vinnell Corp. of California for training of Saudi Arabian National Guardsmen contained a clause which prohibited Vinnell from hiring personnel not suitable to the Saudi government. After protests, the clause was removed from the contract on March 24.

Interest also was developed by an *Air Force Times* story which divulged the existence of a classified document called a "Foreign Clearance Guide."

Under pressure from Abzug and Rep. Bob Kasten (R., Wis.) Air Force Col. Edward Schmitt confirmed that the document exists and that it contains information from various foreign embassies describing the qualifications for U.S. military personnel "acceptable" to their host countries. The Air Force guide also is used by other services.

After reminding Ahearn that she and the other members of the subcommittee and its staff are all cleared for access to top secret information and have a safe to secure it, Abzug renewed her demand for a copy of the guide. Schmitt noted her request and promised to pass it to his superiors.

The thrust of repetitive attacks by Abzug and Kasten was that the department has made strong declarations against discriminatory practices and yet it permits *de facto* discrimination by giving in to the desires of foreign governments.

Ahearn admitted that although DoD had the assurance of the Department of State that it would attempt to overturn any denial of a visa for an assignment in a foreign country the Defense Department had never asked for assistance.

Rep. Andrew Maguire (D., N.J.), a member of the subcommittee, concluded that as far as he could tell the DoD Human Goals Charter is of no more value than a high school diploma hung on the wall.

Ahearn disclosed that the department has uncovered a number of discriminatory regulations such as one requiring attaches to arrive at their stations "with wife." This, he said, was an obvious discrimination against female officers and unmarried male officers.

Ahearn acknowledged that the Navy and Marine Corps have policies against the assignment of black personnel to certain countries unless they are volunteers. This limitation, the Navy contends, is not discriminatory but is based on its perception of the racial atmosphere in the country concerned. Its purpose is to avoid putting black personnel in situations they would find intolerable.

Abzug was surprised by a statement from Schmitt that he knew of no agreement between the Air Force and the government of Iceland which prohibits the assignment of blacks to that country. According to Schmitt there are blacks there now and he knows of no limit on the number that can be sent.

Throughout the hearing Rep. Sam Steiger (R., Ariz.) repeatedly called the subcommittee's attention to the fact that the primary mission of the Department of Defense is to maintain national security. "I would hope," said Steiger, "that the Secretary of Defense would moderate his application of anti discriminatory measures when the interest of national defense is paramount."

ARMY TIMES - 23 APRIL 1975

Youth Advantage In Hikes Eased

By GENE FAMIGLIETTI

WASHINGTON — The importance of youth is being played down in formal guidance given to officer promotion boards this year, *Army Times* has learned.

The change results from efforts by Pentagon lawyers, authoritative Army sources say, to prevent future legal battles and controversy over charges of age discrimination.

A group of Army captains, passed over by an AUS major board last year, has charged they were discriminated against because of age. A class action suit on their behalf is expected to be filed in Baltimore, Md. soon. A number of Wacs also protested the Army's alleged promotion preference for younger officers.

In the general secondary zone guidance okayed for the 1975 round of officer promotion boards, (primarily O-5 and O-6), the Army says one of the aims of "accelerated, below-the-zone promotions is to provide the Army with exceptionally talented officers who can meet the taxing physical demands necessary for combat and combat related requirements as well as the strenuous demands of managerial positions.

"Though chronological age cannot be ignored, age in itself cannot be the sole basis for selection. Some officers maintain mental and physical energies which belie their chronological age while other more youthful officers display relatively less stamina, vigor and commitment."

The guidance, okayed by Army Secretary Howard H. Callaway, also noted that the board should recognize that those selected from the secondary zone replace officers who would have otherwise been picked from the primary zone. Callaway gives board presidents the authority to contact him if the board feels that fewer (or more) secondary zone candidates should (or should not be) selected than the secretary specifies.

In guidance to 1974 selection boards Callaway said that one purpose of below-the-zone hikes it is to supply "a pool of exceptionally talented and relatively young officers in the field grades. In this regard youth is, in itself, a major asset and a primary consideration for promotion from the secondary zone. The clear intent is that the board select the maximum number of officers from the secondary zone permitted by this letter of instructions . . ."

And, in a separate section applicable to the selection of chaplains for lieutenant colonel AUS, the board was told that age may be misleading because of the requirements of specific denominations for schooling and parish service. "Consequently chaplains with the same date of rank and similar military experience have significant variations in age. Age should not be a significant determinant of promotion," boards are being told.

The changes, high-level sources said, do not necessarily constitute a change in the Army Secretary's views. "Mr. Callaway continues to believe," an official said, "that he made the right decision on age last year."

Other changes from last year included in the LOI, which will be used by temporary lieutenant colonels and major boards in the next few weeks, involve Wacs, and derogatory information.

In evaluating the records of WAC officers, the board was told, it must recognize that they have been denied the full career opportunities available to men. Command assignments above the rank of captain generally were nonexistent for women until 1973, and restrictive policies have limited Wac schooling opportunities.

Under a derogatory information heading, the guidance says "little, if any weight should be placed on one bad efficiency report which has been preceded and followed by a high performance of duty."

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VISALIA, CALIF. TIMES-DELTA 12 APRIL 1975

Recruit Dons New Lifestyle

There are a lot of things to recommend the United States Air Force Nurse Program. Just ask Jan Warner who has been sworn in as a second lieutenant. A graduate of the Los Angeles County School of Nursing, Lt. Warner tried it on the outside and came to the conclusion that a more exciting life lay with the military.

"The continuing education opportunities attracted me first," she said. "There is specialization too and I love to travel. I'm looking forward to overseas service. Also, you get automatic promotions so there is greater chance for advancement."

Her decision didn't come overnight. After the initial inquiry, she continued to nurse nine months more at Canyon General Hospital, Anaheim. The recruiting office called periodically to check on her progress and keep her up to date on military matters.

"There was absolutely no pressure and I liked that," said Lt. Warner simply.

The daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Glenn L. Warner of Brea, she is a graduate of Brea-Olinda High School and never wanted to be anything but a nurse since she was very small. She is a surgical staff nurse and expects she will miss primary nursing methods since the Air Force is committed to team nursing. Her salary status will not change at first. But, in four years time, it will exceed what she could earn in civilian life.

Reflecting perhaps, her generation's disenchantment with things military, she confessed that her friends are not happy with her decision. And they also like to have her around.

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH 15 APRIL 1975

Bass Warns City On Minority Hiring

By GEORGE E. CURRY
Of the Post-Dispatch Staff

The City of St. Louis could lose millions of dollars in federal funds if it ignores the problem of discrimination in its employment and promotion of minority-group members, says City Comptroller John F. Bass.

In an interview, Bass said that although no specific warnings had been given to St. Louis, other cities throughout the country had encountered difficulty. He said St. Louis should learn from their experiences.

Bass said that $19,000,000 in federal revenue-sharing funds had been withheld from Chicago last December because a federal judge found that the Police Department descriminated against minorities and women.

The Chicago ruling stemmed from a lawsuit. Similar suits have been filed in Philadelphia, Buffalo, N.Y., and Tallahassee, Fla.

"My most frustrating experience in this office has been the inability of the policymakers of city government to make the necessary adjustments to correct unequal recruiting, selection, and promotion of minorities in municipal government," Bass said. "We should use quotas, affirmative action, preferential treatment or whatever it takes to be in line with other governments throughout the country.

"When faced with a crisis, we can always come up with temporary solutions. What I'm saying is that we should stay ahead of the game. The wisdom is there, but the will isn't. It's an unpopular agenda item, it causes black-white and north-south divisions, but we should not wait for the courts to solve the problem."

Bass said he did not believe that blacks were receiving a fair share, especially in providing contracted services to the city.

"If we continue to let the present pattern run its course with no intervention, we will have a lot of alienation and mistrust and the situation will stifle growth and development of our community," Bass said. "We're talking about people problems—we can't put them on a ledger.

"It's nice to talk about the Arch, the Stadium, Convention Plaza and the fact that 'St. Louis has it from A to Z,' but we have other needs that we have to address ourselves to."

Bass has been speaking out recently about what he believes are problems city government has not tried hard enough to solve — for example, the distribution of revenue-sharing funds and the operation of social services programs.

At a recent budget meeting of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, Bass questioned Streets Director William J. Wilson about the promotion of blacks in his department. When Wilson contended that his department was fully integrated, Bass said he had noticed that all six assistants attending the meeting with Wilson were white.

Bass said in the interview, "I understand that it is not an overnight thing, but I'd like to see evidence that we're getting ahead of the pack. These are not decisions you like to make with a gun at your temple. Planning now could avert a crisis situation. I'm not talking about north or south St. Louis, but a total St. Louis. Leadership is a shared responsibility."

The comptroller said he hoped a coalition of civic, political and business leaders would band together against discrimination in city government and the city itself. After all, he said, everyone will gain from preventing chaos.

Although more than half of the city's 8484 civil service employes are black, most are concentrated in the low-paying job categories. St. Louis County's government has the same pattern. In both places, women share the lower positions with blacks and other minority-group members.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, MAY 18, 1975

Black Admissions Aides Advise On Competition for Ivy League

One hundred and twenty-five ninth- and tenth-graders, most of them black, were exhorted yesterday to "maximize their potential" if they were to compete successfully for placement in Ivy League colleges.

The students, who were chosen by their guidance counselors on the basis of their potential as Ivy League candidates, attended a conference organized by the Association of Black Admissions and Financial Aid Officers of the Ivy League and Seven Sisters Schools, Inc.

They received literature about career opportunities, were advised to read as much as they could, and listened to black professionals in medicine, law and the academic field, who told them in workshops how they had achieved success after graduation from Ivy League schools.

William Adams, assistant to the provost at the University of Pennsylvania, told the students: "You should have exhausted all of the mathematical courses in your school. Learn to study effectively and to retain the material. And you must experiment with writing by keeping a journal, rewriting your notes and using a thesaurus."

Early Start Is Aim

"Specialization, unfortunately, has gone all the way back to ninth grade in this country," said David L. Evans, associate director of admissions at Harvard University.

The black admissions officers hope that such career conferences will be able to reach a pool of talented minority-group students at a point in their studies when they still have time to prepare for the considerable requirements of what the admissions officers referred to as highly competitive schools.

In the last three years the percentage of blacks enrolled in predominantly white universities and colleges has been declining.

It was 5.7% in 1968. It reached a peak in 1972, when black enrollment was 8.7 per cent of the total, but has been going down ever since. It is currently 7.4 per cent.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 20 May 1975

WASHINGTON POST 17 MAY 1975 (20)

Don Oberdorfer

East Asia: An Uncertain Future

TOKYO—A senior Philippine planner now "reassessing" his country's security wonders when and whether the Soviet fleet will base itself for Asian voyages at the former U.S. base at Camranh Bay. A Singapore businessman asks for a report on the size and competency of Thailand's army. A Soviet Embassador, over tennis, tells a ranking Japanese politician that the time is right for a Moscow-Tokyo nonaggression pact. An international banker with responsibility for energy matters inquires about the safety of South Korean investments in view of a possible new invasion from the North.

Throughout the vast and varied region of East Asia, the recent collapse in Indochina has set off tremors of speculation, reassessment and concern. Not for three decades has the region been so much in flux. All indications are that this is only the early stage of fundamental shifts in thought and action — quite possibly the most important changes in the area since the upheavals of World War II.

The view from Washington centers on American commitments and assurances, as if the region were waiting to be acted upon by the United States. The view from Asia is quite different. In five weeks of travel in Southeast and Northeast Asia since my departure from Saigon on April 10, I found alliances and allegiances to be shifting and new ideas in motion. The pieces on the chessboard have been suddenly shaken out of position, and even the rules seem to be changing. Nobody can quite foresee the outcome, much less the intermediate moves, or final outcome. Even so, some initial impressions come through clearly.

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The United States, which has been the central power in East Asia since World War II, has become one of several central powers. U.S. decision and action are still important, but they are no longer nearly all-important.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik said recent events have brought about "a new geopolitical configuration in Southeast Asia to which all nations have to adapt themselves." Asians are masters at adapting to nature, to fate, to outside and internal forces beyond their control, and they are well into the process of adjustment now. Asian leaders could see what was coming well in advance of the final debacle in Indochina. For many months they had been cautiously forging or reinforcing their ties to China, the Soviet Union and the now-formidable regional power centered in Hanoi. This process has accelerated and taken on new meaning since the fall of Phnom Penh on April 17 and of Saigon on April 30.

The recent whirlwind U.S. action to to recapture the freighter Mayaguez and its crew has demonstrated the fact that the United States remains an important military power in the area. But new limitations, arising from the new configuration in East Asia, were also evident. The Thai government's strong objections to the use of Thai bases for the operation against Cambodia make these installations of doubtful value in any future Indochina incidents, even if Thailand should reconsider its earlier decision to close the bases within a year. In this, the Thais are motivated not by anti-Americanism so much as by the need to accommodate the suddenly important interests of the new and nearby regimes in Cambodia and Vietnam.

Use of the existing U.S. bases in Japan and the Philippines to mount future combat operations in Southeast Asia is likely to be sharply limited in view of newly-forged diplomatic relations of Tokyo and Manila with the Communist governments in the area. The Philippines' seemingly puzzling restrictions on the use of Clark Air Base and Subic Bay Naval Base by U.S.-sponsored Saigon refugees is a hint of what is to come. Manila's edginess had roots in a staff protest from the Hanoi government, delivered secretly in Paris, against Philippine participation in the earlier evacuation of Danang.

Though diminished militarily, the United States remains the single most important power in the region economically. The only serious rival for trade and investment is Japan, which in turn is dependent in large measure on the United States for its markets and prosperity. If Washington's influence is reduced, the same cannot be said for that of New York, Chicago, Akron and Detroit. It is on these markets for raw materials and manufactured goods that Asian hopes for better living standards—a prerequisite for internal stability—largely depend.

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In highly sophisticated fashion many Asians are turning to Communist diversity—rather than U.S. military strength—as a source of potential security. National leaders and diplomats are calculating and taking comfort from the deep antagonisms between China and the Soviet Union and, on a smaller but vitally important scale, between North Vietnamese and South Vietnamese, and between them both and Cambodians and Laotians.

Mr. Oberdorfer, an Asian correspondent of The Washington Post, has traveled in Vietnam, the Philippines, Singapore, Malaysia and Japan in recent weeks.

In a number of Asian capitals the difference between optimists and pessimists is that the former believe it will take several years at least for the victors of Indochina to stabilize their relationships with one another before turning their new found power toward their neighbors. The pessimists are not sure that it will take so long.

One grave concern throughout the region centers on the billions of dollars in usable American weapons—particularly small arms, grenades, land mines, mortars, battlefield rockets and naval craft—recently inherited by a Vietnamese Communist army that does not need them. Almost every Southeast Asian country is afflicted by insurgent groups—often from ethnic minorities—in sparsely populated or disadvantaged areas. China and the Soviet Union have kept most of these fraternal insurgencies on short rations and outmoded weapons. This could change dramatically if the Vietnamese succumb to the temptation to become arms merchants or fraternal benefactors. The glut of modern weapons is considered a more serious threat than any spreading ideological infection among potential "dominoes."

In Northeast Asia, which is far more important to the United States than Southeast Asia, recent events seem to have enhanced the U.S.-Japan alliance in curious and unexpected fashion. Here the most significant thing is what hasn't happened in Japan.

Longstanding apprehension has been felt in many quarters—most recently expressed in blunt terms by Philippine Foreign Minister Carlos P. Romulo—that a worried Japan could turn away from the U.S. security umbrella toward its own remilitarization, conventional and nuclear. There is no sign of this, and every sign to the contrary. The initial reaction of Japan's government and power structure is to hug the U.S. "security blanket" a bit tighter in realization of its importance to stability in and around Japan.

The main concern of Tokyo at the moment is not Indochina, which is nearly 2,000 miles away and of peripheral interest, but South Korea, which is 115 miles away across a narrow strait. Given Japan's geography and resources, it is doubtful that a unified Korea under Communist rule would pose a realistic threat. But a Communist takeover of Korea by force under present circumstances would demolish the remaining credibility of the United States security treaty, the pillar of foreign policy for the world's first unarmed industrial power. This could indeed turn Japan toward revolution, whether from the right or left, and swift rearmament. As a major power, Japan is one of the few "swing countries" whose turn to new policies and alliances would profoundly affect events throughout the world. Japan's GNP is third in the world and about five times as large as the combined GNP of the rest of East Asia, excluding China. Japan's GNP is about twice that of China.

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In East Asia today the greatest constant is uncertainty, and the greatest need is time to take account of events and changes and to sort things out. Despite the widespread expectation that South Vietnam would not survive in the long run, the collapse came so quickly that nearly every nation—Communist, U.S.-Allied and neutral—was caught unprepared. Because of the current American economic slump and political uncertainty, the sudden collapse probably made the United States seem more impotent than it really is.

Having failed in Indochina largely through ignorance of Asian ways, the United States needs to be more attentive—rather than less—to trends of thought and action in the region. The United States is still an important power, probably the most important single power. But it must find new ways to listen to and work with Asians, giving greater emphasis to political and economic relationships as military options are diminished.

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WASHINGTON POST - 20 MAY 1975

Culver Criticizes Military-Civilian Switches

By Richard L. Lyons
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. John C. Culver (D-Iowa) is trying to stop the practice of converting retired military men into civilians while they hold a government job and then restoring military retirement benefits when they quit.

Culver said the practice erodes the essential separation between military and civilian authority by making the official somewhat dependent on military goodwill during his civil tenure.

The target of Culver's criticism is a bill the Senate is scheduled to take up today that would restore to Alexander P. Butterfield the rank of retired Air Force colonel, which he resigned more than two years ago to become federal aviation administrator. Butterfield, who first told the world about the Nixon White House tapes, has left the FAA post.

The 1958 law creating the FAA required that its administrator be a civilian "in the strictest sense of the word," according to the report accompanying the bill. The reason for this, said Culver in a dissenting report, was that the FAA would often rule on conflicting airspace needs between military and civilian users. Congress intended that its administrator not be subject to any military pressures or controls.

By a vote of 8 to 4, the Senate Armed Services Committee decided that the letter of the law had been met by Butterfield's resignation with no assurance that his commission would be restored after he left office. The majority noted that Congress had taken similar action in the case of retired Lt. Gen. Elwood R. Quesada, the first administrator, and had permitted Gen. William F. McKee to take the position in 1965 without resigning his commission.

Culver said Quesada was a special case because he had put together the FAA legislation, and noted that in approving the McKee bill the Senate Commerce Committee had said it did not approve of such action as a general rule.

Culver said Butterfield was encouraged at his confirmation hearings to hope that his commission might be restored by act of Congress after his service ended. The committee majority felt the fact that he would owe his restored rank to Congress, not to the Air Force, was enough protection against fear of military pressures on Butterfield.

Culver said there would be little difference in Butterfield's pension whether he took it as a 20-year Air Force officer or as a six-year civil servant plus 20 years of military service. But as a retired officer, Butterfield would have medical, commissary and some other benefits not available to civilians.

Culver, joined by fellow freshman Gary Hart (D-Colo.), said separation of military and civilian authority, "which is grounded in the Constitution, is deliberately designed to promote the highest professionalism in the military while at the same time keeping the military under civilian control and removed from the formulation of public policy."

The other Armed Services members opposing the bill were Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) and Sam Nunn (D-Ga.).

WASHINGTON POST
20 MAY 1975

By Jack Anderson and Les Whitten

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Mr. Ford's dilemma—President Ford ordered the rescue of the merchant ship Mayaguez against the advice of his legal experts.

They cautioned him that, contrary to his public statement, the ship's capture was not piracy. Under international law they said, Cambodia had a legal right to seize the ship after it steamed within the 12-mile limit which Cambodia claims as its territorial waters.

The Mayaguez was only eight miles from the Cambodian islet of Poulo Wai when it was stopped.

Meanwhile, the Joint Chiefs of Staff gave President Ford their opinion that the ship could be rescued because of its isolated location off an islet some 35 miles from the Cambodian coast.

In the end, the President listened to his generals rather than his lawyers.

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR - 20 MAY 1975

Joseph C. Harsch

Korea's future

A lot of people in South Korea are worried about what the future holds for them. Obviously, they have reason for their anxiety. As Saigon was collapsing Kim Il-sung, President of North Korea, was in Peking. We are entitled to assume that he saw fresh opportunities for himself in the present pattern of events in Asia. It is a reasonable guess that he wanted Peking's approval for another try at toppling the present system in South Korea.

It does not follow that the Chinese have given Kim Il-sung permission to hit the adventure trail. It is more likely that they have told him to take it easy and do nothing foolish. But the fact that Mr. Kim went to Peking underlines the most important single fact about the future of Korea. That fact is that other countries have a considerable interest in the future of Korea. And it suggests that the time is approaching when the United States might well consult those others.

For 25 years the U.S. has been the sole protector and defender of the noncommunist government and system which survives in the southern half of the Korean peninsula. The expense of keeping up an American military force of 38,000 men is being questioned in Congress. So too is the fact that the U.S. Second Infantry Division is posted on the road from the frontier to the capital city of Seoul and hence is in the direct line of any renewed North Korean attack on South Korea. Congress has suggested that the Second Division could be moved south of Seoul to a less exposed position.

The American presence has been based on an old assumption left over from the Korean war that without an American presence South Korea would be gobbled up by North Korea. But is that assumption still valid?

So long as there is no general agreement about Korea by other countries having an interest the theory does and will remain valid that South Korea's independence depends largely on the U.S. But this condition surely need not continue indefinitely.

Kim Il-sung undoubtedly would like to be the ruler of all of Korea. But who else wants him to achieve that role?

The other country most concerned is Japan. The U.S. is in Korea because it defeated Japan in World War II. To the victor falls the responsibility of defending the interests of the vanquished. South Korea is vital to the defense of Japan. In hostile hands South Korea is (as always) a springboard for a possible attack on Japan. The U.S. has been defending a Japanese interest, not a primary American interest, in protecting the independence of South Korea. Japan could and should begin to take up its own burden in Korea.

China and the Soviet Union have mixed interests in the future of Korea. Neither trusts Kim Il-sung entirely. The Chinese called him a "flat revisionist" during their "Cultural Revolution." That probably meant that they considered him to be too much under Soviet influence. But the Soviets could not feel comfortable if North Korea became a satellite of Peking. To survive at all North Korea has to manage to be more or less neutral between Peking and Moscow.

For either Moscow or Peking to encourage Kim Il-sung now would be an act hostile to the interests of Japan. Both are trying to improve their relations with Japan. And both would undoubtedly prefer a neutral and small North Korea to one as powerful as North Vietnam is becoming with uncertain loyalties between Peking and Moscow. The present divided condition in Korea, with the South associated with the U.S. and Japan and the North suspended carefully between Moscow and Peking, is the safest condition for all concerned.

It is so obviously in the common interest of all that it ought to become the subject of a diplomatic effort aimed at a guarantee of the status quo in Korea. Such a guarantee could be signed to advantage by the United States, Japan, China, and the Soviet Union. That is the road by which Washington could safely get out from under the cost and the risk of being the sole protector of the independence of South Korea. It is time to start down that road.

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THE ECONOMIST - 10 MAY 1975(20)

Packing the military home

America is coming under increasing pressure to scale down its military bases both in south east Asia and Europe. The collapse of Indochina has now made it necessary for America's allies in the area to win recognition, and even approval, from the new communist regimes. Thailand has already asked for the complete evacuation by next March of the 27,000 American troops, mostly airmen, now in the country; 7,500 will go by July and it is intended that the air bases that had been used for many of the bombing raids on Vietnam will be progressively shut down. The expulsion of the American troops may win immediate political popularity for the 14-party coalition government of the prime minister, Mr Kukrit Pramoj, but it will cause unemployment and a sharp drop in the country's foreign earnings and is unlikely to have the approval of the Thai generals. The growing nervousness in Thailand was made clear by the government's demand that 120 odd American-supplied aircraft flown in by refugees from Vietnam should remain there while it "studies" the claim to them by the Provisional Revolutionary government in Saigon. The Americans, however, have already stripped out many of the planes. The end of the 13 year agreement that established an American military presence in Thailand seems to be coming.

The call by President Marcos of the Philippines for a complete renegotiation of America's two important bases on the islands has come as a greater surprise. The Clark air force base and the Subic Bay naval base, used as a forward supply and repair base by the Seventh fleet, have been major staging posts for Vietnamese refugees in the last few weeks. President Marcos, in an unprecedented intervention in the running of the bases, demanded that no high-ranking political refugees should be landed (with the exception of Air Marshal Ky) and that no refugee should be allowed to remain for more than three days. Few believe that this hard line by the president indicates the move towards the left that is clearly apparent in Thailand; most probably he is just trying to negotiate a better rent for the bases from the Americans.

The American troops in Thailand and the Philippines are not committed by treaties to defend those countries against attack. The far greater worry to the state department is South Korea, which the United States is bound to defend under a security treaty and which is also anxious to retain as many military bases as possible as hostage against attack from the north. The Senate is already trying to scale down the foreign aid given to South Korea from $234m to $145m this year and is putting pressure on the department of defence to cut back the 38,000 American troops (including one combat division) stationed in the country.

Nor is America's military unpopularity confined to south-east Asia. It was agreed in Greece this week that the home port of six destroyers of the Sixth fleet at Elefsis near Athens would be closed down soon and that six other American bases in Greece with 11,000 servicemen would be phased out. The agreement for home porting at Elefsis was signed only two years ago, but the new Greek government, angered by what it interprets as America's siding with Turkey in the Cyprus dispute, is determined to reduce the American military presence in Greece. Turkey, suffering from the American arms embargo, which it reads as an overt pro-Greek stand by the United States, is also contemplating closing some of its American bases. The mood against harbouring American troops is also being strongly felt in Portugal where the left-wing military government is determined to limit the air base at Lajes, in the Azores, to Nato operations. Lajes was particularly important as a fuelling point for planes flying to Israel during the 1973 Middle East war. But Portugal is unwilling to press its point too hard; the base is popular in the Azores and pressure to close it is likely only to increase the growing demands in the islands for independence from mainland Portugal. Spain is also renegotiating the terms of three major American military bases in the hope of squeezing a higher rent and more military aid from the United States.

TURKS WARY -- CONTINUED

the Cyprus or the Aegean disputes, no matter what Congress or the Greeks think about it. The Vienna talks between Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders brought a dubious breakthrough. It was to reopen Nicosia airport to UN traffic—but the Turks are insisting on joint operation of the airport before civilian traffic can be resumed, something that Archbishop Makarios is hardly likely to agree to.

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The impasse has given way to a pause this month to see if high-level diplomacy can do anything to break the deadlock. The Turks will be going to Brussels for the NATO summit later this month, and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger is due here immediately thereafter for a meeting of the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO).

Demirel heads a shaky right-wing coalition, held together mainly by a common desire of all partners to avoid an early election, which would restore Social Democrat Ecevit, the hero of last summer's Cyprus invasion, to power. But there is a wide measure of agreement among all parties on foreign policy, particularly Cyprus, and the tough stance is unlikely to change, whatever happens on the domestic political scene.

The controversies with the Greeks and the Americans have tended to cloak a serious economic situation here, which has put the country on the brink of runaway inflation and perhaps bankruptcy. Thanks to the increased cost of imports, particularly oil, Turkey's foreign exchange reserves have been running down at a rate of $150 million per month, and now stand at $1.2 billion. At this rate, the government will run out of money to pay for imports by the year's end.

Fertilizer imports and the cost of subsidizing cotton, the main export, run to $550 million a year, and the trade deficit rose from $750 million in 1973 to an estimated $2 billion last year. Inflation is running at 25-30%, and the government is planning to slash prices of state-run iron, steel, and cement works to make them more competitive with foreign imports. This will add massively to the deficit in the $8.5 billion budget, and give further impetus to the inflationary spiral.

The perennial problem of unemployment, which is officially put at 12%, has worsened because European labor markets are frozen. No longer can an estimated 100,000 Turkish workers find employment abroad each year. The birth rate is staggering, adding 1.5 million per year to the current population of 40 million.

Despite all this, attention remains focused on the U.S. arms embargo and Cyprus. There is a strong suspicion here, frequently voiced, that the Greeks will deliberately stall on Cyprus just to make sure that Congress gets no reason to lift the arms embargo.

It has all added to the mounting urge among Turks to get their eggs out of the American basket. But no one has yet come up with an answer as to how to do it.

THE ECONOMIST
10 MAY 1975(20)

Missiles

A Roland for our Rapier

A billion-dollar contract to equip the American army with surface-to-air missiles has gone to a Franco-German consortium which builds the Roland II rocket. The two main competitors for the order were the French Crotale rocket and the Rapier from Britain. According to defence experts, Britain's Rapier should have won the contract hands down.

An American newsletter, Defense and Foreign Affairs Daily, claims the Rapier was the best buy possible, even on the basis of tests carried out by the Americans. But Roland was accepted after strong political pressure from West Germany's Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. The British could bring no such pressure—allegedly due to a lack of love between the American defence secretary, Mr James Schlesinger, and Mr Harold Wilson. From a number of leaked documents it appears that Mr Schlesinger's personal views were strong enough to offset a number of deficiencies in the Roland system.

The most obvious drawback is that the Roland is not likely, in practice, to see service with the American army until 1980 at the earliest. The Rapier is already in service with the British army, and the day-or-night version will be available to foreign governments from 1977 onwards. The British Aircraft Corporation has already manufactured hundreds of firing units and thousands of rockets. Rapier's manufacturing costs are well known, but Roland's are still a dark mystery. It seems the only point where Rapier is faulted is that the speed of re loading its launcher is slower than Roland's.

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER
20 MAY 1975

8 Governors in Soviet

United Press International

MOSCOW — Eight U. S. state governors, in the Soviet Union on a 10-day visit, discussed American-Soviet relations yesterday during a meeting with Mikhail Solomentsev, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, Tass said.

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LOS ANGELES TIMES - 18 MAY 1975(20)

Turks Wary of Putting All Their Eggs in U.S. Basket

BY JOE ALEX MORRIS JR.

ANKARA—The feeling is mounting here that Turkey has put too many eggs in one basket.

That basket is labeled "U.S.A."

It is not particularly new. Former Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit traces it back 10 years to the time when President Lyndon B. Johnson succeeded through massive pressure in blocking a Turkish military landing on Cyprus.

Times correspondent Joe Alex Morris is based in Beirut.

This was followed, four years ago, by more American pressure to stop cultivation of the opium poppy. That worked too, for a time.

But the Turks are changing. They are not moving with breakneck speed toward a confrontation with their most important ally, but neither are they bowing to U.S. pressure the way they used to.

They invaded Cyprus last summer, despite U.S. efforts to stave them off again. Shortly before that, Ecevit announced that poppy cultivation would be resumed despite American protest.

But the situation has hardly improved since then. Congress imposed an arms embargo on Turkey last February in an effort to push the Turks back from the 40% of Cyprus they now occupy.

The Turks bitterly resent what they view as a crass breaking of mutual defense obligations on the part of the United States. On Cyprus, they have hardened their line, if anything.

About 7,000 American troops are still stationed here, but there is increasing political pressure to move some of them out, not those here in a NATO capacity, but others manning sensitive and often irreplaceable listening posts monitoring the Soviet Union.

The 6th Fleet no longer calls at Turkish ports. The Turks didn't make that decision, but U.S. officials have kept the ships away fearing hostile public reaction.

The embargo put the Turks in a dilemma. Their European NATO allies are sympathetic, but not prepared to step in and fully cover the military assistance which came from the United States.

In fact, they couldn't even if they wanted to. Turkey's air force consists largely of F-100 Thunderjets, an outmoded airplane no longer in use elsewhere, and the spare parts for which are available only in the United States.

★

There is no question of adopting a Willy Brandt-style ostpolitik and making up with the Russians, a traditional enemy with whom the Turks fought 13 wars in the past. Prime Minister Suleiman Demirel is dependent on, among others, a party which openly looks forward to the day when the Soviet system collapses and the "captive" Turks in the Soviet Union will be free to join what is seen here as their natural homeland.

To outsiders, this may seem like purest fantasy. But Turks recently celebrated something known here as Azerbaijan Martyrs Day, and speakers emphasized that the lives of Azerbaijani victims of Soviet oppression were not lost in vain.

"The idea of liberating Turkish regions, especially in Azerbaijan, is not an unattainable dream," Prof. Hikmat Tanyu told one meeting. "Our slogan must be: Here today, tomorrow in Azerbaijan."

More immediate danger lies in another direction—Greece. Not only Cyprus, but an unseemly squabble over mineral rights in the Aegean Sea which separates the two countries poisons the atmosphere there.

The Greeks have been putting troops onto islands lying close to the Turkish mainland, in contravention of the Treaty of Lausanne under which they were to remain demilitarized. This started under the military regime which collapsed last July, but has actually been speeded up by Premier Constantine Caramanlis.

There were tense moments a few weeks back when the Turkish air force launched reconnaissance flights over the islands. The Greeks didn't challenge them, and the Turks have since stopped, but the situation remains uncomfortable.

The political picture is complicated. The Turks obstinately reject any attempt to link their defense treaties to

See TURKS WARY, Pg. 10-F

NEW YORK TIMES - 20 MAY 1975

Ambivalence in Athens

Greece Wants to Be Able to Rely on U.S. And Europe, but Is Hesitant to Pay Price

By STEVEN ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

News Analysis

ATHENS, May 19—The Greek Government recently decided that six American destroyers using home-port facilities near Athens would have to leave and that an American base would have to be virtually closed down. At the same time the Government sought assurances that if Turkey attacked Greek islands in the Aegean Sea, the Americans would intervene.

The contradiction illustrates a central problem for Greece as she evolves a new foreign policy after more than seven years of military rule. The 10-month-old Government of Premier Constantine Caramanlis is widely respected and its problems are widely understood, but with regard to relations with the United States some of the Premier's allies are telling him: "You can't have it both ways."

Mr. Caramanlis withdrew Greek troops from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization during the Cyprus crisis last summer. Faced with the humiliation of the Turkish invasion, he had to do something to salvage Greek pride and strengthen his political position, and in one stroke he managed to undermine much of his leftist opposition.

Now he is pushing hard for Greece's admission to the European Economic Community, which he feels is essential for the country's economic future. He also sees a united Europe as an alternative to the superpowers.

No Love for Kissinger

When he visited Bonn last week to press his case for admission, he was told that if he wanted Europe's help, Europe expected something in exchange: Greece should return to the west. NATO. German Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, also stressed that strong Europe must maintain close links with the United States.

Athens has berated Washington for helping the Turks and Secretary of State Kissinger is probably the most despised man in Greece. Yet Greek diplomats say that only he can solve the Cyprus problems even suggesting that he produce a specific plan—something he is reluctant to do.

Mr. Caramanlis, who is intent on asserting Greek independence, said in a recent interview that "we speak with the Americans at an equal level." Yet Athens has asked Washington to resume grants of military equipment, a program smacking of a patron-client relationship that had been ended by the military junta.

As for the American military facilities, about 4,000 people in uniform work at seven installations, performing a wide variety of tasks: communications, airplane and ship maintenance, surveillance of Soviet fleet movements, protection of tactical nuclear weapons.

After withdrawing Greek forces from NATO Mr. Caramanlis announced that Greece would close down facilities that did not serve her interests; even his political opponents hailed the move. But when the Greeks took a closer look, they realized that most of the installations did serve their interests.

The Obvious Target

"These facilities are very important and terribly convenient for us, but we can live without them" an American official said. "I doubt whether the Greeks can live without them.

Mr. Caramanlis was determined to do something significant, and the home-port facilities were the obvious target. The most visible program, it gave the Government the most political profit. Since it had been started by the military Government, American officials considered it an embarrassment and were happy to see it go.

But the end of program, coming at a time of rising fuel costs, will hamper the effectiveness of the Sixth Fleet just when Greece wants its protection. Accordingly, the Americans might well be allowed to keep certain ship-repair facilities and to resume liberty visits.

At first the Greeks also wanted the United States to vacate its Athens air base. After hard bargaining they agreed to let the most important facilities remain but insisted that they be merged with the adjoining Greek air base. Other American installations will also be placed under Greek command.

An important factor in the troubled United States-Greek relationship is the post exchange, a large department store in which American military and Government personnel —who make much more money than their Greek counterparts —are able to buy American products at duty-free prices.

The Americans say that if the Greeks want the security of the American military, they must allow the military to support itself. Greeks feel that the PX is an offensive symbol of American superiority and affluence and should be eliminated. The issue remains unresolved.

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BALTIMORE NEWS AMERICAN 19 MAY 1975 (20)

The Chinese Hands-Off

By PETER LISAGOR

NEWS ANALYSIS

WASHINGTON (CDN) — The mystery surrounding the role of the Chinese Communists in the Mayaguez crisis has been only partially cleared up by U. S. officials.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger skirted the issue at a press conference Friday, saying the Peking authorities apparently decided upon a course of "formal disassociation form the diplomatic process."

In plainer English, what that meant was that Peking would have nothing to do with the whole affair.

As officials reconstruct the Chinese role, Huang Chen, the chief of the Chinese liason office here, was summoned to the State Dept. by acting Secretary of State Robert S. Ingersoll late last Monday afternoon. Kissinger was in St Louis for a speech at the time.

Ingersoll read a message that President Ford wanted delivered to the Cambodian governemnt, demanding the release of the capture freighter and its crew. Huang declined to accept the message. His explanation for refusing is not known.

Sometime later, the U. S representative in Peking, Ambassador George Bush, called at the Chinese Foreign Ministry and delivered the same message.

Twenty-four hours later, the Chinese rejected the note. Again no explanation for the rejection has been forthcoming.

Bush then went to the Cambodian Embassy in Peking and delivered the message. That is why Kissinger said he was "positive" that contact had been made with Cambodian authorities, presumably in Phnom Penh.

No word has ever been received from the Cambodians, despite several efforts, including a broadcast in the Khmer language on a channel known to be used by the Cambodians, according to U. S. officials.

In his meeting with the press, Kissinger seemed deliberately to gloss over the sequence of events involving the efforts to enlist Chinese help in reaching the Cambodians and possibly influence them.

One reason for this, it is understood, is that presidential press secretary Ron Nessen had mistakenly announced that Huang Chen had accepted the message at the State Dept Monday and returned it 24 hours later.

Kissinger was understood not to want to cause Nessen further embarrassment by revealing the mistake.

Kissinger was asked whether, in view of the "attempts at detente" with Peking, he was dissatisfied with the Chinese behavior

His answer was diffuse and purposely imprecise.

Saying that relationships with "potential adversaries" had to be seen in a more complicated framework than was normally the case, he observed that "certain common interests" outlined in the Shanghai communique issued during former President Nixon's visit to China in 1972 "remain valid."

Both countries have "different perceptions in different areas," and those differences will persist, he said.

He then implied strongly that perhaps the Chinese role had only limited possibilities.

"And finally," he said, "one has to leave it to those countries to play their role, either publicly or privately — if they choose to — that they consider appropriate."

Kissinger obviously wanted to say nothing that might jeopardize U. S. relations with a country Ford plans to visit later this year.

But it was plain that Peking was not about to interpose itself between Washington and Phnom Penh, even as a disinterested transmitter of messages.

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT 26 MAY 1975 (20)

MISSILES AND BALALAIKAS— U.S.-SOVIET NAVAL EXCHANGE

BOSTON

For the first time since World War II, U.S. and Russian warships exchanged visits—and the Americans stole the show.

In Leningrad, two U.S. guided-missile ships—the 7,800-ton frigate *Leahy* and the 4,500-ton destroyer *Tattnall*—steamed up the Neva River on May 12 in observance of the Allied victory in Europe in 1945.

As soon as the ships were opened to the public, 2,500 Russians shoved aboard, and, disregarding rain and hail, more lined up for a view. They got a thorough tour of the ships, including displays of some of the U.S. Navy's latest antiaircraft missiles.

Here in Boston, the Soviet antisubmarine ships *Boykiy* and *Zhguchiy* offered a more guarded look. Missiles were out of sight None of the visible armaments were demonstrated.

Propaganda available. While balalaikas played, Americans were directed to a long table with Communist propaganda pamphlets. The tour ended with a short walk back to the quarter-deck where more pamphlets and books were on display.

A flurry of activity came May 14 When the top U.S. naval officer, Adm James L. Holloway III, Chief of Naval Operations, was aboard the *Boykiy*, he got word of new action in the Cambodian Communists' seizure of the U.S freighter *Mayaguez* and hurried back to Washington.

Despite such doings, it was the U.S. guided-missile cruiser *Albany* nearby that attracted many Bostonians.

Visitors there got a five-minute display of the TALOS missile system in action, plus ship tours and coffee

Observed one American: "The Soviet Navy clearly was under orders to show nothing. The U.S. Navy, equally clearly, had orders to show practically everything—and did."

FORD -- CONTINUED

States cannot be pushed and that the United States is prepared to defend its interests." The case should not be overstated: there is no way of knowing to what extent the Communists' perception of American power and willpower have been affected.

It can be said, as one congressman put it, that the United States isn't really impressing anybody by proving that it can win a test of strength with a primitive, peasant country

But such arguments overlook the essential point—that if in the wake of Vietnam this country had backed off from meeting the challenge of a third-rate nation, what friend or potential adversary would have believed that we would act to protect our interests and those of our allies where the circumstances were more dangerous?

Ernest Conine is a member of the Times Editorial Board.

WASH POST 5/20/75

Cuba-Britain Pact

LONDON—Cuba and Britain signed their first economic and industrial cooperation agreement, giving Britain export contracts estimated by some sources at $240 million. The agreement was signed by Foreign Secretary James Callaghan and Cuban Vice Premier Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, who arrived in London Sunday on a five-day official visit.

DEFENSE SPACE BUSINESS DAILY 13 MAY 1975 (20)

BELGIUM/NETHERLANDS BUY LANCE. The Defense Department has confirmed that Belgium and the Netherlands have purchased the Lance battlefield missile system. The United Kingdom and West Germany have also purchased the missile, which is produced by LTV Aerospace Corp.'s Michigan Division. Value of the Dutch purchase was placed at $35 million.

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LOS ANGELES TIMES 18 MAY 1975 (20)

Mayaguez Incident: A Ford Message to Domino Players

BY ERNEST CONINE

It is clear that the Mayaguez incident provided the Ford Administration an excellent, comparatively low-cost opportunity to send a message to the Soviet Union, China, North Korea and the Arabs—notwithstanding the assertion of a top adviser that Ford's overriding concern was safety of the crew and the principle of free navigation.

That message was that neither the undignified retreat from Vietnam nor the isolationist voices in Congress has deprived the President of the power and will to act firmly and decisively when the occasion demands.

Though the point should not be exaggerated, it is of great significance and should be kept in mind during the inevitable politically tinged post mortems.

The White House reported Friday that letters and telegrams were running overwhelmingly in favor of the military rescue operation. There was some grumbling on Capitol Hill that Ford had not fully consulted Congress before taking action. But few Democrats were prepared to make a serious issue of it. The overriding reaction was one of relief that the crewmen were safe, and of praise for the President's handling of the crisis.

With the Presidency at stake in 1976, however, there will be a compulsion among Ford's critics in both parties to do some Monday morning quarterbacking at his expense. They will be joined by colleagues whose political motivation is minimal, but who genuinely wonder if the Administration overreacted.

It is already being said in some quarters that the United States used a sledgehammer to smash a flea. That diplomacy should have been given more time. That the President took a tremendous gamble which could have ended in tragedy if the Khmer Rouge had murdered the crew members instead of ultimately handing them over. That as it is, the United States lost two servicemen and 13 others are missing. That the exercise had the counterproductive effect of further alienating Thailand, from which part of the rescue operation was launched.

These are legitimate questions, but the answers are persuasive.

Start with the fact that the crisis did not begin with a big, bullying United States picking a fight with a small peasant nation. Unless the Administration is guilty of a massive falsehood, the Mayaguez was a merchant ship displaying no hostile intent, and therefore entitled to right of innocent passage. Whether the seizure was ordered by the Cambodian government or was the act of a local commander, it was an outrage. American citizens have a right to expect their government's protection in such circumstances.

The Administration tried diplomacy first—using the good offices of the United Nations, and trying to make representations to the Phnom Penh government through Cambodian diplomats in Peking and through the Chinese government itself. There was no response until the military operation was under way, and even then the Cambodians gave no indication of releasing the crew.

There was a concern, which proved justified, that the Cambodians would move the 39 crew members from the rather isolated island of Koh Tang to the mainland, if the Americans were taken into the interior while diplomatic efforts continued, a military rescue would no longer be a practical matter. The Americans might be killed—or they might be held for months while their captors extracted the maximum degree of humiliation from the U.S. government.

The United States had to apologize to the North Koreans, in effect, to get the crew of the Pueblo back a few years ago. That was a dubious exercise for a great power then; to have done the same thing in the global atmosphere of 1975 could have had damaging, ultimately dangerous consequences.

Whether or not one accepts the domino theory, there is no question that the circumstances surrounding the final collapse of resistance to the Communists in Vietnam brought the reliability of U.S. commitments into question elsewhere in the world.

It wasn't that friendly governments thought that more U.S. military aid would have saved the Saigon regime, or that direct American intervention was called for. The disturbing thing was the atmosphere in the United States, especially in Congress, which seemed to reflect a growing unwillingness to support any meaningful American role in the security of any nation anywhere.

There also was concern that Congress was adopting an obstructionist posture which would cripple the ability of the President to conduct responsible foreign policy.

The shock waves have been greatest in Southeast Asia. Thailand is rushing to accommodate itself to Communist power. So, to a lesser degree, are the Philippines, Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia. But the effects have also been felt elsewhere.

President Ford and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger have kept themselves busy in recent weeks assuring leaders of Australia, New Zealand, Japan and South Korea that he has no intention of presiding over withdrawal to a Fortress America.

Newspapers in Western Europe welcome the end of fighting in Vietnam, but expressed concern over the implications for Europe. European governments expressed faith in American commitments to NATO but privately they worried, too.

Meanwhile, there was evidence that the impression of American weakness could produce potentially dangerous effects in the Middle East. Some Arab leaders openly expressed the thesis that, on the basis of what happened in Vietnam, it was obvious that the United States would not stand by Israel in a pinch. Such an assumption, if allowed to stand, tended to make renewal of the Mideast war more tempting.

North Korean leaders recently went to Peking, reportedly to seek backing for an invasion of South Korea.

The Soviet Union, apparently giving first priority to expansion of trade with the West, notably refrained from exploiting the situation. But the experts wondered how long Russian good behavior will last if an impression of weakness continued to emanate from Washington.

In the face of all this, the United States could not allow itself to be put in the position of begging a third-rate country for the release of American victims of an unprovoked act of piracy. To have done so would have tempted other, stronger countries to test the American will in more dangerous ways and places.

On the other hand a military rescue operation could be conducted with comparatively little military or political risk. The island was isolated. Soviet or Chinese intervention could be ruled out.

Even if Thailand's protests over involvement of bases on its territory in the rescue operation were genuine, there was little to be lost. The Thai government has made it clear that it wants the bases phased out anyway.

Finally, it was very doubtful that the operation would constitute any lasting obstacle to an American accommodation with Hanoi and the new Communist regime in Saigon, if such a move is deemed desirable. Even as the military operation was underway, Hanoi Radio announced that the new South Vietnamese government was ready to accept diplomatic relations with the United States.

President Ford decided that the potential gains of a military rescue operation far outweighed the risks. And he was proved right. The ship was recovered. The crewmen were rescued, at a regrettable but comparatively modest loss in U.S. military personnel. And the diplomatic dividends have come pouring in, with praise from Britain, West Germany, Japan, Iran and other quarters.

Kissinger told newsmen Friday the incident "ought to make clear there are limits beyond which the United

(See FORD, pg 8-F)

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NAVY -- CONTINUED

Allied fleets are unable to take up the slack. NATO navies are major elements in European waters. But these nations are short of long-range support ships, limiting their operations in distant areas.

As a result, ranking admirals at the Pentagon are concerned about the Navy's ability to police even the most strategic naval passages of the world, let alone the open seas.

Important "choke points." Specifically, they insist the U.S. would have difficulty controlling some 10 "choke points" vital to defense and international shipping during an emergency.

These passages include the Malacca and Sunda Straits through the East Indies, the Strait of Tsushima between Japan and Korea, the entrance to the Red Sea and the Suez Canal at Aden, Gibraltar at the western end of the Mediterranean Sea, the Baltic exits into the North Sea, the Bosporus between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, and the ocean passages on either side of Iceland through which Russian ships from the north enter the Atlantic.

Even the Panama Canal is not classed as secure. Soviet submarines based in Cuba could endanger the western approaches, Navy leaders say.

To reverse the trend, the Navy wants to speed up its shipbuilding program.

Aim: 600 vessels. Earlier this year, the House Seapower Subcommittee agreed. It recommended that the U.S. embark on a 32.5-billion-dollar program to build 179 fast and modern vessels in five years, including 115 combat ships. The Subcommittee would also allow Navy shipyards to build new ships instead of just repairing them. The goal is a 600-ship fleet, built around carriers.

The Subcommittee recommended the completion of two more nuclear-powered carriers, sister ships of the recently commissioned U.S.S. *Nimitz*. These carriers, costing 1.2 billions or more each, would give the Navy four such nuclear ships able to cruise the world at 30-knot speeds indefinitely.

Endorsed as well were six "strike cruisers," each capable of operating without escort vessels in distant waters.

Still in the preliminary design stage, these cruisers would bristle with missiles for both offense and air defense. Surface-to-surface missiles would be able to hit enemy ships hundreds of miles away as well as bombard land targets at equal distances, according to plans. Each ship would carry its own vertical take-off planes or helicopters and have built-in equipment to fight off submarines. Total cost: some 750 million dollars each at present estimate.

Not everyone agrees with such recommendations. Skeptical Congressmen wonder why the Navy can't get along with vessels less costly than the carriers and other elaborate ships. A major debate centers on whether combat ships should be fueled by the atom or oil.

Scare tactics charged. The Navy's critics contend that service chiefs are "crying wolf" about their weaknesses—and Russia's strength—simply to scare Congress into appropriating more money for shipbuilding.

As these analysts see it, present shipbuilding schedules will greatly upgrade the fleet, cutting the average age of surface ships to under 10 years in 1980, compared with 13½ now. New nuclear submarines—about a dozen of which are to be commissioned by 1980—will improve the undersea force.

Some analysts also contend that the strength of the Soviet Navy as a worldwide surface force has been overstated by many. They note that the Russians have only two operational carriers and have concentrated on submarines and missile-armed ships.

U.S. Navy officers reply that the Soviet and U.S. fleets are structured for entirely different missions.

The Soviet Navy, which consists of 221 surface combatants and 235 attack and missile-carrying submarines, is designed to protect the flanks of Moscow's huge Eurasian land mass and to cut the sea lanes of industrial nations.

The U.S. has 164 surface combat ships, including carriers, plus 119 submarines, 41 of which carry ballistic missiles. The Navy's mission is to keep hostilities away from U.S. shores, project U.S. power overseas and guard sea lanes.

That's why the Navy needs more ships, say U.S. admirals. The key to an enlarged fleet, they believe, is the new series of carriers.

Arguments for carriers. Three top commanders—Admiral Holloway; V. Adm. Bill Houser, Deputy Chief of Naval Operations, and R. Adm. M. Staser Holcomb, director of the Navy's Systems Analysis Division—told *U.S. News & World Report*:

Carriers become especially important as the U.S. loses bases overseas. The admirals maintain that the large carrier is the least vulnerable ship ever built—that it can shrug off multiple missile and torpedo hits, and moves too fast to be hit by land-based missiles.

In the missile age, they assert that planes aboard carriers are basically "reusable missiles" which can attack any number of enemy targets.

Whether or not Congress accepts these arguments and votes funds for more new carriers won't be decided until later this year.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 20 MAY 1975

U.S. heading for clash on new pact with Panama

By Richard L. Strout
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor
Washington

Another potential "Cambodia" sits on the doorstep of the United States — Panama.

A brand new treaty on the Canal Zone — after 11 years of on-and-off negotiation — waits only final touches, with Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.) of South Carolina already announcing he has votes to defeat it.

Tension mounts in small, proud Panama where riots, Jan. 9 and 10, 1964, caused 24 casualties, and temporary severance of diplomatic relations.

Comming to implementation now is an eight-point preliminary "agreement on principles" signed at Panama Feb. 7, 1974, between Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and Panama Minister of Foreign Affairs Juan Antonio Tack, promising a new treaty. It incorporates just those points which conservative Senators Thurmond, John L. McClellan, James O. Eastland, Herman E. Talmadge, Barry Goldwater, John Tower, Carl T. Curtis, Paul J. Fannin, Roman L. Hruska, and others to the number of 37 oppose.

A third of the Senate (34) can block a treaty.

Developments seem hurrying the situation to a showdown. Foreign Minister Tack has been here in connection with the Organization of American States (OAS) meeting; diplomatic sources say the treaty issues have been reduced to a few, but vital, decisions. The Rev. Marcos G. McGrath, archbishop of Panama, a strong national advocate for treaty revision, is to hold a press conference here Wednesday.

Sides are being taken and the Women's National Democratic Club, through its board of governors, urges treaty ratification now rather than before the 1976 election.

In the 1964 election, President Johnson [illegible]ended conciliation, candidate Goldwater charged "Uncle Sam has been treated as a weakling — as a spineless pushover — as a symbol of a country that no longer has the will or the nerve to protect its citizens abroad, to defend its honor, to speak up for its principles."

The Hay-Bunau Varillas Treaty of 1904 sliced Panama in two with a 10-mile canal zone, gave the United States powers as "if it were the sovereign of the territory," and extended the treaty "in perpetuity."

"I took the Canal Zone and let Congress debate," Theodore Roosevelt declared after Panama revolted from Colombia.

Despite treaty modificaitons in 70 years, Panama protests "colonial status."

International events accentuate the problem:

— The world is dropping colonialism.

— "Third world" countries show increased militancy, expressed in the United Nations and elsewhere.

— Guerrilla warfare gives small countries a new weapon.

— Natural resources receive higher economic and political pay in the shrinking world and Panama's natural resource is its location and configuration.

The eight-point Kissinger-Tack "agreement on principles" promised, in part: "An entirely new interoceanic canal treaty" (abrogating the 1903 treaty); elimination of the concept of "perpetuity" and substitution of "a fixed termination date;" recognized territorial sovereignty of Panama; continued U.S. "operation, maintenance, protection, and defense of the canal" until the new, fixed-date treaty expired; larger phased participation by Panama in administration, protection, and operation of the canal.

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U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT
26 MAY 1975 (20)

IS U.S. NAVY BIG ENOUGH FOR ITS WORLDWIDE JOB?

From the Cambodia incident came honors for the fleet. But warnings are flying that, as powerful as the Navy seems, it is stretched mighty thin.

The U.S. Navy came out of the *Mayaguez* crisis with mixed feelings.

First—tremendous pride that it was able to play a helpful role—along with the Marines and the Air Force—in the rescue of the U.S. merchantman and its crew.

Second—concern that the drama left the impression that the U.S. Navy is able to dominate the seas at will.

The fact is, the Navy is worried about its strength, especially about how fast its stretched-thin fleets could bring power to bear in a more extensive emergency.

Time factor. Even in the relatively small-scale operation in mid-May, it took the carrier *Coral Sea* task force, then half way between Australia and the Philippines, two days to steam to the scene. The destroyer-escort *Holt*, in the area first, was unable to take much action until the carrier force drew nearer.

This drove home a point naval leaders have been making since before the end of the Vietnam War: As strong as the U.S. Navy is, it isn't powerful enough to patrol the world in defense of American interests and commitments.

Top officers are warning that the service is virtually a one-ocean fleet. Adm. James L. Holloway III, Chief of Naval Operations, told *U.S.News & World Report* that in case of simultaneous crises in the Far East and Europe, the Navy could adequately defend water routes in only one area.

The peacetime burden will grow even greater for the Navy as the U.S. is pushed out of bases in foreign lands. If Thailand, Spain, the Philippines and Turkey force the U.S. from their soil, the Navy expects to be required to take up additional burdens in those areas.

As things stand today:

- Numbers of ships are the main problem. In just six years, the U.S. fleet has dwindled from 976 ships to slightly fewer than 500, the least since 1939. That is 100 short of the number the Navy believes to be the absolute minimum to maintain an effective presence in two oceans.
- The key ships used to project U.S. power abroad—aircraft carriers—are scheduled to drop from 15 to 13 by the end of June. The number of amphibious assault ships has shriveled from 157 in 1968 to 66. In the same period, destroyers and frigates declined in number from 240 to 90.
- A rebuilding program, now under way, is likely to take considerable time. By law, new warships must be built in private shipyards, but these yards have been turning increasingly to construction of more profitable merchant ships.

As a result, most warship construction is concentrated in just three yards—and these yards are short an estimated 7,000 or more skilled workers. For these and other reasons, warships are rarely delivered on time. Some have been as much as 44 months behind schedule.

(See NAVY, Pg. 6-F)

NEW YORK TIMES
20 MAY 1975

Detente: Past and Future

By Robert Kleiman

A French word with a double meaning is the central subject as the American and Russian foreign ministers meet in neutral Austria today. *Détente* not only means relaxation of tension; Harrap's dictionary also translates it as "trigger (of pistol, rifle, etc.)." Whether détente will lead to peace or end by triggering new conflicts is the overwhelming question that faces the post-Vietnam world.

Despite four Soviet-American summit meetings in thirty months, détente clearly is in trouble. A fifth summit is being delayed. Secretary Kissinger and Foreign Minister Gromyko in Vienna say they want détente to continue. But are their aims the same? The United States hopes for a more stable world. The Soviet objective is "peaceful coexistence," which is something else again.

A visitor to Moscow gets the impression that the Kremlin wants stability at present in Central Europe and on its China border, but elsewhere favors change—without war. The crumbling of Western positions from Indochina through the Mediterranean to the Middle East since 1973—with Soviet arms aid, Soviet diplomacy or Soviet-oriented Communist parties often involved—is seen as reinforcing a shift in the world balance of power favorable to Soviet interests.

This rapid change in the "correlation of forces" abroad, accompanied by economic crisis in the West, could boomerang and endanger détente, Moscow acknowledges. But the opportunities opened by the decline of American influence are tempting, particularly in the countries along Europe's southern littoral, such as Portugal.

Portugal's Communist leader, Alvaro Cunhal, with less than 13 per cent of the vote, has been able over the past year gradually to seize most of the key levers of power—in the media, unions, municipalities, government and Army—in alliance with a radical minority of officers of the Armed Forces Movement. This trend has been little altered by last month's election which gave 63 per cent of the vote to the Socialists and the center-left Popular Democrats.

Many West Europeans now see Portugal as a test case of détente. Even French Socialist leader François Mitterand, himself allied electorally with the Communists, sees Portugal more as a Soviet than as a local affair. He describes it to visitors as the first Soviet effort in a quarter-century to upset the status quo in Western Europe, taking over a NATO country through a left military dictatorship.

Mr. Mitterand was reinforced in that judgment when the Soviet Ambassador in Paris asked to call on him in March. The Russian delivered what Mr. Mitterand took to be a scarcely-veiled warning to halt the very limited aid and advice the French and other social democratic parties of West Europe were giving to Portugal's Socialists.

But, at the same time, the Portuguese Communist party's cars, trucks, offices, publications and estimated thousands of union organizers and other paid employes are believed by Western analysts to be financed largely by the Soviet Union at a cost of $10 million a month. A Soviet Embassy of 80, Lisbon's largest and most active, and a half-dozen known K. G. B. agents are said to provide further assistance.

The Soviet role in Portugal, the Mideast and Vietnam has usually been minimized in the past. "You give us too much credit," a top Soviet diplomat commented wryly only last month. But there was a different response last week after Mr. Kissinger's speech warning that the new trend in Soviet-American relations would be jeopardized if Moscow turned détente into "a formula for more selective exploitation of opportunities."

Two days later, Mr. Gromyko made an almost open defense of "selective détente." He attributed the "great victory" in Vietnam "to a very large extent" to the aid of the Warsaw Pact countries; he ridiculed Mr. Kissinger's abortive effort at a step-by-step settlement in the Mideast as "step-by-step away from settlement"; he described the left swing in Portugal as a result of Soviet détente policy.

Is détente then a total illusion? Is peaceful coexistence the continuation of the Cold War by other means?

The visitor to Moscow finds some Communist theorists asking whether inflation, recession, unemployment and the defeats of "American imperialism" have brought the West to "the general (i.e. final) crisis of capitalism" predicted by Lenin. There is no firm answer, but there is recollection that the last time this prospect arose, in the 1930's, it was not Communism but Fascism that took over and the Soviet Union lost more than 15 million lives.

Alongside Soviet-American rivalries in many areas, there also are common interests in preventing nuclear war, in avoiding other dangerous superpower confrontations (as in the Middle East). Odds still favor a 35-nation summit conference on European security and a Ford-Brezhnev SALT II agreement before the Soviet Communist Congress next February when Brezhnev may retire.

The nuclear era condemns the United States and the Soviet Union to coexistence, despite their ideological dispute. There is no alternative worth considering.

Robert Kleiman of The Times Editorial Board recently visited Moscow, Lisbon and the major West European capitals.

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U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT 26 MAY 1975 (20)

LAOS: THE LAST DOMINO IN INDO-CHINA FALLS

Communist domination of Southeast Asia continues to spread. Wendell S. Merick of the magazine's International Staff cabled this dispatch.

VIENTIANE

Here in the remote land-locked kingdom of Laos, the Communists have just wrapped up their conquest of Indo-China.

With North and South Vietnam as well as Cambodia already in Communist hands, leaders in Hanoi are on the way to achieving a decades-old goal of their late President, Ho Chi Minh, who died in 1969: to bring the entire region under North Vietnamese influence, if not outright control.

In sharp contrast to North Vietnam's overthrow of Saigon and the military victory of Hanoi-supported rebels in Cambodia, the take-over here has been relatively peaceful.

But it is just as decisive as Communist successes in Saigon and Phompenh.

The neutralist Premier, Prince Souvanna Phouma, seemed powerless in the face of Pathet Lao determination.

Sudden change. Despite Communist advances in neighboring South Vietnam and Cambodia, it appeared as late as mid-April that the shaky, two-year-old cease-fire between loyalist Government forces and Pathet Lao troops would hold. The 12-member coalition Cabinet—composed of 5 so-called rightists from the Vientiane Government side, 5 Pathet Lao and 2 neutralists—was under strain but hanging together.

Then the bottom began falling out. Cambodia surrendered to the Communist Khmer Rouge on April 17, and South Vietnam went under on April 30. Pathet Lao forces—already holding about two thirds of the land and one third of the 3 million population—mounted a series of attacks against Government troops. A prominent rightist politician was assassinated. Leftist students attacked the U.S. Embassy in Vientiane.

Finally, the rightist faction within the Cabinet collapsed. Four of the ministers resigned. Other high-ranking non-Communist officials and military commanders also quit and either fled into Thailand or pledged their loyalty to the Communist-dominated Government.

Among those who escaped to Thailand was Gen. Vang Pao, leader of the army of Meo tribesmen which had fought on the Government's side in the long war against Pathet Lao and North Vietnamese troops. Pao's force, known as the "secret army," was armed, trained and financed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

By the time the dust of the exodus had settled, Laos belonged to the Pathet Lao, even though they retained the facade of a coalition Government.

U.S. officials in Vientiane, maintaining a low profile, made little or no effort to slow the Pathet Lao's bloodless coup. They wanted to avoid a repetition of the hurried air evacuation of American citizens that marked the U.S. pullout from Cambodia and South Vietnam and were confident it would not be necessary.

"Unlike those two countries," one American said, "the 'other side' already is here mingling with us. There won't be that dramatic a change in Laos."

Nevertheless, the Embassy circulated a handbook of emergency evacuation instructions entitled "Bend With the Wind" and began in mid-May a quiet thinning out of about 1,000 Americans in the country.

Evacuation plans took on sudden urgency on May 14 when anti-American riots broke out in the royal capital of Luang Prabang, about 155 miles north of Vientiane, and at Savannakhet, 200 miles to the southeast.

Student-led mobs, who were protesting high prices and American aid to Laos, vandalized offices of the U.S. Agency for International Development and the U.S. Information Service in Savannakhet, student demonstrators seized three American AID officials.

Ascendency of the Communists to power came as no surprise to most foreign experts. Laos had been battered by an on-again, off-again civil war ever since 1953. For a time, there was hope that the cease-fire of February, 1973, and the coalition Government formed in April, 1974, would keep the country at peace, even though similar coalitions in 1957 and 1962 had soon fallen apart.

But gradually it became apparent that the country could not survive its divided state or increasing pressures from the North Vietnamese in Hanoi.

Common hatred. Like the Cambodians, the Laotians have a deep-rooted hatred for Vietnamese, based on centuries of conflict between the two peoples. Many analysts are convinced, however, that North Vietnam—as its price for boosting Communist Laotians to power—is stage-managing every move made by the Pathet Lao with orders relayed from Hanoi through the Pathet Lao "capital" at Samneua in northeast Laos.

This means that in the space of a little more than one month, Hanoi has emerged as the dominant power in Southeast Asia and as the overlord of all Indo-China.

INTERVIEW WITH SCHLESINGER -- CONTINUED

Q What about talk in Congress about the U.S. pulling back on some of its overseas obligations?

A I think that if one examines the reactions on the Hill, that they are not in the direction of isolationism by and large. It is a scrutiny of what are regarded as unwise commitments.

Most of the reactions are strongly in support of NATO, our commitments to Western Europe. There is a recognition that the United States has a major role to play in the Middle East. I have heard of no suggestions that the United States cease its support of Japan or withdraw from its involvement with Australia and New Zealand.

Undoubtedly there is a difference between the tone of today's discussions and the general post-World War II reaction in which the United States felt itself engaged in the world up to the hilt. We are going to be more selective, but that is not neo-isolationism.

Q Then you don't feel that the average American wants his country to pull into a shell—

A Not at all. If one examines reactions of the general public, it is plain that most people—in contrast to some so-called leadership groups—feel the United States must remain a very strong military power, second to none. They support a defense budget of the present size or larger.

Q What "leadership groups" are you talking about?

A I mean individuals who have been polled in business, education and communications.

Q The establishment—

A It's a peculiar kind of establishment. It's an antiestablishment establishment.

These groups have certain aspirations with regard to what the United States should accomplish in the world. But they raise questions about whether it's appropriate to have the means to achieve those objectives. They suffer from the illusion that, having discovered some of the inadequacies of a position of strength, that this will be compensated for by a position of weakness.

They're just totally wrong, and it is not an illusion shared by the general public.

Q Will voters support increased military spending?

A I think they will. We must recognize that at this point we have a smaller percentage of men under arms than we had in the rather carefree demobilization period after World War II. The proportion of our public expenditures going for defense is the lowest since before Pearl Harbor.

I do not think that it is all that difficult to convey to the U.S. public that a military equilibrium underlies détente. After all, it is implicit in the American emblem, in which the eagle holds in one talon an olive branch and in the other talon a clutch of arrows.

Military strength and peace go together. The abandonment of one will ultimately result in the loss of the other.

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INTERVIEW WITH SCHLESINGER -- CONTINUED

is something that disappeared with the growth of Soviet military capability in recent years. At this stage of the game the European nations must take defense very seriously. They cannot be driven primarily by domestic political or budgetary considerations.

Q. What leverage does the U.S. have—aside from the threat to reduce forces—to persuade Europeans to spend more on their own defense?

A. The problem one faces is that the Europeans are more likely to move toward an accommodation with the Soviets in the event of an American withdrawal—particularly an American withdrawal that has the symbolic significance that it might have in the wake of Vietnam. Our point should be that we are prepared to keep our forces there, depending on European actions and a European sense of responsibility.

Q. What are the chances of persuading NATO countries to increase their armed forces?

A. The real question is: Are they prepared to make additional sacrifices to the extent necessary to maintain the military security of Western Europe?

That is a question that can be answered differently for the several nations. Some of them have made major contributions and have expanded their military strength markedly in recent years. Others have come to believe that it's all over in the wake of détente, and that they're more or less free to lose interest in maintaining military capabilities.

We think these countries should be prepared to spend more than 3 per cent of their gross national product in order to obtain security and retain independence. If they're not willing to spend more than 3 per cent of their GNP, there is some question about how serious they are.

WEAKENING OF NATO'S FLANKS—

Q. Mr. Schlesinger, how can NATO function now that one member—Portugal—has Communists in its Government?

A. Undoubtedly some of the developments on both the eastern and western ends of the Mediterranean have diminished the cohesion of NATO. The United States cannot provide its most intimate plans and secrets when there are Communists present in any planning meeting.

Q. Turning to the Middle East: Have the dangers of war in this area receded?

A. Not notably. There have been periods of greater immediate tension than the present one, but I would not say that generally the prospects of war have receded. I do think that all parties in the Middle East recognize the advantages of avoiding a new conflagration.

Q. Do the Israelis have the equipment they need to withstand another Arab attack?

A. At the present moment, the military balance is far more favorable from Israel's standpoint than it was in October, 1973.

Q. Would the U.S. be able to resupply the Israelis fast enough in event of war, despite the possible loss of plane-refueling stations such as the Azores?

A. Yes. Assuming there is a policy decision to do it and Congress votes the funds, we are capable of starting to deliver supplies into Israel about 36 hours after an order is given by the President.

Q. In view of congressional caution after Vietnam, what are the prospects of continued help for Israel?

A. The historical attitudes of Congress toward requests for Vietnam and Israel are as different as night and day. Congress has shown signs of approving any requests made by the Administration—and, in fact, some propensity to augment requests of some Administrations—for aid to Israel.

Q. If another Mideast war breaks out, is there anything the U.S. could do about another Arab oil embargo?

A. The United States could, of course, take action in response to a hypothetical embargo. And I think that we are less likely to be tolerant of a renewed embargo than we were of the initial one in 1973.

Q. What do you mean by "less tolerant"?

A. That implies that we might not remain entirely passive to the imposition of such an embargo. I'm not going to indicate any prospective reaction other than to point out there are economic, political or conceivably military measures in response.

Q. With reopening of the Suez Canal, do you expect a major Soviet naval build-up in the Indian Ocean?

A. I would expect that the Soviet presence in the Indian Ocean will expand. Reopening of the Canal reduces their lines of communication by something like 6,500 miles, and that would undoubtedly have some effect.

The Soviets are building a major facility at Berbera on the Gulf of Aden—so expensive a facility that it's obviously not intended purely for show purposes or designed to provide a demonstration project for the Somalis.

Q. What sort of installation is it?

A. It consists of port facilities, an expanded airstrip. They are constructing barracks. They are building a rework facility for either air-to-surface missiles or surface-to-surface missiles. That kind of expansion suggests that they are more than mildly interested in their military power astride the lifeline of the industrialized world to the Persian Gulf. I don't think there's any other reading.

Q. How will the United States respond?

A. We will have to maintain a military balance and be prepared to offset any expansion of Soviet military or naval capacity in the Persian Gulf area.

We still have our request for expansion of our communications facility at Diego Garcia. We would plan to enlarge that facility, increase the size of the airstrip, provide berthing facilities to the extent necessary.

MIDEAST: "U.S. HAS TO HOLD THE RING"—

Q. Then the U.S. is still determined to keep a strong force in the Mideast—

A. I think that the United States has got to hold the ring in the Middle East. There's just nobody else who can stand up to the Soviet Union. Some Americans want to go off in a sulk for five years. But if we do, we'll wake up some bright day and discover that the Soviets have achieved paramount power in the Eastern Hemisphere. We just are not in a position to indulge in that luxury.

Q. How does the United States stand in relation to the Soviet Union in terms of military strength?

A. The military balance between ourselves and the Soviet Union is a product of long-term trends. Quite obviously, if Soviet strength goes on growing by 3 to 5 per cent a year in real terms and the United States continues to shrink in military power, we will not be able to say for much longer that the United States is second to none.

Q. How much is Russia spending on its armed forces?

A. At this point they are outspending us by at least 20 to 25 per cent. One can live with a gap between ourselves and the Soviets as long as it remains modest and as long as our allies make serious contributions to mutual security. We do not have to compete with them in any particular fiscal year.

But what we cannot accept—what we cannot live with—is the trend of recent years in which the Soviets continue to increase strength while the United States continues to shrink. We cannot live with that over many years and maintain a military balance which will preclude Soviet preponderance in the Eastern Hemisphere.

Q. Wasn't détente supposed to be a "live and let live" arrangement that would avoid more military build-ups?

A. The Soviets do not use the term "détente." They use the term "peaceful coexistence," which is a phrase coined by Lenin and employed by Stalin. The Soviets see détente as a way to avoid the risk of war and expand their power relative to their former opponents. As long as they believe they can have things both ways, there will be no internal struggle over détente in the Soviet Union.

In the long run, the United States cannot accept an interpretation of détente that implies an ever-strengthening of the correlation of forces in favor of the Soviet Union. I think the Soviets will have to come closer to the view of détente as "live and let live."

A RETURN TO ISOLATIONISM? "NO"—

Q. Is the isolationist trend in this country growing?

A. No. I come to a different conclusion. I don't think that the neo-isolationist tendencies are indeed that strong. I think that everybody recognizes that the United States is in no position now to return to the kind of international policies we followed in the 1930s—that the rest of the world depends upon the very great counterweight to Soviet military strength that is represented by American power.

(See INTERVIEW WITH SCHLESINGER, Pg. 4-F)

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INTERVIEW WITH SCHLESINGER -- CONTINUED

cation—than it does under conditions such as those which existed in Vietnam.

If the interests of the United States are openly and clearly attacked, I think that the response of the American public will be to fulfill the obligations into which we have entered. By contrast, I think the expression "No more Vietnams" refers to getting involved in what is perceived to be unclear and ambiguous internal turmoil—supposedly a civil war—which the Vietnam conflict seemed to be for so many years.

Q. Are the Russians likely to try exploiting the situation today in the wake of the collapse in Indo-China?

A. I think that the Soviets will be concerned that one of the reactions to events in Southeast Asia will be a weakening of forces in the United States supporting detente. For that reason, they will have good reasons not to rock the boat too soon. They may feel tempted, but they may decide this is not the time to give way to that temptation.

One must recognize that the Soviets look primarily at the realities of power—what they refer to as the "correlation of forces." They regard detente as a consequence of a shift of forces to the advantage of the Soviet Union. Their view is that the West is making accommodation to the expansion of Soviet military power. In the longer run, unless we are prepared to maintain a military balance vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, they will be inclined to take advantage of that shift.

Q. Returning to Asia: What changes do you see now in our defense posture in that region?

A. It depends in part on how the new governments in Cambodia and South Vietnam comport themselves. It depends also on the longer-term reactions of the American public, which are too early to assess.

Generally speaking, I think the United States will be less eager to involve itself in confusing domestic political and military turmoil on the Asian continent. But in all likelihood the U.S. commitments to Northeast Asia, to Korea as well as to Japan, will be perceived as something no one should challenge.

Q. Does that include Taiwan?

A. As long as we are bound by the treaty, of course, it would include Taiwan.

Q. Is there a danger that North Korea will be tempted to start trouble in hopes that Congress would force withdrawal of U.S. troops rather than involve them in a war?

A. I think that precipitating a crisis with the United States in this particular period would be a very rash action to take, especially where there are U.S. forces present. We have upwards of 40,000 men in South Korea.

South Korea guards the approaches to Japan. It lies in a confluence of four great powers—the U.S., the U.S.S.R., China and Japan. Also, it represents a historic involvement and commitment by the United States.

Any sudden weakening of that commitment—particularly after Vietnam—would be of such major significance that it could unravel the situation in Asia and possibly elsewhere.

Q. Are you saying that the U.S. would resort to drastic action if South Korea were invaded?

A. I wouldn't refer to "drastic action." But one of the lessons of the Vietnamese conflict is that rather than simply counter your opponent's thrusts, it is necessary to go for the heart of the opponent's power: destroy his military forces rather than simply being involved endlessly in ancillary military operations.

Q. Then North Korea would have to assume that the U.S. would strike back hard if South Korea were invaded—

A. I think they would have to conclude that the United States would take more-vigorous action than we were inclined to take during much of the Vietnamese War.

The main point is that a conflict that extends for 10 years—or even over many years, as Vietnam did—is bound to lose the support of the American public. Therefore, action must be more vigorous at the outset, particularly where there are American forces involved.

Q. So the U.S. wouldn't feel the same constraints to avoid heavy bombing, blockades and that sort of thing in Korea that we felt in Vietnam—

A. I would doubt it.

Q. What about fear of China's intervening?

A. I think the Chinese would attempt to avoid any such conflict, or to damp it down if it should get started in a small way, rather than to encourage or reinforce it.

Q. Mr. Secretary, who do you think gains from the Communist victory in Indo-China?

A. Hanoi gains, the Soviet Union probably gains—and China loses to the extent that the other two gain.

Q. Why do you say China loses and Russia gains?

A. There continues to be substantial tension between the Soviets and the Chinese. The Chinese now have a strong military state to their southeast, more closely associated with the Soviet Union than with China. To that extent, China's position is weakened.

Q. Does this mean China will become even more interested in cementing relations with the U.S.?

A. I think that China's interest in maintaining reasonably warm relations with the United States continues. They will be concerned to maintain such connections if they have confidence that the United States is not suddenly going to withdraw from the Western Pacific.

Q. Do you mean that the Chinese, who for years have tried to drive the U.S. out of the Western Pacific, now are bent on keeping us there?

A. I think that is correct. The Chinese no longer regard the Americans as the principal threat to their survival but as a useful balance against the Soviets.

Q. Will the Vietnamese allow the Soviet Union to establish naval bases in their country?

A. Given the attitude of the North Vietnamese Communists, I think this is *not* the moment in history when they are likely to encourage the establishment of foreign bases on Vietnamese soil.

Q. Does the United States want Japan to spend more money on defense instead of relying so much on American forces?

A. We would expect the Japanese to take seriously their role in the common defense. That includes particular emphasis on antisubmarine warfare, protection of lines of communication, air defense and the like. To the extent that this effort has been less vigorous in recent years than had been anticipated, we would expect a renewed emphasis.

Q. Switching to another part of the world: What is the impact of the Indo-China debacle in Western Europe?

A. The Western Europeans are much less concerned about Vietnam than the effect of the psychological repercussions within the United States—the self-confidence and ability of this country to carry on as leader of the free world.

Q. Will there be less pressure now in Congress to pull American troops out of Europe?

A. I hope it will not be a major issue this year. Somebody, of course, will raise it. But I think the general reaction will be that this is not the time to seem to be going back on American commitments. People who in the past have questioned the size of American forces in Western Europe will not be inclined to raise the question this year for fear that it will be misread.

The United States should maintain its forces in Europe and even be prepared to make some contributions to increase capability on the part of the NATO Alliance, provided that the European nations do their part.

EUROPE'S "FREE RIDE" ON DEFENSE—

Q. On the other side of the coin, have U.S. allies learned any lessons from Vietnam?

A. If our allies have learned a lesson, it's that the United States cannot do it by itself—that our allies must be at least equally serious about their responsibilities to themselves. That will be a very valuable lesson learned.

When we talk about credibility, one must remember that the credibility of the United States is not the only question. In the case of Western Europe, a number of the nations over there have enjoyed American protection and have felt they have had virtually a free ride with regard to their own defenses. It's less of an issue of whether the United States is inclined to abandon Europe than whether the Europeans are inclined to abandon themselves.

Q. What would you like them to do?

A. The propensity has existed in Western Europe to base their defense budgets on hope, on illusion, on the prospects of arms reductions by the East. Many of them have wanted to cut their defense expenditures to respond to various naive impulses within their electorates. That trend will have to be curbed.

The assumption that U.S. protection in and of itself relieves some European states of building forces in their own behalf

(See INTERVIEW WITH SCHLESINGER, Pg. 3-F)

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U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT 26 MAY 1975 (20)

NOW— A TOUGHER U.S.

Interview With James R. Schlesinger, Secretary of Defense

Impact of Indo-China's fall is reshaping U.S. attitudes. Mideast, Russia, China, Europe all will be affected. Mr. Schlesinger came to this magazine's conference room to offer an assessment of what lies ahead for America.

Q Mr. Secretary, why did we take such tough action in dealing with the seizure of the American freighter *Mayaguez* by the Cambodians?

A American action must be firm when necessary and when important issues of principle are involved. In this case we were faced with a crude and illegal act of force.

American action was necessary not only to protect freedom of the seas and of innocent passage—long-term American objectives; more importantly, for the United States to countenance such an act or to have yielded to an illegal employment of force would have encouraged additional acts of hijacking or terrorism in the future.

Q Aside from the ship incident, is there a danger that the U.S. is losing prestige and power in the world as a result of our forced retreat from Indo-China?

A In terms of military balance in the world, Indo-China has had a relatively limited effect.

However, I do believe that the stature of the U.S. has been diminished at least temporarily, by what's happened in Southeast Asia. In terms of the way the United States is viewed around the world, it has affected what is sometimes referred to as the credibility of the United States. An historical episode of the Vietnam sort, involving a great power like the United States inevitably raises questions in the minds of some that have a detrimental influence on our world standing.

Q How long will these doubts about U.S. power last?

A It depends on the actions we take from this point out. It depends on how well we live up to other commitments, what we do about deployment of our forces overseas, what we do about the defense budget—the general cohesion that the United States exhibits. These other factors will perhaps be more significant than the Vietnam episode itself.

Q Are Americans losing their will to be world leaders?

A The real problem we face is what is happening to the moral stamina of the West, and in particular to Western leadership groups. That is not a problem confined to the United States. There is some tendency among our fashionable classes, first, to raise questions about whether power in itself is not immoral and, secondly, whether it is appropriate to fight for the values of the West—whether those values are even defensible.

So I think that our basic problem as a nation is not our physical strength or our stance. It is a question of reviving the underlying moral stamina and the internal fiber of this nation, as well as of other free-world nations.

Q How can the U.S. go about increasing its credibility?

A I think that we should act with sobriety and seriousness in the wake of Vietnam. We should demonstrate that the United States will continue to act with self-confidence, that it will not give way to an extended period of internal and destructive debate. Our energies should continue to be exerted in the outside world in a productive way from our own standpoint and the standpoint of our allies.

Q President Ford says the United States should stand by its commitments, but Congress says, "No more Vietnams." Who will prevail?

A The main point is that the United States fares far better under situations in which there is an unambiguous assault—an unprovoked aggression, an attack across a line of demar-

(See INTERVIEW WITH SCHLESINGER, Pg. 2-F)

MAJOR POINTS MADE BY THE DEFENSE CHIEF

Vietnam impact: "Relatively limited" in terms of the world's military balance, but U.S. credibility "has been diminished, at least temporarily."

Role in Asia: U.S. will be "less eager to involve itself in domestic turmoil" but will probably live up to commitments to Northeast Asia.

North Korea: If North Korea "precipitates a crisis" in South Korea, "the United States would take more-vigorous action than . . . during much of the Vietnam War."

Soviet reaction: Russia's interest in preserving détente will, in the short run, keep them from exploiting the collapse in Indo-China.

China's reaction: Hanoi's close ties to Russia make China more interested in "maintaining reasonably warm relations with the United States" and in keeping the U.S. from withdrawing from the Western Pacific.

Arab oil embargo: The U.S. is "less likely to be tolerant of a renewed embargo" than in 1973. "There are economic, political or conceivably military measures in response."

Communists in Portugal: "The United States cannot provide its most intimate plans and secrets" in NATO planning meetings "when there are Communists present."

Indian Ocean: Reopening of the Suez Canal will speed expansion of "the Soviet presence in the Indian Ocean. . . . We will have to offset any expansion of Soviet military or naval capacity in the Persian Gulf."

U.S.-Soviet balance: "We cannot live with the trend of recent years in which the Soviets continue to increase strength while the United States continues to shrink."

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Part II--Main Edition--20 May 1975

WASHINGTON STAR 19 May 1975 (20)

Korean Dilemma

A redoubled case of war jitters has seized South Korea since the final Communist victories in Indochina. The official feeling in Seoul is that the triple blow to American prestige in Southeast Asia might inspire a new test of our determination, in the form of a fresh military adventure by Communist North Korea.

It is not an unreasonable fear, especially since Pyongyang's bag of tricks includes the capability for subversion and the infiltration of guerrillas as well as the means to wage a more risky conventional war recalling the 1950-53 conflict. No one can predict at this point what methods Kim Il Sung is prepared to follow in his "struggle for national reunification," despite his recent emphasis on propaganda and his endorsement of "peaceful means."

So there is a dreary logic in South Korean President Park's promulgation of yet another emergency decree — the ninth in a little more than a year — spelling out more curtailments of political liberty in the interest of facing the menace from the north. The order, prescribing severe penalties for criticizing the constitution and banning student political activities, apparently supersedes a government bid for bipartisan support of security measures.

South Korea may indeed face perilous times. But Park is grappling with a dilemma, largely of his own making, in meeting the danger. His past repression of dissent has eroded support of his regime at home and abroad, undermining national unity against the Communist threat. A further crackdown on the political opposition and free expression will not help.

The United States, meanwhile, is stuck with the unpleasantness of bolstering a democratically tainted ally who, like President Thieu of the ill-fated Saigon regime, is in danger of a ruinous loss of support by America's people and Congress. South Korea's security is based in part on the maintenance there of a 38,000-member American military force, inheritors of the United Nations mantle under which the 1950 invasion was fought off. The U.S. troops could mean the difference between war and continued truce on the peninsula; their presence between Seoul and the demarcation line is a possible deterrent to the Korean Communists, not just militarily but because North Korea's Soviet and Chinese allies seek detente with this country.

America's security interests in East Asia — most immediately the defense perimeter of Japan — include a firmly non-Communist South Korea. There is no doubt that South Koreans overwhelmingly prefer to stay outside the Communist orbit. It will be tragic if the cause is hurt by the Park government's inability to maintain a semblance of democratic respectability.

NEW ORLEANS TIMES-PICAYUNE 13 May 1975 (20)

Indochina: Three Down

With the effective ouster of the rightist representatives in Laos' coalition government and neutralist Premier Souvanna Phouma's broadcast announcement that "We must stop the fighting; the war has reached an end," the fall of what the West, viewing the world through the old colonial pattern, calls Indochina seems complete. Curiously, the sequence has not been at all that predicted — or feared — by Westerners: Laos, Vietnam, then, if ever, Cambodia. It came: Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos.

These were the three key dominoes of the domino theory. The rest can be named ad infinitum — Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, Singapore, India and on, island-hopping in the South Pacific and the China Seas.

But the instructive aspect of the progressive collapse of the Indochinese states is that each collapsed in its own way and each seems determined to stand back up its own way. The other dominoes are likewise individual states with their own problems and strengths.

Vietnam, the big frog in that small pond, has the strongest chance, judged by modern standards of statehood. It has an industrial base in the north, an agricultural base in the south, and a well trained and capable political leadership. Cambodia apparently is going to try a communized return to a traditional self-centered agricultural society. What Laos will do remains to be seen — as does whether Vietnam, which had its fingers in all the Indochinese wars, will now try to absorb Laos and Cambodia itself.

Those who argued against American involvement in the Southeast Asian ferment predicted that a Communist Vietnam under Ho Chi Minh would have been an Asian Yugoslavia — an independent variable rather than an extension of a Communist monolith. The early behavior of Ho's heirs seems to be bearing this out, though it may be that the Hanoi leadership will show itself as factionalized as has the seemingly monolithic Red Chinese leadership.

Judging Southeast Asia by our ideals of individual freedom and representative democracy, we must deplore the imposition of tyranny on the people there. But whether it will have a great effect on the worldwide struggle of the extreme left on one side and the rest of the political spectrum on the other must await fuller development of the new situation.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
18 May 1975 (20)

Hard questions remain

WASHINGTON — Now that some of the initial tumult of our hasty exit from Southeast Asia has died down and the remaining friendly governments in that part of the world commence the painful analysis of whether their national interests are best served by remaining aligned with the non-Communist West, we have some analyzing of our own to do.

Most public figures commenting on the shambles of our Far East policy utter euphemisms about "not looking back," but these rationalizations ignore the utility of history. If we can't learn anything from the past we must stumble into the future ignorant and vulnerable.

American influence has been displaced by Soviet and Chinese power in an area containing 58 per cent of the world's population. There is little solace in the cliche about America's inability to be policeman for the world. Hard questions remain unanswered, and Congress, now a full partner in foreign policy with the executive, must start formulating some answers.

What shall America's role be in the world? Is the doctrine of collective security too demanding, or is it irrelevant? Are we still the leader of the free world, or, like Great Britain after World War II, are we exhausted from the burdens of world leadership? Do we have any responsibilities to protect freedom beyond our shores? A former President once asked, "Can we ever be left in peace if we do not actively assume the burden of keeping the peace?"

World stability is not effortlessly obtained or painlessly maintained. Unless we begin to at least ask these questions we will never seek the answers upon which so very much depends.

Henry J. Hyde
Member of Congress,
6th District, Illinois

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Part II--Main Edition--20 May 1975

WASHINGTON STAR 19 May 1975 (20)

The 'Hebert Memorial'

It has become fashionable to assert that government is functioning as efficiently as an outboard motor on the Queen Elizabeth II, and that the bureaucracy knows neither the day nor the hour. It is a pernicious attitude but one, unhappily, of substance. Watergate is cited as a coalescent on this outlook. Here's a less portentous example and one closer to home.

Public Law 92-426 was passed by Congress in 1972, providing for a "Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences" — in lay terms, a military medical school — to be built on the grounds of Bethesda Naval Hospital.

More precisely, the embryonic facility should be called (and probably will be one of these days) the F. Edward Hebert Memorial Medical School. Hebert nutured the concept for 25 years as he worked his way up from congressional obscurity to the chairmanship of the House Armed Services Committee. That ascension was in 1971; within a single year, Hebert had brought committee members to see the merit of his idea and it became law. One member of Congress who opposed the Hebert baby on the House floor recalls the puissant chairman's unsubtle comment: "Remember, the Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away — and I'm the Lord here." Hebert, you may recall, was rudely deposed as chairman some months back. But his pet project lives on.

The Pentagon never requested such a medical facility. The American Medical Association did not want the school in 1972, does not want it now. Skeptics might argue that is reason to support the facility, but we think not. Bids are to be opened shortly for construction of the first structure for the complex, a $15 million science building; there is a request in the pending federal budget for $72.3 million in additional tax money for the school.

Just the other day, however, the Defense Manpower Commission urged that the entire project be scrapped, scuttled, forgotten. The panel offered cogent reasons: Cost per graduate is likely to reach $200,000, or five times the cost of securing military doctors by giving them scholarships to civilian medical schools in return for service; cost of the university itself, the study commission said, has swollen to more than double the anticipated $100 million.

Buttressed by that report and with the inital contract not yet let, one might expect a zephyr of reaction from Capitol Hill. There may be a press release or two in the mail but that will be about all. Why? Simple — that's not the way the game is played. A spokesman for one member of Congress who, in charity we shall not name, conceded that his boss was rigidly opposed to the medical facility. "But it might be interpreted that we were being vindictive toward Hebert if we were to come out against it now." Beautiful. The same sentiment was paraphrased from a few other congressional offices.

There is a worrisome shortage of physicians available for the military; few question that. But with an entering class of 150 students — to be enrolled by fall under the law — and with the additional mission of Hebert U. to train dentists, pharmacists and other medical personnel for the military, it is absurd to think the institution will ever make more than a dent in the physician shortage, now approaching 2,000 a year. A federally funded scholarship program now is producing 850 to 900 doctors for military duty at an annual cost of $34,000 per head.

The scholarship route is less expensive by far, produces more than five times as many doctors for the armed forces, and will not require the enormous investment represented by Hebert's personal monument.

The $72 million in the pending budget will sail through subcommittee and committee in all probability. There is a modicum of resolve by a few members in the House, and perhaps the Senate, to challenge the appropriation when it comes to the floor. It will be little more than a gesture. Not many people want to hurt Ed Hebert's feelings.

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER 20 May 1975

UNESCO's mindless offensive

Daniel P. Moynihan, slated to become the next U. S. ambassador to the United Nations, declared in a recent interview that "it is time for the United States to go into the United Nations and every other international forum and start raising hell."

We can think of no better forum— or must we now say, "worst forum"? —than the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

That organization, conceived with such high hopes, has been flagrantly violating its own charter, whose preamble declares that "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed."

Instead, UNESCO, dominated by Arab, "third world" and Soviet bloc countries, has been carrying on an offensive against Israel, and in the most mindless kind of way.

Last November, it adopted a resolution banning Israel from European regional membership, leaving Israel in a kind of limbo, and voted to deprive Israel of $26,000 in cultural assistance. Now, the 40-member executive board has voted (over the sole negative vote cast by the U. S. but with several abstentions) to exclude Israel from conferences on education in the Mediterranean area.

One result of last November's resolution was an amendment, authored by Sen. Clifford Case of New Jersey and adopted by Congress, forbidding the spending of any U. S. funds— about 25 percent of UNESCO's $80 million annual budget — on UNESCO "until the President certifies to the Congress that such organization (1) has adopted policies which are fully consistent with its educational, scientific and cultural objectives, and (2) has taken concrete steps to correct its recent actions of a primarily political character."

Another result has been the worldwide protest by Nobel Prize Laureates, scholars, writers, artists and scientists, against the politicization of UNESCO and their withdrawal from its activities.

What does it profit UNESCO to pass resolutions if it loses its intellectual resources as well as its soul? We hope UNESCO does not collapse, but the U. S. cannot possibly support it unless it returns to its objectives of truth, the free exchange of ideas and mutual understanding among peoples.

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Part II--Main Edition--20 May 1975

BALTIMORE SUNPAPERS (MD) 17 May 1975(20)

Recapture Of The Mayaguez

THE capture by Cambodians of the U.S. freighter Mayaguez led to an armed rescue operation by U.S. forces. The end result was the freeing of the freighter by the U.S. Marines and release of its crew by Cambodia. The first part of the incident, thus, has ended.

But we see a grave implication in this incident. The American action in this case will make Asian national leaders have some second thoughts.

We do not want this American show of force to be reflected in future American policy for Asia. Any American stress on its known position of strength will only precipitate the sense of danger among Asian leaders in being an ally of the U.S., instead of deepening the trust of such leaders in the promise of protection by the U.S. It certainly will make Asians more wary of the U.S.

It is not difficult for us to fathom the sentiment of Americans concerning the Mayaguez incident. Even allowing for a 12-mile territorial sea rule, the point at which the Mayaguez was captured was outside Cambodian territorial waters.

Capture of a foreign ship on the high seas when the ship is engaged in innocent passage will naturally provoke the sentiment of the nation to which the vessel in question belongs. This is a reasonable reaction.

But the point of capture in the Mayaguez case was a mere seven miles from a reef which has long been a bone of contention in a drawn-out territorial dispute between Cambodia and South Vietnam.

If the Mayaguez was carrying ammunition for the American forces in Thailand, it will give the new Cambodian government some reason to think that the ship had been engaged in a hostile action against Cambodia as the local situation stands today.

The case reminds us of the capture of the U.S. intelligence ship Pueblo by the naval forces of North Korea in 1968. At that time, the U.S. government, despite its threat to use force and various demonstrations of force and military readiness to recapture the ship, refrained from any action against the North Korean captors. The U.S. patiently negotiated for a successful release of the ship's crew.

Compared with the Pueblo case, America reacted in the Mayaguez case with a rashness that was not becoming of a superpower. We wonder why it could not have exercised greater moderation which, to all appearances, it could have afforded.

The exercise of force by America can be officially explained as presidential action based on his duty to protect the lives and property of U.S. citizens. Moreover, America knew little about the nature of the new Cambodian government which it has been criticizing since its inception after the fall of Phnom Penh. Thus, the U.S. may have concluded that there was little to be achieved through official negotiations with the new rulers of Cambodia.

Maybe the U.S. felt it imperative to remove the blot on its escutcheon brought about by the pullout from South Vietnam. The U.S. leaders may have considered it necessary to take steps to stir the nation out of apathy and demonstrate to other nations that it has the power to enforce its will and promises.

Although there has been some Congressional criticism of President Ford's action to use force for the recapture of the Mayaguez, the general sentiment in America seems to back the President.

It is known that America had been reassessing its post-Vietnam Asian policy. The fact that the reassessment resulted in such use of force could be a minus factor for America regarding its relations with Asia, particularly from a long-range point of view.

America's policy of strength failed in Vietnam. But that strength was not limited to the military field. America's concept of might in all fields of international politics such as ideology, political system and popular will did not agree with the prevailing reality of Asia.

If America adheres to the idea of meeting force by force, America's future in Asia cannot be anything but gloomy.

America is clearly in a stage of disengagement in Asia. Therefore, the use of force in the Mayaguez case was not for any of its commitments in Asia but solely in the interest of its nationals. The exercise of force on such a narrow viewpoint is not only deplorable but it even put Thai government leaders in a spot because an American Marine task force arrived in the U.S. base in Utapao for the rescue operation without the consent of the Thai government.

The Thai government is being forced to publicly oppose the U.S. move. This U.S. operation causes serious concern to Japan, which has a similar defense arrangement with the U.S. We want greater prudence shown by our patron ally who professes to guarantee our national security.

WASHINGTON POST
20 May 1975

Other Voices . . .

Vietnam Aftermath

More is at stake than the military failure of U.S. intervention. The greater peril is the moral bankruptcy of American policy. . . . The U.S. must discover what world leadership means.
—Capital (Hamburg business magazine).

If we don't want to hear our own deathknell in the silence of Phnom Penh and Saigon Europe must organize itself. America must take hold of itself, and very quickly.
—Le Figaro, Paris (conservative).

Disengagement from Europe or the Middle East may be tempting. But it would be dangerous as well because it would remove the props from . . . the delicately balanced wall of deterrence which keeps the superpowers at peace.
—The Guardian, Manchester (liberal).

Just as the "humiliation" in Algeria or Suez taught old and corrupt colonial-minded politicians that the world was not their plaything . . . so has Vietnam helped to restore American democracy.
—New Statesman, London liberal weekly.

What has ended is not the era of an international role for America but the era of global intervention. . . . Europe and Japan should regain top priority for the U.S. since they hold the keys to her security.
—Ugo Stille, Corriere della Sera, Milan (independent).

The defeat of the U.S. superpower by nationalism has dealt a major blow to U.S. prestige. . . . It will take a long time and effort on the U.S. to remove the feeling of distrust harbored by many countries.
—Asahi, Tokyo (big daily).

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
8 May 1975
(20)

National Defense

The war in Vietnam is over. The need for a strong national defense is not.

Most Americans will probably agree with that, even those who think the Pentagon gets far too big a share of the budgetary pie. But most Americans, even those who believe national defense should remain top priority, would also agree that the Pentagon, like everybody else these days, is in for some belt tightening. The House Armed Services Committee tightened the belt when it approved a $32 billion weapons bill— $3.7 billion below President Ford's request.

The end of the war does mean the end of a major item of military expense. There may be other areas where money can be saved, for example in the top heavy brass establishment. The Senate Armed Services Committee drastically cut the air Air Force's $749 million request for the B1 bomber. The cut permits testing of four prototypes but prohibits advanced spending for production before a choice is made.

While the U.S. and Russia are continuing efforts to avoid a nuclear war, both continue to develop non-nuclear weapons. Unfortunately, the end of the Vietnam War doesn't mean the end of the threat of conventional, or nonnuclear, wars elsewhere. It behooves us to be prepared.

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Part II--Main Edition--30 May 1975

EDITORIALS

BALTIMORE SUN 20 May 1975

Toward a Post-Vietnam Policy

As the casualty toll mounts and the details dribble in, it becomes apparent that the rescue of the Mayaguez was an imperfect military operation. Given the time pressures involved, the uncertainty about the whereabouts of the crew and the logistic difficulties in bringing U.S. power to bear with anything like surgical precision, mistakes were perhaps unavoidable. Those responsible for the operation had only the slimmest of hopes that the captives could be kept off the Cambodian mainland and thus be in a position to be rescued by a quick Marine thrust. But the effort was made, and its very failure is probably the best evidence why the United States, once committed, felt it was necessary to use the blunderbuss rather than the surgical knife.

American critics of the Indochina wars, who have as much right as the Secretary of State to ask what kind of people we are, should feel considerable relief that the Pentagon did not resort to the use of B-52 bombers. That would have been too reminiscent of the indiscriminate horrors we once inflicted on Cambodia. But having avoided the B-52 blunderbuss, the United States took other strong measures. Of these, the most unfortunate was the bloody and, as it turned out, the needless Marine assault on Tang island, the most controversial was the the bombing of mainland targets after the Cambodians had released the Mayaguez crew.

Obviously a Mayaguez post-mortem will have its military uses in pinpointing flaws in intelligence operations and the deployment of forces. Lessons are obviously to be learned, even if the weird circumstances of a week ago are not likely to be repeated. But both the administration and the Congress have a greater obligation to examine the diplomatic and political implications of the affair as the nation moves uncertainly into the post-Vietnam era.

Secretaries Kissinger and Schlesinger have already started this process with some very tough pronouncements. "There are limits beyond which the United States cannot be pushed," said Mr. Kissinger. Using Korea as a specific example, Mr. Schlesinger warned the North's Kim Il Sung regime that any attack against South Korea "could unravel the situation in Asia and elsewhere." In an interview with *U.S. News and World Report*, he said "one of the lessons of the Vietnamese conflict is that rather than simply counter your opponent's thrusts, it is necessary to go for the heart of the opponent's power: destroy his military forces rather than simply being involved endlessly in ancillary military operations. . . I think they (the North Koreans) would have to conclude that the United States would take more vigorous action than we were inclined to take during much of the Vietnamese war."

Mr. Schlesinger's views, if permanently adopted, would suggest a shift toward a more hawkish readiness to use U.S. military power massively than was the case during the Vietnam war. There is no doubt that the limited step-by-step involvement strategy of the Johnson-McNamara era was discredited with the passage of time. But what Congress must consider carefully is whether the only lasting alternative is the quintessential Pentagon strategy enunciated by Mr. Schlesinger. Many Americans who opposed the Vietnam war are probably not ready to see this strategy adopted on the basis of the emotions aroused by the Mayaguez incident. If the nation is to have a "great debate" on foreign policy and security that means something, its legislators should see whether other alternatives are available that would provide more hope of a peaceful world.

BALTIMORE SUN 20 May 1975

Making Haste Slowly on Cuba

The Organization of American States annual general assembly has probably taken the decisive step in an intricate process that should result in the return of Communist Cuba to membership. That, at least, is what Secretary of State Kissinger said was agreed, and nobody contradicted him. Formally, all it did was to call a special session for Costa Rica in July to reform the Rio treaty. The idea is that procedural changes will then enable the present voting lineup to restore Cuba by majority of the 24-member organization, without needing two-thirds. Once the result is obtained, the Ford administration might move to repeal the legal basis in this country for the embargo. There is no sense of rush.

As matters stand, Cuba is still the object of an official boycott by the OAS that is flouted by more than a third of its members. What has changed is that the United States is no longer seen as the obstacle. Critics of Washington's anti-Castro policy can see that genuine sentiment for it exists elsewhere in the Americas and is the real reason why the embargo has not been ended. A momentum toward normalization with Cuba has been created as undramatically as possible, but it exists. Since Mr. Kissinger told reporters about the complicated scenario, Britain has signed a trade agreement with Cuba, which now can hardly be an embarrassment to Washington.

The OAS is moving slowly but apparently with consensus. The assembly was unable to work up a confrontation between Latins and Yanks. The United States and Panama announced that they are nearly agreed to a new treaty on the Canal. The administration said it was trying to get Congress to amend the trade act in such a way that members of OPEC that did not embargo oil to this country, such as Venezuela and Ecuador, can recover most favored nation status. The most spirited contest was between Central and South Americans over a new secretary-general. A shift by the United States from abstention threw it on the seventh ballot to Alejandro Orfila, veteran Argentine ambassador to this country. Mr. Orfila, one of Washington's most lavish hosts, gets a house and an entertainment budget. One suspects that the delegates agreed behind closed doors that if they must bring a Communist delegation into the club, they might as well enjoy themselves doing it.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
20 May 1975

The B-52 contingency plan

The latest pastime of the anti-militarists is to denounce the administration for considering the possible use of B-52 bombers against Cambodia during the recent Mayaguez crisis. Having received no response to our protests to Cambodia, and having therefore determined upon military action, the National Security Council faced the question what to do if the aircraft carrier Coral Sea did not reach the area in time.

In this event, it seems, there was a contingency plan calling for B-52 bombing of the Cambodian mainland.

The plan became moot because the Coral Sea did arrive in time. Even if it had not, there is no evidence that a decision had been made to use the bombers: The plan was simply an available option.

No military operation can be carried out intelligently without contingency plans covering every likely—and even conceivable—eventuality. Even diplomatic negotiations require that military options be kept open. Egypt has refused to renounce belligerency unless Israel comes up with more satisfactory concessions than it has, and we can't blame Egypt.

Likewise Dr. Kissinger refused to rule out the possible use of force if a new Arab oil embargo should threaten the west with disaster, and he was soundly denounced by the Arabs and others. Yet here again, it is hard to see what other answer he could have given to the question asked of him. To have said "No comment" would have been interpreted even more ominously than the cautiously conditional words he did use. In a world as imperfect as today's one simply cannot rule out the use of force entirely.

Surely all of us are anti-militarists in the sense that we would prefer to live in a war-free, bomb-free world. But wishing or pretending is not going to make that kind of world. As long as the countries we deal with are busily building up their arsenals on the theory that military strength is still a decisive factor in determining the course of world events, it would be folly for us categorically to renounce the use of our own substantial arsenal, or even any part of it.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
20 May 1975

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The oil cartel probably will boost prices 10%-15% in September after a nine-month freeze, a Federal Energy Administration official said.

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LOS ANGELES TIMES - 17 MAY 1975 Pg. 12 (20)

Britain to Proceed With Harrier Plane

BY HARRY TRIMBORN
Times Staff Writer

LONDON—Britain will go ahead with development of a naval version of the Harrier jump-jet fighter in a move to bolster both its military muscle and its sagging economy.

The decision is also aimed at forestalling possible construction in the United States of the unique warplane, which is capable of vertical takeoffs and landings like a helicopter.

Britain plans to build 25 Sea Harriers in the next six years at a cost of about $192 million. In addition, the government will go ahead with the planned construction of two antisubmarine cruisers, each 20,000 tons, at a cost of another $288 million.

No additional allocations are needed, since the money has already been earmarked under the British navy's long-term budgeting. But the projects are likely to anger left-wing groups, both within Parliament and without, which have been pressing for defense cuts in addition to those already announced by the government.

However, their anger will be tempered by the favorable impact the projects will have on Britain's growing unemployment. An estimated 3,000 jobs will be saved in the aircraft industry, and at least another 4,000 will be created in the shipbuilding industry.

The land version of the Harrier, developed in the mid-1960s, is the first foreign-built warplane used in the U.S. armed forces since 1918. The U.S. Marines have purchased about 110 Harriers, including eight later sold to Spain.

The Royal Air Force has about 93 land-based Harriers.

The plane is manufactured by the Hawker Siddeley Group, Ltd., but under a licensing agreement the Missouri-based McDonnell Douglas Corp. is entitled to build the plane for the U.S. government.

Earlier this year there were indications that Britain planned to scrap development of the Sea Harrier, on which considerable preliminary work had been done, as part of a massive retrenchment of its armed forces in the wake of the nation's severe economic ills.

But Britain now fears that failure to develop the Sea Harrier, could aggravate economic ills by shifting production of the plane to the United States. The two countries are engaged in a joint project to develop a super Harrier, with greater firepower and improved performance.

As Roy Mason, secretary of state for defense, put it at a press conference Thursday night:

"We have the world lead in this technology. If we close the shutters on this development of vertical takeoff aircraft, there is no doubt that the Americans will turn inwards and put up the shutters and we shall be frozen out."

The green light for the Sea Harrier is also expected to lead to a massive defense contract from Iran, which has long been interested in such a plane, along with a cruiser to use as its base. The ship would probably be one of the two planned for the British navy.

The Iranians, according to reports, withheld a decision pending the outcome of Britain's two-year review of the Sea Harrier project. In all, the Iranian deal would add about $480 million to Britain's foreign trade, now deeply in the red.

As for its tactical role, the sea Harrier was seen as bolstering NATO defenses against growing Russian sea power. Mason said the main threat to NATO forces in the Atlantic came from the growing Soviet submarine fleet, now said to total more than 250 vessels.

The Sea Harriers' main task would be to intercept long-range Soviet bomber reconnaissance planes, known by the NATO designation Bear, which are used to provide missile launching information for surface ships and submarines.

The Harrier would also bolster what many experts consider Britain's inadequate defense ring for its offshore oil and gas installations scattered over 400 square miles of the North Sea.

The threat here is from both conventional military forces and guerrilla groups.

BALTIMORE SUN - 20 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Paper seized in Portugal

Communist move fought by Socialists

Lisbon (AP)—Communists seized control of the Socialist newspaper *Republica* yesterday. Thousands of Socialists who gathered outside to try to regain control of the paper had their way barred by armed paratroopers.

A lieutenant commanding the paratroopers said his orders were to prevent anyone from entering the building. A Socialist official said, however: "We are going in."

The Socialist party's leader, Mario Soares, a Cabinet minister, went into the streets with party cadres to spread leaflets saying that defense of *Republica* was the defense of freedom.

The threat of a confrontation developed as the nation's military leaders gathered in a special assembly under pressure from hard-liners to do away with strife between the country's political parties and bypass civilian politicians altogether.

The move by Communist printers to grab the afternoon paper—the only Lisbon daily outside Communist editorial control—posed one more problem for military men already troubled with a national economic crisis and disobedient Army units.

The printers who seized *Republica* told Raul Rego, the 62-year-old editor who served three jail terms under the old rightist regime, that his ideology was all wrong.

"There is no more authority in Portugal," Mr. Rego declared as he waited out the crisis in his office.

According to a report prepared for delivery at the 240-man armed forces assembly that began yesterday morning, the Army was prepared to discount the results of the April 25 elections, which gave an overwhelming majority to the Socialists and another moderate party.

Long forgotten was the Army's promise to return control of the country to civilians.

Instead of changing course toward the center and parliamentary democracy, the report on "perspectives of political evolution" indicated that the military was turning even farther left—verging on establishing direct links with workers and neighborhood soviets.

A thread running through another report was a frank disenchantment with party rivalries and a clear desire for the Army to run the country alone.

In its analysis of the elections, the report was especially harsh on the victorious Socialist party, holding it responsible for division in the working class and, by implication, of promoting cleavages within the armed forces.

As the Socialists were under fire, so, said military sources, was President Francisco da Costa Gomes, who has been an outspoken partisan of democratic rule and is associated with the Socialists.

There was an expectation by some military sources that the assembly would oust President Costa Gomes or so weaken his position by dismissing his supporters that he couldn't continue long in the presidential palace.

Equally, there were reports that Army moderates would not stand still for the president's ouster and that unit commanders were "counting tanks."

Though excluded from the assembly session, journalists were allowed a glimpse of the auditorium where officers and men from all three branches were waiting for the proceedings to begin. Alone at the head table while his colleagues conversed apart, the president sat despondently

In addition to the confrontation policies of the civilian parties, the military chieftains had a discipline problem within their ranks.

An artillery unit under the sway of splinter parties to the left of the Moscow-line Communists announced its discovery of a "vast Fascist plot" and began to arrest suspects on its own.

Discovery of the "plot" resulted from the detention of a national guard non-commissioned officer by a Maoist group which interrogated him for two days, then turned him over to the artillery regiment, where he denounced about 50 counter-revolutionary suspects

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NEW YORK TIMES - 20 MAY 1975 Pg. 16

Laos Restricts Traveling And Orders All to Register

By DAVID A. ANDELMAN
Special to The New York Times

VIENTIANE, Laos, May 19—The Laotian Government announced today a series of regulations restricting travel within the country and abroad and requiring every Laotian to register with the national police.

At the same time, the Government asked all neighboring countries not to grant asylum to any Laotians—a demand aimed directly at Thailand, where most of the people who have left Laos have sought sanctuary.

The regulations appeared designed to stem the flight of Laotians abroad, a drain that is embarrassing to the country and damaging to the economy.

The regulations were promulgated in the Lao language only by the official national radio and the Laotion press agency. They were not translated into French, as has been traditional with government orders, stemming from the period until 1954 when Laos was a French colony.

The failure to translate emphasized that the regulations were for the attention of the country's citizens.

The regulations require that all Laotians obtain permission of the national police before traveling from Vientiane to any other area of Laos and before traveling abroad.

They also require that all Laotians report to the national police within 30 days with passports if they have them. It was not clear whether the police intend to confiscate any passports when such a visit is made.

In recent weeks, and particularly since the Communist takeover of South Vietnam and Cmbodia, Thailand, long a firmally of the United States, has repeatedly expressed a desire for neutrality and for friendship with her neighbors.

Now, with the Communist-led Pathet Lao assuming an even more dominant role in the Laotian coalition Government, Thailand is being asked for concrete proof of a desire to coexist with Laos.

Thailand has allowed limited stays to refugees from South Vietnam and Cambodia, but has demanded that they move on—generally, to the United States.

In other statements today, the Laotian national radio and press agency denounced persons who had fled the country, demanded their return and praised "recent protests to castigate and get rid of reactionary elements."

Both the radio and the press agency have recently grown increasingly strident in beginning to mirror the pronouncements of the clandestine Pathet Lao radio and the Pathet Lao press agency. The Laotion press agency, which once carried a good deal of domestic news and information, has been reduced to three or four pages of government pronouncements each day.

All the new edicts and the changes in the government information system have come about since the resignations nearly two weeks ago of right-wing cabinet ministers after a series of anti-American and antirightist demonstrations here and in other Laotian cities. Both the Communist and non-Communist sides in the Government have declared their intention to continue the coalition arrangement, and Premier Souvanna Phoum has promised replacements soon for the ministers who resigned. It is clear, however, that the Communisted Pathet Lao is ascending.

The American Embassy, meanwhile, issued a formal statement today that said: "The United States Government is prepared to enter into discussion with duly appointed representatives of the PGNU [Laotian Government] to modify, reduce or eliminate the U.S. economic assistance program to Laos in accordance with the policies of the PGNU and the United States Government."

The statement was issued as student demonstrators continued to control the southern Laotian town of Savannakhet, allowing only restricted movement by the Americans there, believed to number at least 14. The Americans have apparently been allowed to leave their houses, where they had been detained, but embassy officials in Vientiane said that students were still accompanying the Americans into town.

Sanford J. Stone, the chief official in Savannakhet of the United States Agency for International Development, reported on the student-controlled radio today that all the Americans there were well. He said, however, that "some people in Vientiane have been talking too much"—a statement that some here understood to refer to Voice of America broadcasts that told of new freedoms granted the Americans in Savannakhet.

NEW YORK NEWS - 20 MAY 1975 Pg. 2

5 Slain Yanks Left Behind in Ship's Rescue

By JOSEPH VOLZ

Washington, May 19 (News Bureau)—Pentagon officials conceded today that American forces had left behind the bodies of five marines and Air Force men killed in the fighting to free the captured merchant ship Mayaguez.

Pentagon spokesman Joseph Laitin also said that the U.S. death toll could increase to 21 "as soon as we finish muster." Most of the 16 men listed as missing were on a helicopter that went down in the Gulf of Thailand.

Laitin reduced to 49 the number of injured, however, from the 70 to 80 cited by Defense Secretary James Schlesinger yesterday. Laitin said some of the others had sufefred minor bumps and bruises.

Laitin was unable to say just where the five marines and Air Force men had been killed—at sea or on Tang Island—but said there was no question that they were dead because "there were sufficient eyewitness accounts."

He said that one reason the dead on the island were not recovered was that the marines were evacuated at night under heavy fire. Laitin said an effort was being made through diplomatic channels to recover the bodies.

Laitin released the names of three of the dead: Marine Lance Cpl. Ashton Loney of Albany, N.Y.; Air Force 2d Lt. Richard Vandegeer of Buckland, Mass., and Air Force Staff Sgt. Elwood Rumbaugh of Dothan, Ala.

The marines also left behind the bodies of two of their men killed in Saigon during the evacuation of Americans and South Vietnamese refugees last month. Laitin said at the time that the "State Department is doing everything possible to arrange their return." But Pentagon officials said today that the bodies of Cpl. Charles McMahon of Woburn, Mass., and Lance Cpl. Darwin Judge of Marshalltown, Iowa, were still in Saigon.

Laitin also said that:

- U.S. Air Force B-52 bombers on Guam had been alerted for possible action during the crisis, but he declined to name the potential targets.
- U.S. planes had flown 300 strafing and bombing runs and had damaged 17 Cambodian planes in one bombing attack on Ream Airfield, near the port of Sihanoukville, on the Cambodian mainland.
- "There was apparently not enough information on the amount of resistance" on the tiny Tang Island, where 200 invading marines encountered stiff fire from Khmer Rouge troops.

WALL STREET JOURNAL - 20 MAY 1975 Pg. 4

B1 Bomber Survives Test as House Kills Bid to Delete Funds

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON — The B1 bomber, in trouble in the Senate, survived an important test in the House.

By a vote of 227 to 164, the House rejected an attempt to delete from the defense authorization bill $108 million to begin procuring the B1, which is designed to replace the B52 as the principal U.S. bomber in the nuclear age.

Opponents of the B1 will try today to eliminate $840 million of research and development money, but their chances seem remote following yesterday's vote.

Last week, the Senate Armed Services Committee cut $222 million from the Air Force's request for the B1 during the fiscal year that starts July 1 and the following three-month transition period to a new fiscal cycle.

Opponents of the B1, which is nearing the end of the development phase at Rockwell International Corp., argued yesterday that it doesn't make sense to begin procuring the plane until the Air Force decides, in the fall of 1976, whether it wants to go ahead and build a fleet of the bombers.

The B1, they contend, is only marginally superior to the B52 and thus isn't worth its projected $20 billion price tag.

Supporters of the B1 argued that the plane is needed because of the Soviet Union's growing bomber fleet and that it's sufficiently better than the B52 to make it worth building.

Earlier yesterday, the House turned back attempts to cut $260 million for the AWACS airborne warning and control plane; $567 million for the A10 close air support plane, and $46 million to modify wide-bodies civilian cargo planes so they can carry tanks, trucks and other military equipment in wartime.

The authorizing bill merely sets spending ceilings. Money can't be spent until Congress passes a separate appropriations bill.

The House is due to take final action on the authorizing bill today. The full Senate has yet to act on the bill.

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BASE ... CONTINUED

lated Thai sovereignty.

Premier Kukrit Pramoj ordered the recall of the Thai Ambassador from Washington and a complete review of treaties and agreements with the United States, especially those pertaining to bases, which played a vital role in the Indochina war.

Recently the Thai Government demanded that all American forces—currently about 25,000—be withdrawn by the end of February; the United States tacitly agreed.

The Thai Foreign Minister said at his new conference that in view of the American apology the Thai Ambassador would be called home merely for a few days' consultations. He said also that Thailand would work harmoniously with American officials.

The United States, in its note, said of its response to the seizure of the Mayagüez: "It is clear that by its action the United States was able to counter a common danger to all nations and to the world's commerce presented by this illegal and unwarranted interference with international shipping routes in the Gulf of Thailand."

"The United States Government wishes to express its understanding of the problem caused the Royal Thai Government and wishes to repeat its regret," the note said.

Despite the apparent resolution of the Mayaguez crisis, recent events have demonstrated growing potential danger o the Thai Government, both from neighboring Communist countries and from internal forces. Nonetheless, senior Western diplomats take an optimistic view, based on the idea that once Thailand is disencumbered of American military forces, much of the pressure will be relieved. They see her as a neutral country on good terms with her neighbors as well as with the rest of the world.

There is another widespread view. Pessimists say that no government has succeeded in coming to grips with the corruption that keeps many people in thrall to dishonest officials and policemen. In recent years, economists say, the gulf between the few rich and many poor in this country of 40 million has widened.

It is estimated that more than 320,000 Thais live under the control of a Communist guerrilla apparatus.

The Government is one of the weakest since World War II, being a coalition of 14 frequently quarreling parties. Doubt remains as to what the attitude would be if the United States found it necessary to use a Thai base for evacuation of Americans from Laos, where the Communist-led Pathet Lao is showing increasing domination. In any case the United States appears to have bound itself to act only with the Thai Government's permission.

Cambodia offers Amity

BANGKOK, May 19 (UPI) — The new Cambodian Government offered friendship to Thailand today and denied reports that it demanded that the border be pushed half a mile into Thai territory.

"Cambodia and her people wish that the two neighboring countries, Cambodia and Thailand, live peacefully within the limits of their own territory as neighbors forever," the Cambodian Information Ministry said in a broadcast monitored here.

AID ... CONTINUED

in support of Mr Ford's handling of the Mayaguez ship incident

"I hope the momentum continues," Mr Mansfield said

He and other administration supporters argued that the practical effect of the embargo was to drive Turkey out of NATO, to the detriment of Cyprus, Greece, and the U.S. Advocates of the aid ban, led by Senator Thomas F Eagleton (D., Mo.), said the rule of law was more important to American foreign policy than temporary calculations of the national interest.

Turkey, by using American-supplied arms for aggressive purposes, violated U.S. law, Mr. Eagleton said, and should not be rewarded for doing so.

Mr. Mansfield said he agreed with Mr. Eagleton that Turkey had violated U.S. law, but he said the practical consequences of the embargo were more important, particularly in hurting administration attempts to bring Greece and Turkey together over the Cyprus issue.

Both Greece and Turkey had made mistakes last year, Mr Mansfield said, but "the question is, what do we do in the present? The Congress cannot take over the negotiations which might conceivably bring about a reasonable settlement."

Fifteen Democrats joined 26 Republicans in supporting the administration's desire to lift the embargo. Thirty Democrats, joined by 10 Republicans, voted to keep the embargo intact. Eighteen senators were absent.

In a situation where every vote counted, there could be no single key votes. Several senators who often disagree with the administration on foreign policy—such as Edmund S. Muskie (D., Maine), Philip A. Hart (D., Mich.), and Mark O. Hatfield (R., Ore.)—voted in support of the President.

Senator Charles McC. Mathias (R., Md) voted to lift the embargo; Senator J. Glenn Beall (R., Md) voted to keep it in force.

Senator Beall, who is up for re-election next year, faces possible opposition from Representative Paul S Sarbanes (D., Md.), a congressman of Greek descent and a leading advocate of the embargo.

Senator Mansfield, in arguing to lift the embargo, noted that there are more Americans of Greek than Turkish ancestry, but both groups, he said, "have been good citizens."

"Have we forgotten the response of the Turks to our involvement in Korea over two decades ago," he asked.

Senator Mathias said he voted to lift the embargo because "if we did not give some indication that we are prepared to use the carrot as well as the stick, we would lose all our military presence east of Sicily, and I can't believe that is in the interest of the people of Cyprus, Greece, or the U.S.".

SAIGON ... CONTINUED

they learned of his job through Communist defectors, captured documents and intercepted messages.

When former President Richard M. Nixon ordered American troops into Cambodia in the spring of 1970, he said then that he hoped the forces would destroy the headquarters, then believed to be in Cambodia near Tay Ninh Province of South Vietnam.

But intelligence analysts never believed there was a permanent headquarters. They said that it moved around constantly.

In recent years, Mr. Hung was believed to have had his headquarters one the Vietnamese side of the border.

There was general surprise in the intelligence community when Hanoi and Saigon, in official reports last Thursday, publicly put Mr. Hung at the top of the list of South Vietnamese officials welcoming a North Vietnamese delegation to Saigon for the celebrations.

Titles Are Listed

Mr. Hung was identified in the Communist accounts of the event as a "member of the Vietnam Workers party Central Committee Political Bureau and secretary of the South Vietnam party organization."

The Vietnam Workers party is the Communist party of Hanoi. It was referred to during the long war as having "the major guidance role" in the revolution. But before the fall of Saigon Hanoi always insisted that the struggle in South Vietnam was led by the Provisional Revolutionary Government and the National Liberation Front.

Both these organizations were usually called the "Vietcong" in the West.

In listing Mr. Hung, the Communist reports ranked him ahead of Nguyen Huu Tho, the head of the National Liberation Front, and Huynh Tan Phat, president of the Provisional Revolutionary Government. In Communist countries, including North Vietnam, the order of precedence is usually meant to indicate the political ranking of party members and others.

Other Leaders Named

In addition to Mr. Hung, the Communist accounts also listed the name of Nguyen Van Linh, who was identified as the deputy secretary of the South Vietnam party organization. Mr. Linh, who was also known as Muoi Ut, was believed to be a member of the North Vietnamese party Central Committee, and was Mr. Hung's deputy in charge of political work.

Mr. Hung's military deputy, Lieut. Gen. Tran Van Tra, has already emerged as head of the Saigon area Military Administrative Committee.

Another Hanoi official who was publicly identified last week was Vo Chi Cong, listed as a member of the Hanoi party Central Committee, and the chief political officer in Da Nang.

He was listed by the Saigon radio as "secretary of the Zone 5, Vietnam Workers party committee."

Zone 5 is the way Hanoi has traditionally described the Da Nang area, indicating to American analysts that, politically, Hanoi is directing affairs in the old way, although formally Da Nang is still part of South Vietnam.

Joined Ho Chi Minh

Mr. Hung, 62 years old, was born in Vinh Long Province in 1912. According to a United States Government biography, Mr. Hung joined the "Revolutionary Youth League" of the late Ho Chi Minh in the nineteen-twenties and in 1930 was a founding member of the Indochinese Communist party.

In 1931, he was sentenced to death by the French but his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment on the island of Poulo Condore, now known as Son Island. He was freed in August, 1945, joined the Vietminh forces, and became a member of the military command in the south.

After the Geneva peace conference in 1954 split Vietnam in half, Mr. Hung became head of the cease-fire committee in South Vietnam and in 1955 head of the Vietminh liaison mission in Saigon.

To Hanoi in 1955

He moved to Hanoi in 1955 and joined the party Politburo in 1957. In 1960 he became First Deputy Premier to his old compatriot, Pham Van Dong. In 1967 he replaced Gen. Nguyen Chi Thanh as head of operations in the South after General Thanh died.

It is generally assumed in the intelligence community here that Hanoi plans to units North and South Vietnam eventually. But, for the moment, because of the different economies and life-styles in the two Vietnams, it has chosen to go slow on unification.

WASHINGTON POST 20 MAY 1975 Pg. C5

Brazil to Sign Treaty

Agence France-Presse

BRASILIA, May 19 — Brazil has decided to sign the treaty on Antarctica, becoming the 19th member of the agreement, it was announced here. The main features of the treaty are that the Antarctic region is to be used for peaceful purposes only, and scientific reserach in the region is to be free.

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CURRENT NEWS

PART II - MAIN EDITION - 1130

THIS SUPPLEMENTS PART I-EARLY BIRD EDITION

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TUESDAY, MAY 20, 1975

NEW YORK TIMES
20 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

HANOI AIDE TERMED KEY MAN IN SAIGON

U.S. Intelligence Experts Say Pham Hung Emerges as Leader in South

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 19—North Vietnam's fourth-ranking Politburo member, who for the last eight years secretly coordinated activities against Saigon, was reported today to have emerged as the apparent political leader in South Vietnam following the Communist takeover.

The prominence given the public appearance of the Politburo member, Pham Hung, last week at celebrations marking the Communist victory was regarded by the American intelligence community as a sign that Hanoi probably plans to direct developments in South Vietnam closely.

For the moment, however, the prevailing view of American specialists is that a separate South Vietnamese government will be permitted to exist and establish diplomatic relations around the world under Hanoi's guidance.

Mr. Hung was born in what is now South Vietnam, moved north in the nineteen-fifties, and held a number of top jobs, including First Deputy Premier in Hanoi, before going underground in 1967 and assuming command secretly of the Central Office for South Vietnam, which directed the political and military war effort against Saigon.

Mr. Hung was never publicly identified by Hanoi as the head of operations in South Vietnam, but American analysts said

See SAIGON, Pg. 2

BALTIMORE SUN - 20 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Senate votes, 41-40, to lift embargo on Turkish arms aid

By THOMAS PEPPER
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington— President Ford and his Secretary of State, Henry A. Kissinger, won the narrowest of victories yesterday when the Senate voted, 41 to 40, to lift an embargo on United States military aid to Turkey.

The issue, in the legislative sense, now goes to the House, where no similar victory is expected any time soon.

But administration spokesmen have said they were mainly interested in winning a Senate vote for psychological reasons—to show the Turkish people that Congress is potentially flexible, and potentially responsive to moves the Ankara government might make toward a negotiated settlement of the 9-month-long Cyprus dispute.

A broader issue at stake was the degree of trust and discretion Congress is willing to grant the executive branch.

Mr. Ford and Mr. Kissinger pressed for a vote this week in an effort to win support before a summit meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization next week.

Mr Ford will be among the heads of government attending the meeting, and he is expected to meet there with Constantine Caramanlis, the Greek prime minister, and Suleman Demirel, the Turkish prime minister

The embargo was placed on U.S. military aid to Turkey last fall, in the wake of Turkish use of American arms to extend their sector of military control over Cyprus. Turkish forces landed on Cyprus initially in July, in the wake of a Greek-instigated coup against the government of Archbishop Makarios.

Senator Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.), the majority leader and co-sponsor of the proposal to lift the embargo, linked yesterday's vote to sentiments expressed in the Senate last week

See AID, Pg. 2

NEW YORK TIMES - 20 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Thais Accept U.S. Regrets; Crisis Over Base Is Eased

By MALCOLM W. BROWNE
Special to The New York Times

BANGKOK, Thailand, May 19—The Thai Government accepted as a formal apology today an American note expressing regret over the misunderstandings that had arisen over use of a Thai base to recover the Mayagüez and her crew.

Soon after the note had been delivered the Thai Foreign Minister, Maj. Gen. Chatichai Choonhaven, said at a news conference that the case was closed and that he believed "bygones should be bygones." He said word had been sent to leaders of a demonstration that had been going on outside the American Embassy since Saturday that they should call it off.

There were still several hundred demonstrators outside the embassy at nightfall, with spokesmen continuing to offer threats and insults over loudspeakers, but soon thereafter they withdrew.

At the news conference the Foreign Minister drew special attention to the part of the United State note—replying to a Thai protest against the use of the U Taphao base in freeing the freighter and her 39-man crew from Cambodian control—that said:

"The policy of the United States continues to be of respecting the sovereignty and independence of Thailand. The unique circumstances that have led to the recent turn of events do not alter this traditional relationship, and are not going to be repeated.

"The Government of the United States looks forward to working in harmony and friendship with the Royal Thai Government."

While the Thai-American diplomatic crisis appeared eased, a delegation from the new Saigon Government ended a three-day visit saying that "favorable conditions for the establishment of new relations between the Republic of South Vietnam and Thailand" had not been created

The major sticking point was a demand by the three-member mission that aircraft, ships and military equipment brought here by Vietnamese refugees should be returned to Saigon. The mission has also demanded that the United States return the South Vietnamese planes it removed from Thailand on the ground that they had been provided to the former Government as military aid.

The statement also asserted that "to build a peaceful and independent Southeast Asia, the withdrawal of United States military bases and United States troops from this region is very urgent and indispensable."

The diplomatic crisis between Thailand and the United States arose last week when a Marine contingent was airlifted to the base at U Taphao, near Bangkok. The marines who recovered the Mayagüez, an American container ship, and her crew were flown from there.

The Thai Government, which is trying to establish relations with the Communist Governments of Asia, charged that the United States did not ask permission to use the base for an operation that both embarrassed the Government and vio-

See BASE, Pg. 2

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CURRENT NEWS

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TUESDAY, MAY 20, 1975

NEW YORK TIMES 20 MAY 1975 Pg. 8

Atomic Arms Talk Opened By Gromyko and Kissinger

By LESLIE H. GELB

Special to The New York Times

VIENNA, May 19—Secretary of State Kissinger met today with the Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei A. Gromyko, in the hope that they could begin to make political decisions to surmount the technical difficulties that have plagued the nuclear arms talks.

Mr. Kissinger believes that the chances of movement in these talks were enhanced several weeks ago when Moscow hinted at an approach on how to distinguish between different kinds of missiles that could be combined with the American approach to missile verification.

Mr. Kissinger and his associates do not exude optimism about a breakthrough in Vienna. Their stated aim is to begin the process of sending Soviet and American delegations back to Geneva in June with new instructions.

Mr. Kissinger is in Vienna on the first leg of a trip that will take him through Bonn, West Berlin and Ankara, Turkey, by Saturday.

Today he joined Chancellor Bruno Kreisky of Austria for 90 minutes after having watched a horseback riding exhibition with Mrs. Kissinger.

Confident on Aims

Mr. Kissinger's confidence in reaching a nuclear arms accord with Moscow rests on the expressed belief that the major issues were resolved in Vladivostok last November. The two sides reached preliminary agreement to set ceilings of 2,400 strategic missiles and long-range bombers and, within that total, 1,320 missiles with the multiple independently targetable warheads known as MIRV's.

The Pentagon does not entirely share that confidence, particularly on the issue of how to verify whether a newly deployed missile bears multiple warheads.

The American position is that if a missile is flight-tested with multiple warheads, all missiles of that kind will be considered as having such warheads when deployed. American satellites can determine only whether a silo has been enlarged to receive a missile with multiple warheads; it cannot peer inside the missile once deployed to see if it contains such a warhead.

The Soviet approach to the impasse was not explained to newsmen, but the tentative reaction of Mr. Kissinger was.

The issue apparently revolves around the SS-18 missile, which has been flight-tested both with a single warhead and with a multiple warhead. The SS-17's and SS-19's, a few of which have been deployed already, have been tested only with multiple warheads.

The problem is how to determine whether the SS-18, once deployed, holds a single warhead or a multiple warhead. The apparent solution rests on the fact that the United States has observed hat the Russians have been placing recognizable facilities in plain view near missiles with multiple war-

(See ARMS, Pg. 2)

GENERAL NEWS SUMMARY FROM THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MAY 20, 1975

World-Wide

THE STRIP-MINE BILL will be vetoed, the White House said.

In disclosing President Ford's decision, energy chief Frank Zarb contended that the legislation would reduce coal production 40 million to 162 million tons annually, increase utility bills and eliminate up to 36,000 jobs the first yaer. The bill would require restoration of surface-mined land, tax coal to pay for a cleanup of abandoned mining areas and bar mining in some places. It is similar to one Ford rejected last December.

The vote on overriding the veto should be close. The bill has lost some House support recently through fears of higher unemployment if it passes.

* * *

ARMS AID TO TURKEY would be restored under a bill the Senate approved.

The measure passed, 41-40, after supporters argued that the Ford administration needs more flexibility in dealing with the Cyprus problem. The ban on military aid was imposed Feb. 5 because Turkey used

(See NEWS SUMMARY, Pg. 3)

NEW YORK TIMES 20 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Questions on Ship Rescue Persist Despite Briefings

By PHILIP SHABECOFF

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 19 — Questions about casualty reports and other matters related to the Mayagüez incident persisted today despite new explanations from the White House and the Pentagon.

The Pentagon again revised its count of casualties in the Marine assault last week to rescue the merchant ship Mayagüez and its crew from Cambodian forces. At the same time, the White House press secretary, Ron Nessen, reported that President Ford had been "puzzled" and "frustrated" by his inability to obtain quick and accurate information about casualties.

Mr. Nessen insisted there was not "any intention to hide bad news."

Joseph Laitin, the Pentagon spokesman, said at a briefing that the estimate of wounded was now 49, not 70 to 80 as reported by the Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger.

The Pentagon's estimate of the number of killed and missing remained at five and 18, respectively.

Mr. Laitin said the lower count of wounded was a result of eliminating superficial injuries from the list. He said a final count was yet to come. He added that few of the 49 were seriously injured.

None of the bodies of the five known dead has been recovered. One, that of Lance Corp. Ashton Loney, from Albany, was left behind on Tang Island when the marines pulled out.

The four other men who are known to be dead are believed to have perished by drowning when their helicopter crashed into the sea. It is not known with certainty whether any of the 16 men officially identified as missing are dead, or how they may have died.

Mr. Laitin said it had taken

(See RESCUE, Pg. 2)

WASHINGTON POST 20 MAY 1975 Pg. 7

Senate Votes To Lift Turk Arms Aid Ban

By Spencer Rich

Washington Post Staff Writer

The Senate voted 41 to 40 yesterday to let President Ford restore weapons shipments to Turkey, which were cut off Feb. 5 by Congress because Turkey used American-supplied arms to invade Cyprus last July.

Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.), warning that prolonging the Greece-Turkey dispute over Cyprus could severely damage the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, made clear in an impassioned speech that the vote had been expressly scheduled to allay Turkish resentment of the United States and thus strengthen the hand of the President and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger in forthcoming talks on a Cyprus settlement.

Kissinger is to visit Ankara this week, and then he and the President will attend NATO meetings in Brussels May 29-30 at which, according to Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman John J. Sparkman (D-Ala.), the President will meet with leaders of both Greece and Turkey.

"I would hope that the Senate would strengthen" the position of the President and Kissinger in negotiations "at this moment in history," Mansfield said. But the hairline margin of Senate victory for the bill, and the fact that the House has no immediate plans to take it up, may diminish some of the hoped-for impact.

Without House action, the embargo will remain in effect.

(See SENATE, Pg. 2)

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NEW YORK TIMES 20 MAY 1975 Pg. 3

Communists Seize Newspaper in Lisbon

LISBON, May 19 (AP)—Communists seized control of the Socialist newspaper Republica todaysand armed paratrooperh bajred thousands of Socialists who gathered outside to try to regain control of the paper.

A lieutenant commanding the paratroops said that he had been ordered to prevent anyone from entering the building.

The Socialist party leader, Mario Soares, a Minister Without Portfolio, went into the streets with party workers to spread leaflets saying that the defense of Republica was the defense of freedom.

The threat of a confrontation developed as the nation's military leaders gathered in a special assembly under pressure from hard-liners to do away with a strife between the country's political parties and bypass civilian polfticians altogether.

The Communist printers' seizure of the afternoon paper—the only Lisbon daily outside Communist editorial control—posed a new problem for military men, who are already troubled by a national economic crisis and disobedient army units.

The printers who seized Republica told Raul Rego, the 62-year-old editor, who served three jail terms under the former rightist regime, that his ideology was all wrong.

"There is no more authority in Portugal," Mr. Rego declared as he waited out the crisis in his office.

According to a report prepared for delivery at a 240-man assembly of the armed forces, which began this morning, the army was prepared to disccunt the results of the April 25 elections. The elections gave an overwhelming majority to the Socialists and another moderate party.

The report, on "perspective of Political Evolution," indicated that instead of changing course toward the center and parliamentary democracy, the military was turning even farther left and verging on establishing direct links with workers and neighborhood Communist groups.

A thread running through another report was a frank disenchantment with party rivalries and a clear desire for the army to run the country alone.

The report analyzing the elections was especially harsh on the victorious Socialist party, holding it responsible for division in the working class and, by implication, for promoting cleavages within the armed forces.

RESCUE -- CONTINUED

so long to produce an accurate report on casualties because the marines had been evacuated to various ships and taken to different destinations. In view of the time thus required to take an accurate muster, there was "not any undue delay," he said.

Newsmen who had covered the Vietnam war recalled that the military had always been quick and precise with casualty lists and "body counts" in that conflict even unde rtrying combat situations.

Other Issues Raised

Mr. Nessen, who himself had reported from Vietnam, did not explain why last week's action produced more confusion.

A number of other issues still remained without clarification. For example, no prompt warning was sent out to merchant ships to avoid the Cambodian islands even though a South Korean vessel had been fired on in those waters.

The Foreign Boradcast Information Service, a department of the Central Intelligence Agency, reported on May 5 that a South Korean freighter had been fired on by "what appeared to be an armed Communist gunboat on the high seas." The next day the report noted that the South Korean Government had warned its merchant ships to stay out of the area.

The United States also had information several days before the Mayagüez incident that Cambodian gunboats had detained a Panamanian merchant ship. Despite these known incidents, the Defense Mapping Agency's Hydrographic Service did not issue a special warning to mariners, which is standard procedure in time of apparent danger.

After several inquiries, a Defense Department spokesman, Col. Tom Byrnen, said:

"We are trying to get some information about why the word didn't get down to the Defense Mapping people. So far we don't know why."

Another question was why the marines attacked Tang Island when the best information available indicated that the crew of theMayagüz had been taken to the mainland.

Administration spokesmen have said intelligence indicated that the crew, or some members, had been taken to the island. They did not say what this intelligence was.

Government officials reported that one of the Cambodian vessels off the island was not attacked by American fighters because a pilot had spotted what appeared to be American faces on the deck during one pass.

But the captain of the Mayagüez, Charles T. Miller, said United States planes were making low-level passes over the boat for four hours, firing across its bows and dropping tear gas and nausea-creating gas.

In any case, in view of the pilot's sighting, the possibility must have been raised before the Marine attack that all of the crew had been removed from the island and that the assault was not necessary.

Bombing of Mainland

Another issue that has been raised is why were the air attacks on the mainland necessary after the crew of the Mayagüez had been surrendered by the Cambodians?

The assault on Ream airfield and the oil storage near Sihanoukville was necessary, the Administration said, to keep Cambodian forces from reinforcing the defenders of Tang Island.

But, judging by the Government's own reports, the Cambodians had no ships and planes that could not have been interdicted by the warships and aircraft that the United States had on the scene.

The Pentagon appeared to have been surprised by the strength of Cambodian resistance on Tang Island. Mr. Laitin reported today that the defenders used heavy machine guns, mortars and other heavy arms in fighting the Marine assault

An April 17 Photograph

The Pentagon reported earlier that its intelligence had indicated that there were only a few people on the island. This raises the question why advanced surveillance devices and methods had not been available to the armed forces to produce better information.

The Pentagon spokesmen last week used a photograph of Tang Island that was dated April 17. A questioner at a briefing last week was unable to learn why the island had been photographed on that date.

Finally, there is the question why reports on the whole operation had been so confusing and late.

Mr. Laittin said today that there had been inadequate communication between the National Military Command Center and the Office of Public Relations, which was briefing the press.

None of the questions necessarily implied anything secretive in the Government's handling of the affair. But until the questions are resolved, a good many observers are going to feel uneasy about the incident.

SENATE -- CONTINUED

The February cutoff move had been led by Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton (D-Mo.) and Reps. John Brademas (D-Ind.), Paul S. Sarbanes (D-Md.) and Benjamin S. Rosenthal (D-N.Y.). They said Turkey used the American-supplied weapons illegally to invade Cyprus, despite specific prohibitions in American law against use of U.S. aid for aggression.

Eagleton told the Senate yesterday that lifting the embargo before Turkey has made serious moves to negotiate removal of its troops from Cyprus would give Turkey a "green light" to continue its present policies and even take further military action, secure in the knowledge that the United States won't exert any real pressure.

Eagleton also said the vote was an attempt to restore Kissinger's flagging prestige.

"President Ford and Dr. Kissinger are sending their emissaries around the Senate office building and saying, 'Win this one for Henry,'" shouted Eagleton, asserting that Kissinger had been wrong on Bangladesh, wrong on Vietnam, wrong on Turkey and "may have to give back his Nobel Peace Prize."

A Defense Department spokesman said commitments for approximately $169 million in arms for Turkey had been made by the administration before the Feb. 5 cutoff took effect, but precisely how much was actually delivered wasn't clear. The intitial administration request and envisioned at least $50 million more for Turkey. The Feb. 5 ban cut off all government-financed, government-guaranteed sales of arms to Turkey, plus all cash sales, whether from public or private sources.

Brademas, in a telephone interview yesterday, said that if the bill came up in the House he and his associates would again oppose it and predicted it would be defeated. "The question is whether or not we will enforce the law of the land," said Brademas, adding he didn't see any evidence that the administration had vigorously pressed Turkey or Cyprus for a settlement.

Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (R-Md.) was the only Maryland or Virginia senator voting for repeal of the aid ban.

Greek ethnic organizations have lobbied heavily in favor or the ban. Elias Demetracopoulos, a spokesman for Greek causes, said the bill passed yesterday represents a "desperate, massive campaign" to bolster Kissinger's prestige but, he said, the "very narrow margin" of victory, plus the unlikelihood of House passage, represents "a repudiation" of Kissinger's "eastern Mediterranean policy."

ARMS -- CONTINUED

heads. If Moscow were to continue this kind of pattern, satellites would be able to verify the presence of such warheads.

Officials made clear that even though the SS-18 with a multiple warhead could strike more targets, Mr. Kissinger would prefer this to the single-warhead version, which packs at least 25 megatons and is thus regarded as a terror weapon and a serious threat to a reinforced silo.

Mr. Kissinger and Mr. Gromyko were scheduled to meet alone for several hours to be followed by a working dinner with their staffs. Ambassador Anatoly F. Dobrynin of the Soviet Union is also in attendance.

Their agenda included the nuclear arms talks and the 35-nation European security conference. Middle East discussions are set for tomorrow.

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WASHINGTON POST - 20 MAY 1975 Pg. 2

Kissinger Cautions Gromyko

By Murrey Marder
Washington Post Staff Writer

VIENNA, May 19—Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger reiterated to Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko tonight the American warning that U.S.-Soviet detente must not be used as a cover for "the exploitation of local conflict."

Kissinger expressed that cautionary view about the impact of Indochina on superpower relationships during five hours of talks with Gromyko.

Gromyko, in turn, stressed to Kissinger the Soviet priority on making quicker progress toward one of the oldest Soviet goals, a 35-nation European summit conference to help confirm the post-World War II borders in Europe. According to a U. S. spokesman tonight, the United States and its allies still consider it "premature" to set a final date to conclude that conference, in which the Western powers seek to increase human contacts across the East-West divide.

As a consequence, this first high-level U.S.-Soviet encounter since February indicated there will be continual maneuvering and bargaining throughout this summer over competing priorities on the Washington-Moscow agenda.

Kissinger and Gromyko, in the first of their two days of meetings here, only started to discuss the central topic of speeding up negotiations on U.S.-Soviet nuclear arms control. Still to be discussed is the major issue of how the United States and the Soviet Union will deal with the Middle East.

Before the Kissinger-Gromyko meeting began, U.S. sources stressed the need for intensifying negotiations in the strategic arms limitation talks known as SALT II, in order to meet the already delayed schedule for the next U.S.-Soviet summit conference in Washington. This planned meeting between President Ford and Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev, originally expected in June or July, is presently planned for the September or October.

At the close of the initial meeting here, which took place at the resplendent Imperial Hotel which the American delegation is occupying, Kissinger told newsmen: "The talks were constructive and were conducted in a cordial and friendly atmosphere" and "some progress was made" on the topics covered.

Gromyko said he agreed, describing the discussions as "useful, constructive and friendly."

The two foreign ministers spent an hour and a quarter alone before bringing others into the discussions. Both Soviet ambassador to Washington Anatoliy F. Dobrynin and Walter J. Stoessel, U.S. ambassador in Moscow, joined the second stage of the talks.

On instructions from Kissinger, U.S. spokesman Robert Anderson made a point of telling newsmen afterward that "the subject of Vietnam obviously came up" in reviewing the world situation.

Kissinger reportedly told Gromyko essentially what he said in a speech in St. Louis on May 12 about the post-Indochina U.S. view of detente. Kissinger said then that the progress achieved in direct US.-Soviet relations has failed to be matched "in peripheral areas"—notably referring to Indochina.

"The willingness of the Soviet Union to exploit strategic opportunities—even though some of these opportunities presented themselves more or less spontaneously and not as a result of Soviet action," Kissinger said in St. Louis, "constitutes a heavy mortgage on detente."

In current relations, this American apprehension particularly includes the worry that the Soviet Union might try to exploit opportunities in the Middle East.

Gromyko's emphasis on the need to conclude what is formally known as the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe showed that the Soviet Union wants to strongly register its own frustrations.

This conference, first proposed by the Soviet Union more than two decades ago, has been meeting intermittently for more than two years. The Soviet Union hoped to conclude it in Helsinki on June 30, at the summit level. But that prospect is gone and the jockeying over a terminal date continues. Tonight, U.S. spokesman Anderson repeated that "there is much work to be done before we can assume that there will be a summit meeting."

In their talks here Tuesday, Kissinger and Gromyko are expected to spend a major portion of their time on the nuclear arms control negotiations.

If the American goal on this subject is achieved here, the two sides would move toward, or agree upon, joint instructions to their delegations working on a SALT accord. These negotiations are attempting to complete a formula reached in the Ford-Brezhnev meeting at Vladivostok last November. The main obstacle is agreement on how to achieve the established ceiling of 2,400 strategic nuclear delivery systems for each country.

NEWS SUMMARY -- CONTINUED

U.S. weapons in invading Cyprus last summer, but it has strained U.S.-Turkish relations. Secretary of State Kissinger is due in Ankara tomorrow to try to mediate the Cyprus dispute and persuade Turkey against weakening its ties to NATO.

Although the aid embargo can't be lifted unless the House agrees, administration officials said even action by one house of Congress could spur Cyprus negotiations.

Greek and Turkish foreign ministers ended a three-day meeting in Rome without reporting any progress in resolving disputes over Cyprus and Aegean Sea oil rights. But they agreed to meet again soon.

Kissinger warned Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet foreign minister, against trying to exploit America's defeats in Vietnam and Cambodia, U.S. officials said after the two diplomats began talks in Vienna.

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Thailand accepted as a formal apology a U.S. statement that it "regrets the misunderstandings" of last week when Marines were sent to a Thai base without consultation. The U.S. added that these "unique circumstances . . . aren't going to be repeated." Thailand said the case is closed.

The Pentagon reduced to 49 its estimate of the number of U.S. servicemen injured in the Mayaguez rescue off Cambodia's coast.

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The U.S. embassy in Laos offered to reduce or end aid in response to demands of leftist students, some of whom are holding 12 Americans under loose house arrest in a central Laotian city.

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A committee to speed resettlement of Indochina refugees was created by Ford as he prepared to sign a $405 million aid measure today. A fourth refugee processing center will be opened at Indiantown Gap, Pa.

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The House took up an arms bill and rejected efforts to eliminate a $108 million procurement authorization for the B1 bomber, $260 million for the AWACS warning and control plane and $567 million for the A10 close air support plane.

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A state can lend textbooks to children in church-related schools but can't make direct loans of instructional materials to the parochial schools or pay for such services as counseling, the Supreme Court ruled, 6-3, in a Pennsylvania case.

New York welfare regulations cutting benefits to families that have a nonpaying boarder in the home were invalidated by the high court, which said the assumption that such a lodger helps pay the rent is a denial of due process. Justices also ruled that a federal court witness isn't entitled to a hearing before being held in contempt for refusing to testify at a trial.

A city ban on phosphate detergents for environmental reasons was permitted by the Supreme Court to stand. It rejected Procter & Gamble's contention that a Chicago law disrupts interstate commerce. And the court scuttled an old practice of dividing equally the damages in sea accidents, saying fault should be the determinant.

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Malpractice legislation that would limit the right of patients to sue doctors and would set up an insurance-company pool to guarantee insurance to physicians was passed by New York's state legislature.

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A rise in the Social Security tax or wage base to solve the system's short-term money problems "can well wait until the economy improves," HEW Secretary Weinberger said.

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Two textbook protesters in Kanawha County, W.Va., the Rev. Marvin Horan and Larry Elmer Stevens, were sentenced to three years in prison for conspiring to bomb an elementary school last fall.

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Portuguese Communist printers at Lisbon's main non-Communist daily newspaper, Republica, took over the printing plant and locked up the paper's Socialist editor.

* * *

A Polish fishing vessel was charged in civil and criminal complaints with violating U.S. territorial waters by fishing less than 12 miles from the West Coast, where the 2,600-ton Kalmar was seized Saturday.

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A bomb on a TWA airliner that caused a crash into the sea near Greece last September apparently was the second sabotage attempt in two weeks on the airline's Israel-New York run, the National Transportation Safety Board said. An earlier bomb produced only a smoky fire. The board said the bomb that caused 88 deaths Sept. 8 apparently was carried aboard by a passenger.

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Japanese police arrested eight persons suspected of bombing Mitsubishi's main office and other corporate buildings last summer. One suspect collapsed during questioning and died of an unknown cause.

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France's nuclear-arms program is progressing much faster than is generally known, and several underground tests will be conducted on South Pacific islands this summer, Defense Minister Yvon Bourges said. Atmospheric tests ended last year.

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Cuba and Britain signed an economic-cooperation agreement covering agriculture, chemicals, transportation and construction.

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NEW YORK TIMES
20 MAY 1975 Pg. 9

MOSCOW STALLED IN FOREIGN POLICY

Gromyko Looks to U.S. Help to Resolve Europe, Arms and Mideast Issues

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, May 19 — The Kremlin's efforts to promote Soviet prestige through a succession of forums abroad appear to have been stalled despite some advantages offered by recent American setbacks.

The situation, in which Moscow is being frustrated by a timetable of its own optimistic making, figures in Soviet concern at a time when Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko is believed to be raising some of the more pressing problems with Secretary of State Kissinger at their two-day meeting in Vienna.

The Soviet Union has apparently learned that it cannot surmount some of these deadlocks alone. Perhaps most timely is the breakthrough needed for an accord limiting strategic arms that will justify a visit by the Soviet leader, Leonid I. Brezhnev, to the United States this fall. Beyond this are two other events sought by Moscow—the convening of the Middle East peace conference by Geneva and the wind-up of the European securbity conference at Geneva.

Moscow's hope of presiding over a meeting of European Communist parties later this year hardly depends on American cooperation. But Moscow seems to feel that such a meeting can be inhibited unless the other problems are resolved.

Judging by recent speeches, articles and private comments, the Kremlin is already feeling the pinch of time as it looks ahead to the 25th party congress set for Feb. 24. This is a good nine months away, but the Russians are counting on the series of international meetings to enhance Mr. Brezhnev's image in preparation for the congress, which will promulgate Soviet policy for the next five years.

Mr. Brezhnev's pending visit to Mr. Ford, now mentioned in terms of next fall, leaves scant time to negotiate specifics of a strategic weapons agreement, which hinges on the issue of verification of the ceiling on multiple warhead systems.

According to one Western dinlomat, Mr. Brezhnev has privately told visitors that he expects to see President Ford. Such a meeting was characterized by Mr. Gromyko last week as "an exceptionally important and maior undertaking." Yet there are no signs of preparations for the visit.

In theorv Mr. Brezhnev's trip does not hinge on a successful arms accord, but American diplomats concede that without it a meeting with Mr. Ford would look empty.

The 35-nation European security talks that Moscow wants to see wound up by the respective heads of state in Helsinki, Finland, are still snagged on such lingering East-West differences as advance notice of military maneuvers and improved working conditions for Western journalists in Eastern Europe.

The Soviet Union has muted its earlier proposal that the Helsinki wind-up should begin on June 30. Western diplomats tend to feel that if there is no rush to completion this week in Geneva, the final ceremonial phase in Helsinki will not take place until autumn.

There has been no visible movement toward a Geneva peace conference on the Middle East. Even after sessions here with Iraqi, Egyptian, Syrian and Palestinian visitors, the Kremlin seems baffled by Arab disunity as well as Israeli opposition.

In Libya last week, Premier Aleksei Kosygin said peace hopes depended "on the unity of the Arab countries."

Consequently, Moscow has fallen back to dwelling on preparations. Mr. Gromyko stressed the new emphasis last week in asserting, "We have in mind serious preparation for the conference and a serious approach to its tasks, although we are not as yet sure that all the participants in the conference have the same aim."

Perhaps the biggest frustration ideologically is the delay that the Kremlin has encountered on its proposed European Communist meeting from the Rumanians, Yugoslavs and Spaniards, who are afraid that the conference will be used as a bludgeon against China.

The problem was underscored by a meeting here last Thursday between Aleksandar Grlickov, a Yugoslav Communist envoy, and Boris N. Ponomarev, the Soviet party secretary who heads the Kremlin's effort. They reportedly failed to come to suitable terms for Yugoslav participation and their meeting wen virually ignored in the Soviet press.

Meanwhile, Moscow has been careful to keep on good terms with Washington, all but loking the other way last week when American marines were sent in to free the freighter Mayagüez off Cambodia. With even modest American cooperation, the Russians may be able to regain new momentum and carry through their hopes. But some Western diplomats feel the Kremlin will be hardpressed to wrap it all into a tidy package in time for the 25th pary congress.

NEW YORK TIMES
20 MAY 1975 Pg. 16

New Air Force Chief

VIENTIANE, May 19 (Agence France-Presse) — The new Defense Minister of Laos, Gen. Khamouane Boupha, has dismissed the rightist chief of the air force, Gen. Bouathong Phothivongsa, and placed the air force under the direct command of the Defense Ministry.

NEW YORK TIMES
20 MAY 1975 Pg. 15

Leader of Marines In Rescue of Ship Calls Battle Heavy

SUBIC BAY, the Phillippines, May 19 (Reuters) — United States Marines ran into more resistance than expected when they landed on Tang Island in the Gulf of Siam to help free the Mayagüez, the commander of the operation said here today.

"There was considerable exchange of hand - grenades," said Lieut. Col. Randall Austin. "There was very heavy combat. It was a classic heliborne asault in which unfortunately we enccountered heavy fire once on the ground."

At a news conference at the naval base here, he said that three of his men died and that some 71 of the 210-man marine force were wounded, many with minor injuries, and that 13 were missing after Thursday's dramatic rescue operation.

[In an interview in Washington during the weekend, Defense Secretary James L. Schlesinger put casualties for the whole air-sea operation to free the ship and crew at five dead, 16 missing and 70 to 80 wounded.]

Colonel Austin estimated that there were about 25 Cambodian casualties in a force of 150 on the island, but he said he had no exact count.

The commander said that he did not want to play down the casualties but that he regarded the operation as a success. He said his marines landed from helicopters at various points on the five-mile-long island.

The engagements were so close, he said, that "there were many instances when in fact the enemy threw hand grenades and our forces picked them up and threw them back."

At the news conference were two marines injured when two helicopters crashed on the island. They were awarded purple heart medals by Maj. Gen. Kenneth Houghton, commander of the Third Marine Division, based in Okinawa, who said in answer to a question on the operation. "At the risk of sounding like a warmonger, I think it added an elixir to morale."

The Mayagüez was heading for Hong Kong today from Singapore, where it arrived on Saturday after being found at anchor and released from Tang Island by the raiding marines.

The crew members, who had been taken off the ship, were held by the Cambodians for three-and-a-half days before being released in a Thai fishing boat with five fishermen who had also been prisoners of the Cambodians.

Twenty of the crew have left the Mayagüez since the incident —the company that owns the ship, Sea-Land Service of Menlo Park, N. J., had offered to replace them. Others are to be relieved later. Charles T. Miller, captain of the Mayagüez, is staying on to take over the new crew and resume normal freight operations.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
20 MAY 1975 Pg. 12

Schlesinger threat dims peace talks

From Tribune Wire Services

THE CLIMATE for next month's United States-Egyptian summit was clouded Monday by American Defense Secretary James Schlesinger's warning that force might be used to break any new Arab oil embargo.

Egyptian officials described the warning as tactless and untimely. The semi-official newspaper Al-Akhbar headlined its report: "America returns to the old tune of resorting to force."

Schlesinger's remarks appear likely to embarrass President Anwar Sadat, already under criticisim in the Arab world for placing faith in the U. S. mediation efforts in the Middle East.

SCHLESINGER SAID in a weekend interview with the magazine U. S. News and World Report that the U. S. would be "less likely to be tolerant" of a new Arab oil embargo, and that economic, political, and conceivably military measures could be taken in response.

Observers said that the implied threat would increase hostility in the Arab world toward the U. S. and make Sadat's task more delicate.

Sadat will meet President Ford in Salzburg, Austria, on June 1 and 2.

There has been no public suggestion so far that the Arabs may reimpose an oil embargo—which they enforced at the time of the 1973 Middle East war—if there is no progress toward a permanent settlement.

BUT THE ARABS have said repeatedly that they consider such an embargo a legitimate political weapon and have compared it with the U. S.-instigated economic blockade of Cuba.

Arab diplomats here recall that Arab oil-producing countries, faced with reports last year that U. S. troops were being trained to occupy oilfields in the event of another embargo, warned that the Arabs would blow up oil wells rather than have them seized by force.

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TUESDAY MORNING, 20 MAY 1975

WASHINGTON POST 20 MAY 1975, Pg 3

House Rejects Bids to Cut $32 Billion Arms Measure

By Richard L. Lyons
Washington Post Staff Writer

Critics of what they call a bloated defense budget lost a series of votes by wide margins last night as the House began debate on the $32 billion military hardware authorization bill.

The bill authorizes $26.5 billion for planes, ships and missiles for the year begining July 1, plus $5.5 billion for a three-month transition period after that as the government shifts to a new fiscal year begining Oct. 1.

The $32 billion total reflects a $3.7 billion cut made by the House Armed Services Committee in the administration's original request.

But critics said $2.4 billion of the cut was phony, representing aid no longer needed for South Vietnam and deferral of funds for inflated costs of naval vessels. They set out to try to cut $2 billion more on the House floor.

But chances that any major cuts would be made appeared slim as the first four amendments were voted down.

The closest was a vote of 227 to 164 defeating a proposal to cut out $108 million for long-lead-time procurement items for the B-1 bomber, a proposed successor of the B-52 but still in the research and development stage.

Rep. Les Aspin (D Wis.) led the fight to cut out the money, arguing that it made no sense under the "fly before you buy" system to buy parts for a plane that may never be produced or whose specifications may be changed.

But supporters of the B-1 contended that it is essential to put a new manned bomber into production as soon as possible and that any delay would be trifling with the nation's non-nuclear defense power. The plane is expected to cost about $85 million per aircraft. was a proposal to cut out $567 million for purchase of A-10 close support aircraft whose primary mission is to knock out tanks.

Critics said existing planes can do the job. But supporters said the A-10 can remain over a target area for two to three hours instead of the 30 minutes for currently operational planes and would have been a help in trying to rescue the crew of the American merchant ship Mayaguez.

Rejected 260 to 136, was an amendment to cut $260 million for purchase of three planes for the AWACS airborne-alert program. Critics said its function has been changed three times and called it a "system in search of a mission."

Also defeated 293 to 100, was an attempt to cut out $46 million to begin the program of converting 747s and other large commercial aircraft for use in an emergency military airlift, but meanwhile leaving them in commercial passenger service.

The bill, which only sets spending ceilings, represents about one-fourth of the entire defense budget. The $26.5 billion for the next 12-month period is $5.5 billion above the amount authorized for the current year. The money must be provided later in a separate appropriation bill.

Efforts will be made today to cut back other weapons systems including the Trident missile submarine, to cut back the level of American forces overseas, to make an across-the-board $1.9 billion cut, and to permit women to attend the nation's service academies.

WASHINGTON POST
20 MAY 1975
Pg 10

Arms Sale to Jordan Hit

From News Dispatches

Israeli Foreign Minister Yigal Allon yesterday criticized the United States for selling arms to Jordan while withholding weapons from Israel.

The deal with Jordan coupled with an agreement to sell weapons to Saudi Arabia, "is a threat to the balance of power in our area," Allon said.

He also said that the deal with Jordan was not in line with Washington's reassessment of its of Mideast policy, during which it declared a halt to the processing of Israeli arms requests.

The arrangement with Jordan, concluded about the time of King Hussein's visit to Washington, included the sale of 200 antiaircraft missiles.

In the Israeli-occupied West Bank of the Jordan River, an explosion in a Palestinian refugee camp killed a woman and her teen-aged daughter and injured three children, Israeli security forces said.

A demolition team defused a bomb hidden in a paint can in a crowded area of Jerusalem yesterday. Over the past week there has been a sudden upsurge of bombings and attempted bombings in Israel and occupied territories.

Israeli Police Minister Shlomo Hillel told Parliament that 82 persons had been killed as the result of guerrilla activities since April 1974 as compared with nine during the period from April 1973 to April 1974.

In Lebanon, Palestinian guerrillas opened fire on two Lebanese jet fighters on a training flight over the northern party of the country, apparently on the mistaken assumption they were Israeli planes. A Lebanese spokesman said the aircraft escaped unharmed.

According to the Iranian newspaper Rastakhiz, organ of the country's only authorized political party, a secret meeting in Tehran last week between oil-producing and consuming nations paved the way for a world energy conference. A meeting in Paris last month failed to agree on the holding of a conference.

In Paris, where Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlevi arrived following talks in Washington, a spokesman in his party said, "We know of the report from wire services. His majesty the shah has not discussed such a secret meeting any time at his news conferences during his world trip."

A State Department spokesman said, "If they met secretly it was so secret that we do not know about it."

Throughout the Arab world there was angry denunciation by officials and in newspapers of a suggestion by U.S. Defense Secretary James Schlesinger that force might be used against any renewed oil embargo.

Schlesinger said in a U.S. News and World Report interview that "there are economic, political, and conceivably military measures" that might be taken in response to a new embargo.

These were among other developments in the Middle East yesterday:

- Arab chiefs of staff met in Cairo to improve "coordination" and to draw up an agenda for next month's Arab summit. No details were disclosed.
- Syria charged that Iraq has sentenced six persons to death and jailed another 82 for opposing Iraq's recent reconciliation with Iran. The official Syrian news agency said the report proves a Syrian contention that Iraq got its deal with Iran in return to reducing Communist influence in Iraq.

WASHINGTON POST 20 MAY 1975, Pg 2

Consulate Protection

The House approved, 276 to 123, a bill to authorize nearly $10 million a year in additional federal protection for foreign diplomatic missions.

The measure would require the Treasury Department, which operates the Executive Protective Service, to provide protection in the six cities outside Washington with 20 or more diplomatic missions—New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, New Orleans, San Francisco and Houston.

The protection would not be provided around the clock as it is in Washington, but would be assigned case by case "in the event of extraordinary protective need . . ."

Critics argued that it amounted to police subsidies for those cities. "There is no reason to ask taxpayers in Maryland, Minnesota and Idaho to share this responsibility," said Rep. Robert E. Bauman (R-Md.).

From staff reports and news dispatches

NEW YORK TIMES
20 MAY 75, Pg 35

Digging for 'Scandals' Questioned by Nessen

TIFFIN, Ohio, May 18 (UPI) —Reporters who always look for scandal, mistakes and wrongdoing in every news event and Government official are doing a disservice to themselves and their readers, Ron Nessen, the White House press secretary, said her Sunday.

Delivering the commencement address at Heidelberg College, Mr. Nessen said that excessive concentration by reporters on digging for suspected scandal diverts attention from coverage of events such as the economy and the energy crisis.

"I can tell you from being inside the Government that investigative news reports do affect the conduct of the Government's affairs for the better," said Mr. Nessen, "But a Watergate scandal comes along only once in a lifetime, or, hopefully, it *only* comes along once in a nation's history."

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WASHINGTON POST - 20 MAY 1975 Pg. 2

Soviets Said to Ease U.S. Suspicions of Arms Violations

By Michael Getler
Washington Post Staff Writer

Administration officials close to the U.S.-Soviet strategic arms talks claim that the Russians have eased some U. S. suspicions that they may have been violating or taking advantage of earlier joint agreements on limiting nuclear weapons.

These officials acknowledge that the U. S. military is somewhat less convinced than civilian officials by the Soviet explanations, but insist that progress in putting these issues to rest has been made.

Last fall, some intelligence and military officials were concerned that the Russians were building new missile silos, in violation of a 1972 arms agreement, and camouflaging this construction with claims that the new holes in the ground were for new command posts to control existing missiles.

There was also concern that the Soviets had developed a new mobile radar which could be used as part of an antiballistic missile (ABM) defense system. If true, this could also be a violation of the 1972 treaty limiting rival ABM systems.

Other concerns included claims in some quarters that the Soviets were putting covers over their submarine construction facilities so that U.S. satellites could not monitor how many missile-carrying submarines the Russians were building.

These concerns, which were not shared by many other officials, nevertheless were taken by the United States to the consultative commission set up by both superpowers to air such indications of non-compliance with the initial arms agreements.

According to U.S. officials, the Soviets replied with a considerable amount of technical data to back up their claim that command posts and not additional missiles were being installed.

There are likely to be about 100 such command posts, so this was among the most important concerns of U.S. negotiators.

U.S. officials say the principal concern was that the command post excavations looked just like missile silos and that even if a command post was installed in the underground chamber, it might be designed so that it could be quickly lifted out and be replaced by a missile.

Apparently, the Soviets supplied data showing that the command posts fixtures were permanent and could not be removed and provided other details which presumably would allow U.S. picture-taking satellites to verify the installations as command posts.

The Soviets reportedly also agreed not to operate their new radar during tests of missiles. The Russians apparently claimed the radar was for anti-bomber defense, but the United States felt that if it was operated during missile test flights—to see how it worked—it could also be developed as an ABM radar.

The dispute over allegedly covering up submarine construction areas reportedly dissolved after the Soviets made similar allegations about the United States.

As Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko are meeting in Vienna to try to work out problems that still stand in the way of a new arms accord being signed at a September summit meeting in this country, there have been indications of shifting U.S. positions on several issues.

Kissinger, who originally insisted that any missile tested with MIRV-type multiple warheads would be counted as MIRVed when deployed, apparently will back away somewhat from that position.

The Soviets are known to have deployed only a single warhead version of their big new SS-18 missiles thus far, though it has been tested about 10 times with multiple warheads.

The United States apparently is willing to allow the Russians to deploy perhaps 100 of these big missiles and count them as single warheads, if the Russians agree that they will not field any newer missiles that have both a single-warhead and multiple-warhead capability.

All told, the Russians are allowed slightly more than 300 of these big missiles and it is assumed the remainder will be counted as MIRVed.

Though the Soviets have tested the SS-18 with MIRVs, some U.S. officials believe there have not been enough tests for the Soviets to have confidence in it as an accurate MIRV weapon.

Thus, they believe that there is little risk in allowing the Soviets to count some missiles as carrying only one warhead.

This arrangement is viewed as almost certain to draw criticism from some on Capitol Hill, including Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.).

Presumably, it will be argued by critics that the United States will not be able to tell if the Soviets at some point convert the single-warhead SS-18 to a multiple-warhead version.

The United States is also known to be shifting its position on the new Russian "Backfire" bomber. Originally this new twin-jet bomber was not even mentioned in the proposed new arms accord to be signed later this year.

Now, however, the administration apparently wants the Russians to count it in the total of 2,400 individual strategic weapons each side is allowed.

BALTIMORE SUN - 20 MAY 1975 Pg. 2

North Korea says U.S. threatens nuclear war

Tokyo (AP)—North Korea said yesterday the United States considers South Korea a forward defense area and that U.S. officials have said "they would not hesitate" to use nuclear weapons in Korea if necessary.

A broadcast by the official (North) Korean Central News Agency alleged that President Ford and other American officials, as part of a pledge of continued military support to the South Korean government, said recently they would "launch all-out military intervention if necessary and would not hesitate in the use of nuclear weapons."

Asked for comment on the North Korean charge, Robert Funseth, a State Department spokesman, said "That's nonsense."

The North Korean broadcast said the U.S. will be "chased out of Korea and all other regions of Asia to the last man by the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the Asian people as they were kicked out of Indochina."

The broadcast said U.S. "boasting" over the rescue of the merchant ship Mayaguez from Cambodia is the "last-ditch effort of those falling into decay. The U.S. imperialists calculate that they can stay in Asia as ever with strength. But this is a serious miscalculation."

The broadcast said the regime of South Korea's President Chung Hee Park "will perish for good" if it defies North Korea's "serious warnings."

The North Korean broadcast said President Park has spoken of giving up efforts toward a dialogue with the North and instead to "fight and win," and that he had taken steps to suppress the South Korean people.

Mr. Park and his co-leaders "are in a miserable position of lonely puppets as their fellow puppets of Asia such as Lon Nol of Cambodia and [Nguyen Van] Thieu of South Vietnam bit the dust one after another," the broadcast said.

It said the Park government uses the "sheer fabrication" of the threat of a North Korean invasion to divert the attention of the South Korean people and split the ranks of movements against Mr. Park's one-man rule.

NEW YORK TIMES
20 MAY 1975
Pg. 66

North Korea in Tie to Burma

HONG KONG, May 19 (Reuters)—North Korea and Burma have agreed to establish diplomatic relations, the North Korean officials press agency reported today.

WASHINGTON POST
20 MAY 1975
Pg. 2

Diego Garcia Base

Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) warned that President Ford's insistence on going ahead with construction of a naval base in the Indian Ocean could lead to another Vietnam-type adventure.

Mansfield said Mr. Ford has certified to Congress that he considers construction of the Diego Garcia base "essential to the interest of the United States."

After reading Mr. Ford's certification, which was required by last year's military construction bill, Mansfield immediately introduced a resolution disapproving the construction. The Senate has 60 days to reject Mr. Ford's proposal.

WASHINGTON POST
20 MAY 1975
Pg. 6

Army Aide Picked As Under Secretary

Associated Press

President Ford yesterday nominated Norman R. Augustine, of McLean, to be undersecretary of the Army.

He will succeed Herman R Staudt, who resigned May 1. Augustine, 39, has been assistant secretary of the Army for research and development since September, 1973.

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TUESDAY MORNING, 20 MAY 1975

WASHINGTON POST - 20 MAY 1975 Pg. 12

Mayaguez Rescue Toll Revised

Again

The Pentagon once again revised its estimate of casualties in the Mayaguez rescue operation, reporting yesterday that 49 Americans were wounded.

Spokesman Joseph Laitin said the number of wounded was being reduced "for the time being" from the 70-to-80 estimate made Sunday by Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger. The toll of dead remained at five, with 16 listed as missing.

Officials at the Pentagon and the White House denied that the extent of U.S. casualties had been withheld purposely. There wasn't "any intention to hide any bad news," presidential press secretary Ron Nessen said yesterday.

"The President wants those figures as much as you do," Nessen said. "He is somewhat puzzled about the length of time it has taken."

Pentagon sources said the difficulty in obtaining an accurate casualty figure was due to the fact that the approximately 200 Marines and the Air Force crewmen flying them into action in helicopters were widely dispersed after the mission.

Thus, the military says, it has been difficult to get an accurate count of the surviving Marines. There is even some uncertainty, according to some sources, about precisely how many Marines were involved in the operation.

Many of the wounded, according to one Marine source, were "in the band-aid category," and only one Marine is so seriously wounded that he might not survive.

"There were a couple of headaches, some mild concussions and some slight hearing-loss reports," the source told United Press International. He said he suspected the concussions and hearing loss might have resulted from the dropping on Tang Island of a 15,000-pound bomb, the largest non-nuclear weapon in the U.S. arsenal.

The Pentagon also released yesterday the names of three of the servicemen killed. They are: Air Force 2d Lt. Richard Vendegeer, of Buckland, Mass.; Air Force S. Sgt. Elwood E. Rumbaugh, of Dothan, Ala., and Marine Lance Cpl. Ashton N. Loney, of Albany, N.Y.

Pentagon spokesman Laitin said the United States was making no efforts to search for bodies lost at sea. But the State Department acknowledged that it had contacted the International Red Cross in an effort to get the Cambodians to return any bodies that might have been left on the island.

Laitin said, "We are pretty certain no one was left alive on the island."

White House press secretary Nessen said he mas mistaken in announcing last week that Huang Chen, representative here of the People's Republic of China, returned a note to the State Department which he had been asked to transmit to Cambodia in connection with the Mayaguez seizure.

Actually, Nessen said, the Chinese representative declined to accept the message. The same message was given to the Chinese foreign ministry in Peking by George Bush, the American representative there, and it was returned the next day, Nessen said.

BALTIMORE SUN - 20 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

of regret assuages Thailand U.S. note

By HENRY L. TREWHITT
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—Tension between the United States and Thailand faded yesterday after the U.S. expressed official regret for "misunderstandings" arising from the rescue of the SS Mayaguez and its crew.

In Bangkok, Premier Kukrit Pramoj promptly treated the U.S diplomatic note as an apology "We shouldn't have any more trouble," he announced as hundreds of student demonstrators left the gates of the U.S. Embassy

Thai officials objected vigorously to U.S. use of a base in Thailand by marines engaged in seizing the Mayaguez back from Cambodia last week. Thailand has attempted, with mixed results, to come to political terms with its neighbors following Communist victories in Cambodia and South Vietnam.

In the State Department, a spokesman refused to characterize the note delivered in Bangkok by Edward E. Masters, deputy chief of the U.S. mission. Asked whether it was an apology, Robert E Funseth, the deputy press spokesman, said merely "I would just like to leave it where it is. We presented the note and they have accepted it."

The language of the note was open to different interpretations. Specifically, the U.S offered only "regrets for misunderstandings" arising from "unique circumstances [which] are not going to be repeated." Thailand's acceptance, a U.S. official said, "got us both off the hook."

The gesture to Thailand was only one in a series of developments resulting from the armed U.S. response to the seizure of the merchant vessel. In another, President Ford made known his irritation that the Defense Department, six days after the event, still is uncertain about the extent of U.S. casualties.

After one revision, a Defense Department spokesman said yesterday that the number of known dead remains at 5, with 16 missing. The number of wounded was revised downward to 49 from the "70 to 80" reported Sunday.

Joseph Laitin, assistant secretary of defense, said he hopes to have a "preliminary final figure" today. Of the five known dead, two were Air Force men and the rest marines.

The names of three of the dead were made public yesterday after notification of their families. They were Air Force Lt. Richard Vandegeer, of Buckland, Mass.; Air Force Sgt. Elwood E. Rumbaugh, of Dothan, Ala., and Marine Lance Cpl. Ashton N. Loney, of Albany, N.Y. Mr. Laitin said he could offer little hope for the survival of the missing, most of whom were believed to have perished in helicopter crashes at sea.

He added that he could "almost rule out the possibility" that any Americans were left alive on Koh Tang Island, the point of the brief U.S. invasion. The Mayaguez was seized there by the marines, though its crew of 39, later released by the Cambodians, had been transferred to another nearby island.

Ronald H. Nessen, White House press secretary, said Mr. Ford is "frustrated" and "somewhat puzzled" by the delay in reporting of precise casualty figures. Military officials explained that some marines had been separated from their units in the evacuation of Koh Tang Island and that casualties had been taken to separate hospitals in the Western Pacific.

Administration officials left no doubt, however, that they regarded the operation as an unambiguous success, both politically and militarily.

In that respect they assessed the outcome on several levels. Militarily it was a success simply because it worked, even though the operation was launched while the precise location of the Mayaguez's crew was unknown.

Politically it was regarded as a success, first, because Americans supported the use of force for the specific purpose of rescuing a single ship and its crew. More generally, in the official assessment, it demonstrated to the world that defeat in South Vietnam had not stripped the U.S. public of its will to use force when the circumstances required it.

This judgment prevailed even though further political setbacks are expected. U.S. officials said they expect Thailand to continue to loosen ties with Washington, even though the diplomatic note yesterday eased immediate tensions. The government in Bangkok has demanded the removal of the 29,000 Americans still there within a year

NEW YORK TIMES
20 MAY 1975 Pg. 27

North Koreans Report Big Sihanouk Welcome

TOKYO, May, 19 (AP) — Prince Norodom Sihanouk, head of state of Cambodia, arrived in Pyongyang, the North Korean capital, today and was warmly greeted by President Kim Il Sung and tens of thousands of workers, a broadcast said.

The Communists' press agency said Prince Sihanouk was welcomed as "the good will envoy of the heroic Cambodian people, who won a great victory in their struggle against United States aggression and for national salvation."

Prince Sihanouk has lived in Peking since his overthrow in 1970 by Marshal Lon Nol, whose Government fell to Communist-led forces on April 17. A recent report from Peking said he did not plan to return to Phnom Penh uneil after the Cambodian capital was "rehabilitated."

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WEAPONS 5-20
DAY LEAD
BY GENE BERNHARDT
WASHINGTON (UPI) -- DEFENSE-MINDED HOUSE MEMBERS HAVE SO FAR PREVENTED CRITICS OF PENTAGON SPENDING FROM CUTTING ANY MONEY FROM A $32 BILLION WEAPONS PROCUREMENT BILL.
FOUR SEPARATE PROPOSALS THAT WOULD HAVE SLICED NEARLY $1 BILLION FROM THE AUTHORIZATION MEASURE WERE EASILY REJECTED MONDAY AND THE HOUSE MOVED TOWARD FINAL PASSAGE TODAY. THE SENATE WILL START DEBATE LATER THIS WEEK ON ITS $30.3 BILLION VERSION OF THE SAME BILL.
THE PRIME TARGET OF THE CRITICS WAS THE B1 BOMBER. SO FAR, THREE PROTOTYPES HAVE BEEN BUILT AND ONE HAS BEEN FLOWN. THE PENTAGON WANTS 244 OF THEM, DESIGNED TO REPLACE THE AGING B52 AS THE NATION'S HEAVY BOMBER FOR NUCLEAR WAR AND OTHER MAJOR MISSIONS.
AN EFFORT TO CUT $108 MILLION FOR CONSTRUCTION OF A FOURTH PROTOTYPE WAS DEFEATED MONDAY, 227-164. A NEW EFFORT IS EXPECTED TO DELETE ALL OF THE $948.5 MILLION IN THE MEASURE FOR THE B1.
REP. LES ASPIN, D-WIS., A PENTAGON CRITIC, SAID "BOMBERS ARE OBSOLETE IN THIS DAY OF MISSILES," BUT A STRONG PENTAGON SUPPORTER, REP. JOE D. WAGGONNER JR., D-LA., SAID "IF YOU DO AWAY WITH CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS THEN YOU HASTEN THE DAY OF THE NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST BECAUSE YOU WON'T HAVE ANY WEAPONS LEFT TO FIGHT A CONVENTIONAL WAR."
REP. F. EDWARD HEBERT, D-LA., FORMER ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN, SAID "THE SOVIETS ARE VITALLY INTERESTED IN WHAT THIS HOUSE DOES ABOUT THE B1 BOMBER. THEY DON'T WANT IT. I WOULD HOPE WE WOULD HAVE THE GUTS TO KEEP THIS PROGRAM GOING."
UPI 05-20 04:35 AED

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BY STEVE GERSTEL
WASHINGTON (UPI) -- THE SENATE HAS VOTED TO LIFT THE EMBARGO ON U.S. MILITARY AID TO TURKEY, GIVING A NARROW VOTE OF CONFIDENCE TO THE FORD-KISSINGER EFFORTS AT SEEKING A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT.
THE SENATE VOTED 41-40 TO SUSPEND THE EMBARGO, WHICH HAS BEEN IN EFFECT SINCE FEB. 5. THE HOUSE STILL MUST ACT.
BUT HIGH ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS TOLD CHAIRMAN JOHN J. SPARKMAN, D-ALA., OF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE THAT SENATE ACTION ALONE MIGHT "ADD MOVEMENT" TO TURKEY-GREECE DISCUSSIONS OVER CYPRUS.
SENATE DEMOCRATIC LEADER MIKE MANSFIELD SAID PASSAGE OF THE BILL WAS "A FIRST STEP BUT A MOST IMPORTANT ONE TO BRING ABOUT A SETTLEMENT OF THE CYPRUS SITUATION WHICH, IN THE LONG RUN, WOULD BE IN THE BEST INTEREST OF GREECE, OF CYPRUS, OF TURKEY, AND THE UNITED STATES."
CONGRESS LAST YEAR IMPOSED THE EMBARGO AFTER TURKEY INVADED CYPRUS FOLLOWING A COUP WHICH TOPPLED THE MAKARIOS GOVERNMENT. CONGRESSIONAL BACKERS OF THE BAN CLAIMED TURKEY VIOLATED THE AGREEMENT UNDER WHICH IT RECEIVED ARMS AID. THE AGREEMENT STIPULATED THAT THE WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION COULD BE USED ONLY IN SELF-DEFENSE.
CONGRESS GRANTED TWO GRACE PERIODS, THE SECOND OF WHICH EXPIRED FEB. 5.
UNDER TERMS OF THE SENATE-PASSED BILL, THE UNITED STATES COULD RESUME ARMS AID IF TURKEY OBSERVED THE CEASE-FIRE, DID NOT INCREASE ITS FORCES ON THE ISLAND AND DID NOT SHIFT ANY U.S. ARMS TO CYPRUS.
SUPPORTERS OF THE BILL -- SOME OF THEM WITH A NOTABLE LACK OF ENTHUSIASM -- SAID THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO WAS NEEDED TO GIVE PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER FLEXIBILITY IN SEEKING A SOLUTION TO THE DISPUTE.
CHAIRMAN JOHN C. STENNIS, D-MISS., OF THE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE, SAID THE "BEST HOPE FOR A SOLUTION IS TO REMOVE THE HANDCUFFS FROM OUR PRESIDENT AND ALLOW HIM TO MANEUVER AS THE SITUATION DICTATES."
KISSINGER IS DUE TO MEET WITH THE TURKS AND GREEKS IN ANKARA WEDNESDAY AND FORD AT A NATO SUMMIT MEETING LATER THIS MONTH.
SEN. THOMAS F. EAGLETON, D-MO., LEADING THE OPPOSITION, NOTED TURKISH THREATS TO CLOSE U.S. BASES BUT ADDED "THAT IS NOT THE ISSUE.
"THE REAL QUESTION IS WHETHER THE UNITED STATES CAN AFFORD TO SUCCUMB TO BLACKMAIL," EAGLETON SAID. "IF THE UNITED STATES MAKES AN EXCEPTION TO AN IMPORTANT BILATERAL AGREEMENT TO SATISFY TURKISH DEMANDS FOR A RESUMPTION OF AID, WE WILL LEAVE AMERICAN BASES AROUND THE WORLD OPEN TO DIPLOMATIC EXTORTION."
UPI 05-20 04:30 AED

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CURRENT NEWS

PART II - MAIN EDITION - 1130

THIS SUPPLEMENTS PART I-EARLY BIRD EDITION

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MONDAY, MAY 19, 1975

CHICAGO TRIBUNE - 19 MAY 1975 Pg. 2

U.S. warns North Koreans

WASHINGTON [UPI] — Defense Secretary James Schlesinger said Sunday that the United States might "go for the heart of the opponent's power" if North Korea invaded South Korea. He also held out the possibility of using military force to counter another Arab oil embargo.

Obviously buoyed by the recapture of the freighter Mayaguez from Cambodia and the liberation of its crew, Schlesinger predicted that the U.S. will follow a bold, no-nonsense policy toward direct aggressors in the post-Viet Nam era.

In an interview in U.S. News & World Report magazine, he said the nation learned lessons from its Viet Nam experience that will apply to future conflicts.

"U.S. COMMITMENTS to Northeast Asia—to Korea as well as to Japan—will be perceived as something no one should challenge," Schlesinger said.

Pressed for details on exactly how the U.S. would react to a North Korean invasion, he said:

"One of the lessons of the Vietnamese conflict is that rather than simply counter your opponent's thrusts, it is necessary to go for the heart of the opponent's power—destroy his military forces, rather than simply being involved endlessly in ancillary military operations."

Discussing the possibility of another oil embargo, Schlesinger said: "I think we are less likely to be tolerant of a renewed embargo than we were of the initial one in 1973."

ASKED WHAT he meant by "less tolerant," he replied:

"I'm not going to indicate

See KOREANS, Pg. 3

NEW YORK TIMES
19 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

SADAT WILL SPEAK FOR ARAB NATIONS AT FORD MEETING

By HENRY TANNER
Special to The New York Times

DAMASCUS, Syria, May 18—President Anwar el-Sadat, winding up a week-long tour of four Arab nations, declared here today that he had obtained a mandate to speak for the Arab world, not just Egypt, when he meets with President Ford in Salzburg, Austria, on June 1.

Speaking at a news conference as Yasir Arafat, the head of the Palestine Liberation Organization, sat next to him, Mr. Sadat made it plain that he felt his trip had strengthened the Egyptian negotiating position.

Egyptian officials had said that the prime purpose of Mr. Sadat's trip was to create an Arab consensus on a Geneva peace conference and on what Arab governments expect from the United States.

Arrived From Jordan

Mr. Sadat arrived here last night from Jordan, Where he conferred with King Hussein. Earlier in the week he held lengthy private talks with the leaders of Iraq and Kuwait. Last night and again this morning he talked for several hours alone with President Hafez al-Assad of Syria.

Informed Arab diplomats from several countries said that the talks had led to an emerging consensus on the following points:

¶The Arabs insist that the Palestine Liberation Organization, the umbrella group for the guerrillas, attend the Geneva

See SADAT, Pg. 2

WASHINGTON POST
19 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

U.S., Soviets To Focus on Arms Limits

By Murrey Marder
Washington Post Staff Writer

VIENNA, May 18—In talks opening here Monday, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko are expected to explore a compromise to break a stalemate in the strategic nuclear arms negotiations.

Kissinger arrived in this Austrian capital tonight for a two-day review with Gromyko of the prospects for quickening the delayed pace of detente. The dominant subjects are the slowed-down strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) and the continuing threat of warfare in the Middle East.

"We will make every effort to improve prospects for peace," Kissinger said as he was greeted by Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky.

Newsmen were told of American hopes that the Soviet Union will not attempt to exploit major setbacks to U.S. policy since the previous Kissinger-Gromyko talks, in Geneva last February. The U.S. defeat in Indochina and collapse of Kissinger's Arab-Israeli shuttle diplomacy in March are hardly overcome by the display of American force in the freeing of the S.S. Mayaguez and its crew off Cambodia last week, U.S. officials concede. The Mayaguez affair, however, relieved the Ford administration of the "humiliation" it feared it might suffer from bargaining with Cambodia over basic American rights at a sensitive stage in U.S.-Soviet relations.

Newsmen accompanying

See ARMS, Pg. 2

BALTIMORE SUN
19 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Pentagon lifts toll to 5 dead

Rescued crew says marines hit wrong isle

From Wire Services

The Defense Department yesterday said 5 American servicemen were killed and 70 to 80 men wounded in the rescue of the U.S. freighter Mayaguez and its 39-man crew from Cambodian captivity—with many of the losses coming in an invasion of what proved to be the wrong island.

James R. Schlesinger, the Defense Secretary, said in a Washington television interview yesterday that 16 men still are listed as missing.

"They hit the wrong island," said Bill Bellinger, 52, a mess attendant from Washington who was aboard the Mayaguez. "We were 25 miles away from the island the marines landed on. They went where they thought we were."

Meanwhile, a senior American official yesterday said the U.S. seriously considered B-52 bombing raids on Cambodia last week in order to recapture the American merchant ship and its crew.

Speaking aboard the plane of the Secretary of State, Henry A. Kissinger, en route to Vienna and talks with the Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei A. Gromyko, the official said no one in the Ford administration wanted to use the big bombers.

See PENTAGON, Pg. 3

JAMES KILLINGBECK, CHIEF, CURRENT NEWS BRANCH, OX 78765 HELEN YOUNG, ASSISTANT CHIEF

FOR SPECIAL RESEARCH SERVICES OR DISTRIBUTION CALL HARRY ZUBKOFF, CHIEF, EXECUTIVE AGENCY SERVICE, OX 52884

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ARMS ... CONTINUED

Kissinger were told that the National security Council's nuclear strategy "verification panel" met at the White House yesterday to coordinate policy for these Kissinger-Gromyko negotiations.

The United States is now described as prepared to consider a possible compromise on a technical but key issue deadlocked in SALT—how to verify the ceiling figures on strategic nuclear delivery systems agreed upon by President Ford and Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev at Vladivostok last November.

It was decided then that each country would be limited to 2,400 strategic vehicles, including missiles and long-range bombers. Of those, no more than 1,320 could carry multiple warheads, known by the acronym MIRV.

Until now, the United States has said publicly that it would insist on counting as MIRVs all Soviet missiles tested with multiple warheads. In the detailed negotiations at Geneva, which recessed in an impasse last week, the Soviets balked at the American "counting rules." They proposed a formula to preserve the right to put either multiple or single warheads on some of the same missiles.

Newsmen were told that the United States is now prepared to consider other means to distinguish between single and multiple warheads, provided there is adequate verification of what types are used within the established ceilings.

The United States already has submitted to the Soviets some alternate ideas to combine approaches to this obstacle and other problems in SALT, it was learned.

Kissinger and Gromyko, who arrives here Monday, are not expected to get into technical negotiations, but to concentrate on a political compromise. If Gromyko offers movement on the Soviet side, the results will be reviewed at another White House meeting Saturday. Kissinger plans to be back in Washington then, after a week's tour which includes stops in Bonn, West Berlin, and an annual review meeting of the Central Treaty Organization in Ankara, Turkey, on Thursday and Friday.

Kissinger told a news conference Friday that arms limitation talks are "now at a point where a political decision will have to be made by both sides to move the negotiations forward and to break some of the deadlocks."

The Middle East is expected to be the prime topic of the Kissinger-Gromyko talks Tuesday.

The Soviet Union has been pressing to shift the Arab-Israeli negotiations to a renewed Geneva conference since the failure of Kissinger's March attempt to achieve a second Egyptian-Israeli military disengagement. But the

BALTIMORE SUN (19)
17 MAY 1975 Pg. 2

Kosygin sees Bourguiba

Tunis (Reuter)—Soviet Prime Minister Alexei N. Kosygin had a first round of talks with President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia yesterday morning. Another round is planned this morning just before Mr. Kosygin leaves after a two-day official visit.

Soviets also are wary about getting stuck with demanding a conference that ends in similar failure.

The Soviets will be pressing the United States on its intentions in Middle East diplomacy. Kissinger reportedly will tell Gromyko the United States cannot supply an answer until after the scheduled talk between President Ford and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat in nearby Salzburg on June 1 and 2, and a meeting between the President and Israeli Premier Yitzhak Rabin in Washington in early June, and perhaps talks with other leaders.

Gromyko, in a speech last Wednesday, chided Kissinger's step-by-step diplomatic Middle East effort, saying these approaches "ought to really be called 'the tactics of step-by-step further away from a settlement.' " That was an unusual personal jab at Kissinger by the Soviet foreign minister.

American officials, however, have chosen to treat Gromyko's remarks as "tit-for-tat" tactics, rather than bristling over them. Kissinger has reproached the Soviet Union in recent warnings that Soviet temptations "to exploit strategic opportunities" constitute "a heavy mortgage on detente." [The Soviet Communist Party newspaper Pravda published a strong endorsement of detente on the eve of the Kissinger-Gromyko meeting, news services reported from Moscow.]

Kissinger is counting on one expected development in the Senate to alleviate a problem on another front—strained U.S. relations with Turkey over the Greek-Turkish-Cyprus tangle. Senate majority leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) reportedly has informed Kissinger that he will call up a bill Monday—to suspend the Feb. 5 congressional cutoff on U.S. military aid to Turkey.

Without parallel action by the House, which is said to be out of the question, the Senate action could only be a token gesture toward Turkey. Kissinger, however, seeks to use it diplomatically as a show of goodwill, with hope that the gesture can be built upon diplomatically to make some progress in the Cyprus dispute that could induce the House to rescind the ban on U.S. aid to Turkey.

SADAT ..... CONTINUED

conference as a separate delegation, and Mr. Sadat will seek to persuade President Ford to join the Soviet Union in inviting the Palestinians to the conference.

¶King Hussein, in a major policy shift, is reported to have indicated that he may be willing to attend the Geneva conference without professing to speak for the Palestinians.

¶Mr. Sadat has assured Syria that he will not resume negotiations for a bilateral disengagement agreement with Israel, which broke down during Secretary of State Kissinger's last diplomatic mission in March.

¶Mr. Sadat will ask Mr. Ford to state publicly that the United States wants Israel to return to the lines that her forces held before the war of June, 1967.

¶Mr. Sadat has started an arbitration procedure that he hopes will lead to a settlement of the feud between Syria and Iraq.

King Hussein's attitude toward the Geneva conference was the most important subject discussed by the King and Mr. Sadat in Amman yesterday, according to informed sources.

In the past the King has taken the position that Jordan has no place at the conference because Arab leaders at their summit meeting in Rabat, Morocco, last October decided to recognize the P.L.O. rather than Jordan as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, including those in Jordan.

Egypt and other moderate Arab nations want Jordan to be present at the talks since she is a neighbor of Israel and a military power facing Israeli forces on a 200-mile front.

Mr. Sadat, before the Rabat meeting, had agreed with King Hussein that Jordan should speak for the Palestinians at Geneva. His assumption, and that of King Hussein, was that the Israelis might be willing to return occupied territory to Jordan but not to the P.L.O. This position was overruled by the other Arab leaders.

Rabat Decisions Irreversible

During his tour now, Mr. Sadat is understood to have concurred with the leaders of Kuwait, Iraq and Syria that the decisions made at Rabat cannot be reversed.

He withdrew his suggestions that the Arab League should represent the Palestinians in the initial phase of the conference or that the Arabs should form a single delegation that would include Palestinian members.

Informed Arab diplomats today said, however, that the Arabs would not insist that the Palestinians attend the conference from the beginning. They do insist, the diplomats said, that the principle of independent Palestinian participation be established from the outset. This position is believed to have the support of Mr. Arafat.

Mr. Sadat is expected to press this proposal at his Salzburg meeting with President Ford. The United States and the Soviet Union are co-chairmen of the Geneva conference and will have to send out invitations.

Seeks July Conference

Egypt is understood to be pressing for a resumption of the Geneva conference in July.

Egyptian officials said here today that they thought the consultations with the other Arab leaders had strengthened Mr. Sadat's negotiating position for his talks with Mr. Ford and also for Geneva.

They said that even the Iraqis had told Mr. Sadat that while they disagree with the entire negotiating process that he advocates, they wish him success and will not embarass him.

Meanwhile, members of President Sadat's entourage categorically denied that Egypt intends to seek American financial assistance to settle Egypt's huge debt to the Soviet Union.

This was not what the President said or what he meant in an interview published by the Lebanese weekly Al Hawadess and quoted by The New York Times and other papers, the Egyptian sources said.

Specific Uses for Aid

American financial aid for the current fiscal year and for next year has been clearly earmarked for specific purposes, the sources said. It permits the purchase of such things as wheat, machinery, industrial spare parts and desperately needed improvements in the port of Alexandria, Egypt's only major harbor, which is badly clogged.

American aid this year is $250-million dollars and is expected to rise to $350-million next year.

There is no connection between American financial assistance and the Egyptian debt to the Soviet Union, the sources said.

Mr. Sadat has asked the Soviet leaders to reschedule Egypt's huge dept, but his request has been rejected, he has stated.

Economic Needs Cited

In this situation, informed sources said, the Egyptian treasury will make payments to the Soviet Union only to the extent that vital Egyptian needs permit.

They cited theseveral hundred million dollars the Government is spending on subsidies to industry and agriculture as well as the need to improve the country's economic structure, which has been neglected because of the heavy military expenditures arising from the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Egypt is heavily dependent on financial assistance from the Arab oil-producing countries. Some of these Arab contributions go straight into the national budget and thus, by reducing other burdens, would enable Egypt to make larger payments to the Soviet Union, the sources said.

United States assistance, if it became heavy, also would strengthen Egypt's financial position and hence indirectly improve Egypt's ability to repay her creditors.

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PENTAGON ..... CONTINUED

But he added such raids were a real possibility once it was decided that some kind of military action was necessary to carry off the rescue.

The official expressed anger over reports being leaked about the B-52 option, saying such acts make operation of the government nearly impossible.

A President must have the latitude to look at all the options, he said, without having someone reveal the alternatives in order to take credit for preventing them from being implemented.

The official did not say who might have leaked information about the B-52 idea and added there is no reason to think it occurred in the Pentagon.

It is known that Mr. Kissinger and Mr Schlesinger were in disagreement during the Mayaguez crisis, with the secretary of state pushing for quicker and harder military action than the Pentagon chief.

A Pentagon spokesman confirmed Mr. Bellinger's statement about invading the wrong island, saying that at the time, of the invasion, there was no firm information on the crew's location.

"The launch was made against the island where we knew the ship was on the presumption that some or all of the crew might be there," he said. "As things turned out, they apparently were on an island 25 miles away."

"They probably were unaware we had left the island," said Capt. Charles T. Miller, 62, of Fountain Valley, Calif. "I guess the marines from the destroyer escorts were not informed. They were coming from Subic in the Philippines and the surveillance planes were from someplace else."

The captain said the men were on an island his charts identified as Rong San Lem, about 25 miles from Koh Tang, also known as Tang Island. According to Pentagon reports, about 200 marines landed on the beach at Koh Tang and remained under heavy Cambodian fire for about 10 hours after the freed Mayaguez crew reached the destroyer U.S.S. Wilson.

Speculation about the marine landing on Koh Tang came during a shipboard post-mortem while 20 new crew members flown from the United States signed aboard the vessel. Twenty-one of the 39 men who were held captive will leave for home, Captain Miller said.

The casualty figures disclosed yesterday by Mr. Schlesinger still do not jibe with those of Captain Miller, who said Saturday he knows of at least seven marines killed.

The captain reiterated yesterday that seven dead marines already were "on ice" when he victims of a helicopter crash.

Until yesterday, the Defense Department was reporting 1 marine dead, 13 missing and 22 wounded.

"The numbers are a little bit higher than was initially released," Mr. Schlesinger said on the ABC program Issues and Answers. "As a result of the reassessment . . . I think the current indication is something like three marines and two airmen were killed . . . that is the general indication."

Mr. Schlesinger said he believes Captain Miller was in error when he told a press conference in Singapore that he had seen seven bodies aboard the Wilson.

"I think the captain was in error," the defense secretary said. "Those probably referred to wounded marines rather than marines who had been killed."

Asked about protests by Thailand over use of the air base there for the operation, Mr. Schlesinger said it was necessary for the United States to take the action it did.

"We took a response under the circumstances that was firm and judicious," he said. "It accomplished the objectives. This has been, including an element of good fortune, a very successful operation and I would not change it."

Of the diplomatic impact on Thailand and other Southeast Asian allies, Mr. Schlesinger said: "The main point is the United States must take action to defend the right of innocent passage, to defend the right of freedom of the seas. . . . I do not think, given the direct circumstances, that the United States could have reacted otherwise.

"We took an action that was firm and was also right."

Asked whether inability to communicate with the Cambodian government—in the absence of diplomatic relations—contributed to the situation, Mr Schlesinger said the issue of recognizing the Cambodian and South Vietnamese governments would have to be reviewed by the State Department.

"It is difficult at best, even for those prepared to recognize the Cambodian government, to communicate with it," he added.

He defended the operation against charges that U.S. bombers attacked the Cambodian mainland after the Mayaguez crew had boarded the Wilson, that the bombings were conducted to "teach the Cambodians a lesson."

"In all some 15 tactical air sorties were directed against the mainland. . . . This was a very prudent, limited use of force. . . . The motivation was clearly to protect the marines on the island [of Koh Tang]. The marines still were engaged on the island."

Captain Miller said the Mayaguez, which is named for a city in Puerto Rico, was scheduled to depart for Hong Kong before dawn today. He said much of its cargo had been unloaded during the night and replaced with Hong Kong-bound freight. The cargo was not opened when the containers were taken off the ship, but the ship's owners said it included only non-military goods.

The captain also said he had heard the Thai government does not want the Mayaguez to visit again at Bangkok or the port of Sattahip and that the ship would be transferred to the Hong Kong-Subic Bay (Philippines), run by its company, Sea-Land. Thailand, concerned about relations with its new Communist neighbors, has strongly protested the use of U.S. bases in Thailand to launch the rescue.

KOREANS ... CONT'D

any prospective reaction other than to point out there are economic, political, or—conceivably—military, measures in response."

Schlesinger said the call for "no more Viet Nams" "does not necessarily mean the American people are flatly opposed to military solutions to problems.

"The main point is that the U.S. fares far better under situations in which there is an unambiguous assault—an unprovoked aggression, an attack across a line of demarcation—than it does under conditions such as those which existed in Viet Nam," he said.

"IF THE interests of the U.S. are openly and clearly attacked, I think that the response of the American public will be to fulfill the obligations into which we have entered.

"By contrast, I think the expression 'no more Viet Nams' refers to getting involved in what is perceived to be unclear and ambiguous internal turmoil."

Schlesinger also said the U.S. now has "a smaller percentage of men under arms" than it did after the World War II demobilization, and "he proportion of our public expenditures going for defense is the lowest since before Pearl Harbor."

HE SAID the trend of shrinking U.S. military power and expanding Soviet power must be halted if the U.S. is to maintain a workable detente with the Soviets.

"I do not think that it is all that difficult to convey to the U.S. public that a military equilibrium underlies detente," he said, "Military strength and peace go together."

WASHINGTON POST
19 MAY 1975 Pg. 11

Mrs. Binh Briefs 9 Envoys

South Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Thi Binh has briefed envoys of nine Communist countries and received their assurances of support in expanding the revolution, the Vietcong radio reported yesterday.

Mrs. Binh received ambassadors of the Soviet Union, China, Cambodia, Cuba, East Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Romania on Saturday, the radio said. Apparently they met in Saigon.

The briefing on the "situation after the /April 30? liberation" included "certain subjects which could reinforce links between the countries," the broadcast added.

The nine ambassadors assured they would "continue to support and aid our people in its efforts to protect and expand the results of the dazzling revolution," it said.

According to the same broadcast, another 400 prisoners from the Conson Island "tiger cages" returned to Saigon, bringing the total released to 1,300.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government ordered workers at Tansonnhut airport under the previous government to return to their jobs so that international flights could resume.

Finally, the radio acknowledged that people are starving but said the new rulers have distributed 1,100 tons of rice to more than 220,000 persons. It said committees have been formed to make citizens realize that "the present starvation is caused by the former regime."

WASHINGTON POST (19)
17 MAY 1975 Pg. 7

Japan-Canada Links

Agence France-Presse

TOKYO May 16 — Japanese and Canadian officials will meet here for four days next week to discuss scientific and technological cooperation, the Science and Technology Agency announced today.

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WASHINGTON POST - 19 MAY 1975 Pg. 8

U.S. Sends Bangkok Apology

BANGKOK, May 19 (Monday) (AP)—The U.S. government sent a note Monday to the Thai government expressing regret for the unauthorized use of Thai bases as a takeoff-point for the rescue of the crew of the freighter Mayaguez. The note stopped short of the apology demanded by the Bangkok government.

The note U.S. charge d'affaires Edward Masters handed to Thai Foreign Minister Chatichai Choonhavan pledged that "the unique circumstances that have led to the recent turn of events . . . are not going to be repeated."

"The United States regrets misunderstandings that have arisen between Thailand and the United States in the recent temporary placement of Marines at Utapao Air Base to assist in the recovery of the SS Mayaguez," the note said.

There was no immediate indication whether this would satisfy the Thai government. Premier Kukrit Pramoj said earlier that an expression of regret by Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger at a news conference last week was insufficient.

Kukrit today rejected a demand for a speedup in the withdrawal of the remaining 25,000 U.S. troops in Thailand.

Socialist party leaders and student activists had urged the premier last week to speed up the withdrawal because of the use of Thai bases in the American operation to free the Mayaguez.

The United States has agreed to withdraw 5,500 troops by the end of June and the rest within a year.

Students burned effigies of Uncle Sam and Kissinger in front of the U.S. embassy Sunday after an all-night vigil to back demands that Washington apologize for using Thailand in the rescue of the Mayaguez.

The students tore from the embassy gate the remnant of the American eagle seal they had defaced on Saturday and replaced it with a cartoon eagle bearing the inscription, "Bandit's Hideaway."

The crowd listened to speeches most of the day Sunday and then began to disperse after learning the foreign minister had set the Tuesday deadline for an apology.

A 61-union labor group—not a formidable force in Thailand—joined students in demanding withdrawal of U.S. troops as soon as possible and threatened "drastic action" against American acitivities in Thailand if there is no apology. It did not specify any action.

Several legislators have demanded a special parliamentary session on U.S.-Thai military agreements, but it will take days to get under way.

Chatichai told student representatives at his home that Thai Ambassador to Washington Anand Panyarachun, who has been recalled but is still in the United States, would be instructed to wait no longer before returning home if the apology was not received by Tuesday. Chatichai also said he would summon U.S. diplomats here for discussions.

Thailand, wanting to shake its identification with the U.S. war effort in Vietnam and get relations off on a safe footing with its new Communist neighbors, objected to the dispatch of more than 1,000 Marines to Thailand without Bangkok's permission and to the fact that American planes made bombing and strafing runs from bases here in efforts to free the merchant ship.

Prime Minister Kukrit told newsmen the United States could still have good relations with Thailand, its last ally on the Southeast Asian mainland, if Washington apologizes for its disregard of official Thai requests.

Thailand also is reviewing its military and economic agreements with the United States because of the Mayaguez affair. Under a secret agreement made in the 1960s, the United States still has 25,000 troops and 350 military aircraft at four bases in Thailand, but it has agreed to remove 5,500 by the end of June. The Thai government says it wants the rest out by March.

BALTIMORE SUN - 19 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Russia fears China is stealing its friends

Moscow Bureau of The Sun

Moscow—The Soviet Union is showing signs of serious concern that China is succeeding in outflanking it with new diplomatic moves.

Moscow appears especially worried that the warm welcome given Teng Hsiao-ping, the Chinese deputy premier, in Paris last week will mark the start of a general warming of China's relations with Western Europe.

Similarly, Moscow is expressing concern that the earlier visit to Peking of a delegation of Japan's Socialist party, which had pushed the improvement of Soviet-Japanese relations for many years, will lend considerable weight to the movement in Japan to put ties with China ahead of those with the Soviet Union if a choice must be made.

Soviet commentators also have expressed unease recently over the visits of African and Asian leaders to the Chinese capital, seeing them all as part of "a hegemonistic Chinese drive against the Soviet Union."

They apparently included—but could not say so—the April visit of Kim Il Sung, the North Korean leader, in this analysis. Soviet specialists on Asian affairs expressed considerable anxiety privately over the "higher revolutionary unity" proclaimed by China and North Korea at the end of the visit.

The breadth of the Chinese diplomatic initiative—Mexico, Pakistan, Iran, Tunisia, Belgium have been involved so far as well as France, Japan and North Korea—seems to have caught the Kremlin by surprise.

Moscow had presumed that conflicts within the Chinese leadership would continue and prevent Peking from undertaking any serious diplomatic activities.

Moscow also appears to be shocked that several of its partners in the process of East-West detente, as well as what it regards as rightist and reactionary forces, have become Peking's active partners as well.

Pravda, the Soviet Communist party newspaper, published a lengthy commentary yesterday on the visit of the Japanese Socialists, who have had special ties to the Soviet Communists for a number of years, that portrayed the Japanese as renegades.

Pravda noted that only last October the Japanese Socialists sent a delegation to Moscow, and it had noted "the Soviet Union's important contribution to the cause of strengthening peace and international security." How could the party now align itself, *Pravda* demanded, with China?

The visit of Teng Hsiao-ping to Paris also has been widely commented upon by Soviet analysts, who regarded France not only as Moscow's original partner in East-West detente but as the pacesetter in European diplomacy.

Izvestia, the principal Soviet government newspaper, said in a weekend commentary that China had used the visit to "put new obstacles in the path of the relaxation of international tensions."

Peking opposes, *Izvestia* warned, European detente, even the very "idea of collective security and stronger peace in Europe."

The basis of China's European policy, Moscow said in an explicit warning to France and other Western European countries, is "anti-Sovietism," implying that European countries cannot improve their relations with China and expect to have closer ties with the Soviet Union as well.

Soviet commentators have expressed particularly strong concern at the new ties between China and the Common Market, seeing a Chinese effort to thwart the growth of trade between Eastern and Western Europe. But Moscow itself has not been able to recognize the Common Market and deal with it as a whole as China is willing to do.

As Soviet analysts assess the Chinese initiatives, they see Moscow's efforts at detente threatened and an effort by Peking to encircle the Soviet Union with China's friends.

The damage that the Chinese moves might do to Soviet efforts to improve relations with the West is the principal concern, however, for Soviet commentators see serious possibilities that some Western nations and Japan may decide to slow their rapprochement with Moscow to improve relations with China, that is, begin to play a balancing game.

"While the desire of most Japanese—and this can be said of most people in the West who are realistically minded, as well—is to normalize and improve relations with China Peking has set a high price for this, nothing less than adoption of an anti-Soviet stand," a Soviet commentator wrote last week.

"This places progressive Japanese in the position of weighing the benefits of better ties with China against better ties with the Soviet Union. Yet this is a false approach, and sensible people will see that by this very maneuver China has proven itself a false friend and untrustworthy."

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EDITORIALS

WALL STREET JOURNAL - 19 MAY 1975

The SALT Deadlock

Secretary of State Kissinger meets with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko today in Vienna to try, among other things, to resolve the deadlock in the strategic arms negotiations intended to implement the agreement-to-agree announced with such fanfare at Vladivostok last November. The deadlock is itself a sign of the pitfalls in this manner of negotiating, and the resolution is likely to be worse.

Agreements on numerical ceilings were announced at Vladivostok, and a treaty is supposed to be signed at the Ford-Brezhnev summit later this year. In between, there are talks in Geneva that are supposed to work out the details. Details include the definitions of which weapons do and do not count against the Vladivostok ceilings and, above all, the matter of verification. That is, the means by which each side can tell whether the other is cheating, particularly whether it is installing multiple warheads (MIRVs) on more missiles than the agreement allows.

The Geneva talks are deadlocked because the Soviets have taken a totally intransigent position, insisting on settling each technical issue to their advantage. As an example of their tactics, when the negotiations opened they offered a proposed treaty text that put the contemplated follow-on agreements for force reduction in the context of their long-standing demand for compensation for U.S. nuclear forces in Europe and for "third-country" nuclear forces, thus reintroducing two issues on which they supposedly made "concessions" at Vladivostok.

Of more immediate concern is the question of what kind of bombers count against the total of 2,400 strategic delivery vehicles allowed by the Vladivostok agreement. The issue centers around the Backfire, the Soviets' most modern bomber. The Soviets are insisting that it not be included, on the grounds that it cannot without refueling fly from the Soviet Union to the U.S. and back. But since it is an extremely effective plane and could bomb the U.S. and land in, say, Cuba, the U.S. position is that it is clearly a strategic weapon. Since acceptance of the Soviet position would in effect count our bomber force but leave the most important part of theirs unrestrained, a quick test of the Kissinger-Gromyko results will be whether this U.S. position is abandoned.

A second issue involves the difference between the cruise missile, a sort of drone aircraft that can be launched by bombers distant from targets, and air-mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles. The agreement bans air-launched missiles with a range of over 600 miles. The Russians say this includes cruise missiles. The Americans say the whole context of the agreement concerns ballistic missiles. In any event, the range of cruise missiles is totally unverifiable. Especially since Mr. Kissinger's briefings disclose some confusion about whether the number is 600 miles or 600 kilometers, the disagreement seems a testimony to the danger of one-man negotiation. U.S. military representatives were present at Vladivostok.

Finally and most significantly of all, there is the whole question of verifying which missiles have been MIRVed. The U.S. position is that any missile that has been tested with MIRV warheads will be assumed to be MIRVed. The Soviets are resisting this approach. Secretary Kissinger has said quite strongly (see Notable and Quotable nearby) that without this verification formula there can be no agreement. What is being tested in Vienna today is whether he has the courage of that conviction.

These issues may be technical, but their importance is underlined by growing concern about Soviet violations of the SALT-I agreement. As part of its ban on anti-missile systems, for example, that treaty outlaws the use of air-defense radars in an ABM mode, though allowing exceptions for "range safety" and "instrumentation" tests. U.S. technicians do not believe the repeated Soviet tests qualify under this exception, and suspect they are in fact an effort to upgrade air-defense radars into ABM ones. In a number of similar ways the Soviets are pressing every ambiguity in SALT-I, but the U.S. has offered its protests only at the most routine level.

Surely this is a warning that the technicalities are important, all the more so since the context of the agreement is that the Soviet strategic developments are soaring while the U.S. developments are declining, and since at its best the Vladivostok agreement gives the Soviets a 3-1 advantage in missile throw-weight, the best single measure of destructive power and potential warhead numbers.

The danger is that the negotiators are working under a self-imposed deadline, which is bound to weigh more heavily on a democratic government than a totalitarian one. The U.S. will be severely handicapped in Vienna today, and at any forthcoming summit, unless its leaders are willing if necessary to go back to its people to say, yes, we thought we had an agreement originally, but since the Soviets have been less cooperative than we expected, we do not have an agreement today.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

19 MAY 1975

The naval challenge

The rescue of the freighter Mayaguez focuses dramatically on the importance of American sea power. Similarly do recent Soviet naval exercises demonstrate the Soviet Union's determination to become a global naval power. There is little doubt the Russians hope eventually to achieve parity with and even surpass America's present capability on the seas and to use their navy for political — and if need be military — purposes.

In the face of this Soviet challenge, several conclusions suggest themselves:

- It is vital to world stability and the West's security that the United States maintain its naval supremacy. The Russians do not depend on the seas for their survival; the West does. America must therefore keep its navy modernized, efficient and fully able to meet U.S. commitments around the world and to act as a deterrent to Soviet expansionism.
- In light of the American withdrawal from Vietnam and changing political perceptions in Asia and Europe, there is urgent need for a national discussion of what U.S. commitments are, what kind of navy America should have, and how well it is fulfilling its mission.
- While worldwide naval limitations are unrealistic at present, the Soviet Union and the United States ought to begin thinking about averting an unrestrained naval race. The first step could be agreement to limit force levels in the Indian Ocean.

On the first score, concern is mounting that the Russians are catching up with the U.S. in naval might. The comparison, made on the basis of numbers of vessels, is misleading because the nature and function of the two navies are dissimilar. The core of the U.S. Navy is the aircraft carrier, a powerful attack ship aimed at projecting American military power on shore, i.e., in a land war, and keeping sea-lanes open. A flexible force, it is capable of a variety of military operations, as so recently seen in the Gulf of Siam.

The Russians, on the other hand, are not yet able to use their navy to project power. They have concentrated on building an advanced system aimed at preventing the U.S. from contributing to a land war in Europe, interdicting the West's sea-lanes and supply routes, and at protecting their own submarine missile capability.

Although they do not have a massive offensive capability, however (and we are speaking here of conventional not strategic nuclear forces), the Russians have visibly improved their sustaining capacity at sea. With time they will be able to assert themselves more and more in crisis situations.

To respond to this challenge, it is necessary to reevaluate what kind of navy the U.S. should be building. Unfortunately, what drives naval programs, experts agree, is not actual need so much as institutional momentum, personalities, power rivalries within the service — and an often exaggerated cry of "The Russians are coming!"

To cite "NATO commitments" as the raison d'etre of force numbers and types is not

See CHALLENGE, Pg. 2-E

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NEW YORK TIMES - 17 MAY 1975(19)

Making Contact

Even before the fast-moving operational details of the Mayagüez affair have been fully analyzed, one obvious diplomatic lesson stands out clearly. This is the acute difficulty, in crisis circumstances, of communicating with unfamiliar and unfriendly governments either directly or through unfamiliar and unfriendly intermediaries.

Since the evacuation of American personnel from Cambodia and South Vietnam, the United States has had no direct contact with the new governments of these countries. The Chinese Government may have been a natural channel through which a dialogue might be conducted with Phnom Penh, but Washington evidently found delays and confusion—if nothing worse—along this route. Even now it is not clear whether Peking played a constructive role in the attempt to negotiate release of the Mayagüez and its crew.

Only after the military rescue mission began did the United States receive the slightest official indication from Phnom Penh about why the Mayagüez had been seized—that it was allegedly engaged in espionage. This charge deserves Congressional examination, though it seems unlikely on the face of it, and both the United States Government and the owners of the merchant vessel vigorously deny it. Timely direct contact might also have forestalled the air strikes on the Cambodian mainland which Secretary Kissinger convincingly explained yesterday as an operation designed to protect the marines already engaged on Tang Island.

Even before the Mayagüez incident the Communist Government of Cambodia had given no sign of readiness to accept a return of American diplomatic representatives to Phnom Penh, but such a signal has now come from an important member of the new Saigon Government. Nguyen Huu Tho, Chairman of the Advisory Council of the Revolutionary Government and a man long known to United States analysts as a leading figure in the Vietcong, has indicated that relations with Washington would be possible if the United States did not interfere in South Vietnam's internal affairs.

Rather than letting the question of diplomatic relations drag on and become in itself a point of controversy, there are strong practical considerations for pursuing this suggestion from Saigon toward renewing at least a token American representation in South Vietnam.

BALTIMORE NEWS- AMERICAN 5/16/75 (19)

The Piracy Challenge

PRESIDENT FORD'S vigorous and successful military response to Cambodia's seizure of an American merchant ship on the high seas was absolutely essential.

Except as a calculated test of United States' nerve, the seizure of the unarmed Mayaguez and its crew of 40 in international waters made no sense whatever.

It was a reckless and wholly indefensible violation of all maritime law — an act of provocative banditry, an act of naked piracy.

Mr. Ford showed cool and careful restraint in at first attempting diplomatic means to obtain release of the ship and its crew. But when there was no prompt response from the Communist Brigands, he had but one honorable alternative.

The whole world was watching. Any faltering, any extended palaver, would only have reinforced the sneering view that our debacle in Indochina fatally weakened us as a creditable world power.

President Ford's unqualified order to retake the Mayaguez by force — as was done — has increased both international respect for the United States and the self-respect of its citizens.

Convincing notice has been posted that this nation, despite the disaster of Vietnam, is not going to be pushed around by anybody.

Mr. Ford merits great credit for his decisive leadership in the crisis. Similar credit is due to our fighting forces, who so effectively carried out his order on such short notice and under such difficult circumstances.

CHALLENGE -- CONTINUED

enough. What, it must be asked, should these commitments be? Why does the Navy need 15 carriers and not, say 20, or 10? Why does it always need two in the Mediterranean? How viable are big carriers in the Mediterranean in the event of a European land war? What should the U.S. do to strengthen its naval presence in Asia as it is forced to withdraw from its foreign bases there?

Some experts believe this post-Vietnam era demands a much more flexible navy. They suggest that smaller carriers and more ships with vertical-take-off aircraft are more functional than giant carriers, which are prohibitive in cost and therefore riskier to use.

A part of naval reassessment should be consideration of the possibilities for force limitations. At present there is no need to negotiate with the Russians, for the U.S. has the far superior navy. But the time may come when neither nation will want to continue an extremely expensive naval race.

A start perhaps could be made in the Indian Ocean, where the littoral states are anxious to keep the big-power presence at a minimum and where the big powers themselves have no central interest in the littoral states.

How the Russians would react to a U.S. proposal to limit deployment of forces in that region is problematic of course. In 1971 Brezhnev did hint of naval-limitation talks but, when the U.S. responded favorably, the Russians failed to follow up. If Moscow were to perceive now that Washington sought talk out of growing weakness, such negotiations would be meaningless.

It is self-evident that America must stay militarily strong. That includes a strong navy. But, against a background of strength, the cause of peace would be served by exploring the possibilities for naval restraint.

We urge President Ford to move in this direction.

NEW YORK NEWS - 18 MAY 1975(19)

THE MORNING AFTER

The Indochina debacle has had one beneficial effect. The anti-Pentagon lobby in Congress, which only a few weeks ago was happily planning an orgy of defense-spending cuts, has suddenly sobered up.

All at once, the "domino theory," which they laughed at and the warnings about the aggressive potential of communism which they derided, don't seem so foolish or fanciful.

In consequence the House pared only $3.7 billion from initial requests, and the Senate $5.5 billion—and both figures include sums asked for aid to South Vietnam and Cambodia.

It is difficult to tell at this point whether the action represents—

A FIRM TREND

—back to sanity in dealing with the vital issue of national security, or marks only a temporary, tactical withdrawal. We hope that it is the former.

The truth is that, as imposing as our military outlays seem, they are barely sufficient to preserve a minimum defense posture. In relative terms, expenditures for this essential safeguard of national existence take up less of the total budget than they have since the pre-World War II era when we were virtually unarmed.

And this has happened while a potential enemy, the Soviet Union, has devoted an increasingly greater share of its national production to weapons—and is now putting more into arms annually than we do.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 19 May 1975

WASHINGTON STAR 16 MAY 1975 (19)

The Mayaguez Rescue

Americans are understandably gratified at the freeing of a U.S. merchant ship and its 40-man crew after three days of Cambodian captivity. It is regrettable that military action was required to bring about the result, in the absence of diplomatic channels to the new Khmer Rouge government in Phnom Penh and the failure of whatever indirect communication was achieved. But the decision to carry out the rescue by force was correct in the circumstances, a judgment happily reinforced by the success of the effort.

President Ford followed a courageous and honorable course that well served the nation's interests in taking a hard line against the Cambodian provocation. At the same time he observed the legal requirements of the War Powers Act of 1973 for consultation with the congressional leadership on the military action. The immediate Capitol Hill reaction has been by and large devoid of serious criticism. This is due to the fact that the operation went well and was over quickly, rather than to any lessening of sensitivity about reinvolvement in Southeast Asia or any relaxation of Congress' drive for a greater role in foreign and military policy.

The benefits from the fruitful assertion of our international rights are on several levels. The liberated crewmen were saved a possibly long and painful captivity as hostages for whatever gains Cambodia's xenophobic revolutionaries hoped to make from their piracy. Through mishap or Khmer Rouge brutality, the seamen might not have survived at all. The container ship Mayaguez, whose voyage from Hong Kong to Thailand was interrupted last Monday, has been restored to its American owners.

The incident, more broadly, should increase international desire for a comprehensive treaty on the law of the sea. Few nations have the power or will to enforce their rights of peaceful transit so far from home, and a new world system is needed to set rules and bring about their observance. The Cambodians' boarding of a ship in a sealane 60 miles from the mainland and eight miles off an islet claimed by both Cambodia and Vietnam should impress on all seafaring nations the urgency of progress in the stalled sea-law conference.

In terms of American foreign policy, the strong and productive response to the Khmer Rouge insult is a welcome offset to the image of futility created by our string of reverses in Indochina. The picture of this country as a helpless giant deserves to be put down as an inaccurate caricature. The vigorous and competent handling of the Mayaguez outrage might help to do this for the benefit of both allies and potential adversaries. At the very least the nation is thankfully spared a repetition of the official humiliation it required to retrieve the Pueblo crew from North Korean hands.

We incurred some costs in solving the Mayaguez problem. There were casualties to the American force that landed at Koh Tang island in search of the merchant crewmen, who turned out to have been held elsewhere. A marine and an airman were reported killed, others were wounded and some may be missing. A dispute with Thailand over the stationing of marines there before the anti-Cambodian action has further strained relations with Bangkok, where a new government worried about coexisting with a growing array of Communist neighbors has served notice it wants to end the American military presence within a year.

More facts are needed for a full assessment of the incident. The Cambodians have not articulated their motives in the ship seizure, leaving in doubt even whether it was a government action or a local initiative. More information is awaited, too, on the military action and its exact relation to the release of the Mayaguez crew. Hindsight may indicate that less force, or just the threat of it, could have turned the trick. For the moment it is enough that the U.S. achieved its immediate objective—recovery of ship and crew—and headed off more serious trouble.

NEW YORK TIMES 18 MAY 1975 (19)

After the Mayagüez

A nation with the power to influence events in every area of the world, near and far, bears many burdens of decision and risk from which there is no escape. Such a nation is warily scrutinized by allies that depend upon it for their own survival and by adversaries that would probe its weaknesses of political will or military capacity.

The United States had to shoulder such a burden in recent days when hostile gunboats seized the American merchant vessel Mayagüez and her 39-man crew off the shore of Cambodia. When diplomatic initiatives were unavailing, President Ford ordered military intervention that successfully rescued both ship and crew.

As always in such an imbroglio, there were uncertainties and ambiguities. The Mayagüez was in what the United States regards as an international sealane but these are oil-rich waters claimed by both Cambodia and South Vietnam. If the United States had enjoyed normal diplomatic relations with Cambodia, negotiations could have been pursued with more clarity and confidence. If the new revolutionary government of Cambodia had made known its intentions sooner concerning the disposition of the ship, intervention might have been avoided.

There were the usual pressures of time. The President and his advisers concluded that they had to act promptly before the ship's crew might be removed to the Cambodian hinterland, for this country rightly wanted to avoid another prolonged wrangle with a Communist nation holding American citizens hostage for months or years and seeking to extract political advantage from their captivity. There were the usual painful costs of armed action. The crew of the Mayagüez was saved, but a score of brave Marines and Air Force helicopter pilots are dead, missing or severely wounded. There were diplomatic costs as well. The Government of Thailand whose territory was used by United States armed forces as a staging ground for the intervention has felt constrained to withdraw its ambassador from Washington and to protest strongly what it regards as an infringement of its sovereignty.

On balance, the risks proved worth the taking and the gains outweighted the losses. But the Mayagüez episode is not an occasion for jingoistic exultation. It offers rather a stern reminder of the heavy burden borne by the United States Government in the exercise of its essential responsibilities.

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Part II--Main Edition--19 May 1975

WASHINGTON STAR 18 MAY 1975(19)

The Thai–American Tiff

In the wake of the Mayaguez incident, it is being said around this town that the irritation of Thailand over American military operations mounted from Thai territory is mostly for show. The Thais, one hears, are not nearly as anxious to be rid of the American military presence in their country as they pretend to be.

We wish it were so, but we doubt that it is. Thailand, now neighbor to three Communist nations of questionable friendliness, faces a serious problem. The efforts of Thai leaders to establish more cordial relations with Peking have produced no response. The Communist takeover in Laos exposes Thailand to the possibility of an increasingly virulent insurrection among the Lao population of its northeastern territories.

The case of the Mayaguez only served to heighten Thai anxieties over a continuing American military presence in their country. Previously, the government in Bangkok had demanded the withdrawal within a year of some 25,000 American troops — mostly airmen — still stationed in Thailand. Now the government is protesting that the use of Thai bases in the rescue operation was a violation of Thai sovereignty and that 1,100 U.S. marines were sent into Thailand at the height of the crisis over the objections of Premier Kukrit Pramoj. To show their displeasure, the Thais have recalled their ambassador to Washington — presumably temporarily — and are expected to demand a speedup in the timetable for the departure of the other American forces.

It would be foolish to dismiss this as mere posturing designed to appease Thailand's Communist neighbors. Traditionally, the country has preserved its independence by adroit maneuvering between the pressures of stronger powers, and it leans instinctively toward a neutralist posture whenever possible. Thailand's accession to the SEATO treaty in 1954 marked an abrupt departure from this traditional policy, under conditions which no longer apply.

For many years — indeed, ever since the formulation of the so-called Nixon Doctrine — the most perceptive of the Thai leaders recognized the change and began to question the contribution to Thailand's security of thousands of American troops on Thai soil. Today, in the wake of Vietnam and Cambodia, there is no longer any question: The troops are a liability and a danger which the Thais would like to be rid of. The Mayaguez incident merely dramatized the fact that the forces in Southeast Asia will be used only to protect American interests, which do not necessarily coincide wih those of Thailand. It is our impression that, in inviting them to leave, the Thais mean exactly what they say.

WASHINGTON POST 18 MAY 1975(19)

The Look of Reality in Laos

THOSE NOW celebrating the power and the glory that the United States supposedly restored to itself in the Gulf of Siam had better turn their attention northward a bit to the dusty little town of Savannakhet in Laos. For there, three Americans working for the Agency of International Development were arrested the other day by a group of aroused students of a leftist persuasion who wished to obtain certain murkily described political concessions from the government of Laos, or from the United States or from somebody. Strange as it may seem to the administration, these students, despite their proximity to the scene, did not seem to be terribly impressed by the American show of force in the matter of the Mayaguez.

So what is the Ford administration now to do? According to the Secretary of State at his news conference Friday, in the Mayaguez affair the United States refused to be "forced into a humiliating discussion about the ransom of innocent merchant seamen." Leaving aside for now the question of whether the administration would be dismissing negotiation as "a humiliating discussion about ransom" if the crewmen of the Mayaguez had been detained on the Cambodian mainland instead of being safely returned, the immediate question is whether the administration now will refuse to contemplate a diplomatic approach in Laos out of a similar fear of being "humiliated." We would hope not. We trust that the administration will have the garden-variety good sense to realize that the situation in Laos must be understood and handled in its own terms, and that there is simply no possibility of automatically translating a muscle-flexing exercise in one unique context into a general policy applicable elsewhere at will.

One must note, too, that it is all too common for American citizens to be taken captive in tense political circumstances around the world. We are prime targets, not only for governments but for insurgencies and terrorists beyond any government's control. If the United States has now embraced the policy that it will regard any negotiating effort by the captors as a deliberate attempt to humiliate the United States, then we are in for some very bloody and frightening episodes. Frankly, we do not really think that the U.S. government means to abandon all tactical flexibility in these difficult situations, involving American hostages, by committing itself to an iron-clad policy of no negotiation. That is the danger, however, if the administration starts to believe its own superheated rhetoric, and thus becomes a prisoner of it.

The whole developing situation in Laos, in fact, demonstrates nothing so much as how special and limited the meaning of the Mayaguez affair is. In the Gulf of Siam, given Cambodia's weakness and isolation and the particular island geography involved, it was feasible to send in the Marines. By colossal good luck, all the crewmen got out alive. In Laos, however, the circumstances are much more typical of most local situations in which the United States finds itself involved aboard. Unlike Cambodia, Laos has other foreign friends. Other Americans live there and are vulnerable. The United States has a political interest in the country. And the geography—Laos is landlocked—precludes bringing a ship up alongside.

With the recent Communist victories in South Vietnam and Cambodia, the American-supported faction in the Laotian coalition is fading fast, as expected; the premier, hoping to reach "an accord with history," is counselling accommodation. But Laos is still among that very large group of countries in which the United States cannot send in the Marines at will. In short, reality is complicated in Laos, as it is in most places, and in ways that it was not for a few days—but only for a few days—in the Gulf of Siam.

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NEW YORK TIMES - 18 MAY 1975(19)

The Pentagon's Concern Is, Once Again, North Korea

By JOHN W. FINNEY

WASHINGTON—Shortly after the fall of South Vietnam, Defense Secretary Schlesinger observed that it would be "particularly inopportune," in view of shaken confidence in American power and steadfastness, to consider major reductions in United States forces in South Korea, the last American stronghold on the Asian continent.

Declarations of American determination have been flowing from the Administration ever since the fall of Saigon but the Schlesinger statement reflected a new policy emphasis

Following the forced exodus from South Vietnam, the emphasis in American defense policy, and in the nation's geopolitical interests, is shifting from Southeast Asia back to Northeast Asia. Korea becomes the focal point because as American strategists see it, that is where the interests of China, the Soviet Union, Japan and the United States converge.

There is a certain irony that American security interests should return to South Korea 25 years after the United States fought a costly, indecisive war in that country. That war provided a crucial turning point in post-World War II policy and in many ways was a stepping stone to involvement in Indochina.

After four years of occupation immediately after World War II, the United States had withdrawn its forces from South Korea. In a declaration representative of another era and other attitudes, Secretary of State Dean Acheson in January, 1950, suggested that South Korea lay outside the "defense perimeter" of the United States. For all the subsequent criticism and controversy over the Acheson statement, it reflected the prevailing military doctrine, espoused by both Gen. George C. Marshall and Gen. Douglas Macarthur, that the United States should never again become involved in a land war in Asia.

The Korean War Begins

The policy changed abruptly with the North Korean attack on June 25, 1950. Suddenly, the policy of "containment of Communism," which until then had applied primarily to Europe and the Middle East, was extended to Asia. The United States began its postwar rearmament and extending its commitments through mutual security treaties with 40 countries. It became almost a logical progression from "containing Communism" in Korea to taking military action to stem Soviet and Chinese influence in Indochina.

In a way, Korea is becoming a symbolic test of whether this postwar policy that led to Vietnam is to be changed, of whether the United States will continue to view itself as an Asian power on alternatively withdraw into a role as a Pacific power.

It is evident that the Ford Administration wants to maintain a foothold as an Asian power by keeping an American military presence of 40,000 men and untold numbers of tactical nuclear weapons in South Korea. As one of the "forward movements" in foreign policy in the wake of Vietnam, President Ford has laid down the aim "to tie more closely together South Korea with the United States" and has committed himself against reductions in American forces.

The Pentagon also still talks about projection of American military power onto the Asian mainland. Thus, Gen. George S. Brown, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, in his annual military posture statement to Congress earlier this year, said "our pri-

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NEW YORK TIMES - 19 MAY 1975

The Morning After

By Anthony Lewis

CHICAGO—The rule laid down by the United States in the Mayagüez affair must go something like this:

When a foreign country seizes an American ship, claiming a violation of its waters, the U.S. will unilaterally judge that legal claim. If we reject it, we shall demand the ship's release, allow a day or two for its return and then launch a military attack. As one distinguished voice put it in commenting on the Mayagüez: "Once established diplomatic procedures had failed to achieve prompt recovery . . . , President Ford had no alternative but to employ direct military means."

Exactly: No alternative but immediate force. So the next time Ecuador seizes an American tuna boat for fishing within a claimed 200-mile limit

ABROAD AT HOME

that we do not recognize, Washington will give Ecuador a day or two and then bomb. And the next time we seize a Russian vessel for fishing within our claimed limit, all who cheered the Mayagüez action will understand and sympathize when the Soviets serve an ultimatum on us.

Wise decisions by governments, as by judges, require dealing with particular facts in terms of larger principle. That is, the case at hand must be decided with an eye for the consequences in cases as yet unimagined.

By that standard the American action against Cambodia last week was folly. It reflected no general principle of law, diplomacy or morals that we would really be prepared to follow in other cases. For all the bluster and righteous talk of principle, it is impossible to imagine the United States behaving that way toward anyone other than a weak, ruined country of little yellow people who have frustrated us.

Respect for facts goes along with respect for principle in wise decisions. Do we know the facts of the Mayagüez affair? Does what we know give us confidence in the wisdom and humanity of our government's actions? Consider just three questions.

1. Was there any ground for Cambodian suspicion of the Mayagüez?

A Cambodian communiqué said that American observation planes had flown over the country daily since the Khmer Rouge victory last month. It said that small boats carrying Thai and Cambodian agents with radio equipment and bombs had been caught in Cambodian waters. It said the Mayagüez had entered those waters and was stopped for questioning.

The United States has made reconnaisance flights and tried to land spies elsewhere in the past. When the Pentagon Papers were published in 1971, we learned that before the Tonkin Gulf incident of 1964 there had been provocative raids against North Vietnam. Are we sure the Cambodians had no reason to be edgy when they saw the Mayagüez? Are we sure the ship was in international waters?

2. How much time was allowed for diplomacy?

At 5:03 A.M. May 12, Eastern daylight time, Washington heard about the seizure of the Mayagüez. At 2:00 P.M. that day the White House announced the news and began diplomatic efforts for release of the ship.

The Cambodian communiqué said U.S. planes began strafing and bombing around the ship and islands about five hours after the White House announcement. The delayed United States report put the first air attack on Cambodian gunboats at 1:00 A.M. May 14, or 35 hours after diplomatic moves began. When were the first attacks? In any event we allowed less than a day and a half for a response from the untried and isolated government of a shattered country.

3. What was the purpose of U.S. military action?

The official reason was to save American lives and property. But the timing suggests there was more to it than that.

At 8:15 P.M. May 14 Washington learned of a Cambodian broadcast offering to return the Mayagüez. At 9:15 the White House demanded the crew be released and promised to cease military action if it was. At 10:53 the United States destroyer Wilson, communicating from the scene, said a small boat was approaching with at least thirty white men aboard. At 10:57, nevertheless, United States planes bombed a Cambodian airport miles away. At 11:14 President Ford was told that all the crew was safe. At 11:50 United States planes bombed an unused oil refinery.

That record speaks volumes. The last attacks, at least, could only have been punitive in purpose. They were designed to punish a "little half-assed nation," in Senator Barry Goldwater's elegant phrase.

Bombing an unused refinery after the ship and crew were recovered: That's really big brave stuff. It was indeed Barry Goldwater's vision of America that prevailed last week: a bully among nations, acting without consultation, without concern for facts or principle.

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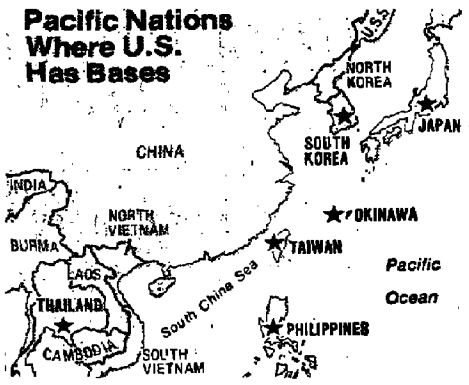
PENTAGON'S CONCERN -- CONTINUED

mary policy objective continues to be to maintain a stable military and political balance in Northeast Asia."

The strategic importance of Korea lies not so much in Korea itself as in Japan, which General Brown noted is "key to our policy in Asia." No policy makers in the Pentagon or the State Department, would seriously contend that a Communist Korea would pose a direct military threat to Japan. Rather, the concern is that political or military upheavals in Korea would lead to insecurity in Japan, with the threat that a Japan now dependent upon the United States for its defense would rise up once again as a militaristic power in Asia.

In many ways, therefore, the American commitment in Korea is to reassure Japan, which as a major economic power is of considerable strategic interest to the United States.



The Mayaguez Example

Within the Ford Administration there is considerable concern—and even more in South Korea—that the North Korean Government will be emboldened by American setbacks in Indochina to test American intentions in Korea. Leading Administration officials went out of their way to emphasize that the military rescue of the merchant ship Mayaguez should demonstrate to North Vietnam that the United States stood ready with force to meet its commitments. The message was also intended for South Korea, which persistently has wanted firmer assurances than the commitment under the 1954 Mutual Security Treaty that the United States would meet an attack on South Korea "in accordance with its constitutional processes." With Congress trying to restrict the warmaking powers of the Presidency, that obviously does not represent an iron-clad commitment in Korean eyes.

After Vietnam, pressure that had been building up in Congress to begin the withdrawal of forces from South Korea seems to be abating. Even the more outspoken, younger liberals believe that this is not time to press for overseas troops reductions. In addition, through entertainment of visiting legislators and other means, South Korea has built up considerable influence in Congress.

This, however, may be temporary. A new generation of legislator is coming to Washington who has no memories of World War II or Korea and to whom the threat of a militaristic Japan is a myth that guided his predecessors. There is also the question of how much longer the legislators will be willing to make a large commitment to reassure Japan, which has grown prosperous spending less than one per cent of its gross national product on defense while the United States has been spending about six per cent.

If not this year, therefore, then maybe the next or the year after, a Congressional test will come on whether the United States wants to maintain a sizable military presence in South Korea. Upon the outcome of that test will come a decision on whether the nation wants to continue a "forward defense" policy of Asian commitments that became implanted with the Korean war or wants to begin pulling back to a new line of defense built around bases in the Pacific.

John W. Finney is a New York Times Defense Department correspondent.

CHICAGO SUN TIMES - 1 MAY 1975 (19)

Is Thailand Hanoi's next domino?

Lewis M. Simons

BANGKOK—With Cambodia and South Vietnam under Communist control, a question being asked in Thailand with increasing freqeuncy is: How much more does Hanoi want?

Some Thais are convinced that now that Saigon has fallen, the North Vietnamese will swiftly turn their full military might on this country, "the next domino." Others believe Hanoi will be satisfied with control of all Vietnam and friendly Communist or Socialist regimes in neighboring Laos and Cambodia.

But no Thai or foreign observer here doubts that the Hanoi regime will step up its support for the burgeoning Thai Communist insurgency in the north and northeast of the country and the political unrest blossoming in Bangkok and other cities. The judgment is that with increased North Vietnamese help and official inability or unwillingness to recognize and deal with the insurgency and its causes, Thailand is about to become a major crisis.

THAILAND IS RIPE for a full-fledged insurrection. With strikingly rare exceptions, top political, military and police officials are thoroughly corrupt. Their interests are focused on accumulating comfort and wealth in Bangkok while the problems of the countryside are ignored.

The government, patched together into a coalition from more than a dozen political parties, is unstable. With a population of 41 million and growing at the rate of 3.3 per cent a year, demand for farmland is quickly outstripping availability.

Meanwhile, the insurgents, too, are building their numbers. Although the Thai insurgency has been nominally active for at least a decade, in the last few years intelligence sources have detected annual recruitment increases as high as 20 per cent.

The insurgents, known as the Thai Peoples Liberation Armed Forces, are thought to number 8,500, with about three-quarters of their strength in the north and northeast. This part of the country is ideal for their activity. Income is lower than anywhere else in Thailand — about one-sixth of what it is in Bangkok — and alienation from the mainstream of Thai society is most keenly felt by the tribal hill people in the region.

A NUMBER OF THAI and foreign experts believe the Communists' successes in Cambodia and South Vietnam will inspire not only the Thai rebels but large numbers of rural Thais as well. At the same time, Communist gains in Indochina already have taken their toll on the morale of Thailand's government, military and police leaders. This crumbling from within, even more than North Vietnamese assistance from without, is likely to prove crucial to the Communist campaign.

One Western expert in anti-insurgency tactics who has worked in Southeast Asia for nearly 20 years said officers and men of the top-heavy royal Thai army have no will to meet the Communists on their own ground and when contact is unavoidable the government troops fight it out only if they have an overwhelming numerical superiority.

"This army has been molded by the U.S. Army," he said, "and Vietnam has proved beyond all doubt that the Americans are not prepared to fight an Asian guerrilla force. Neither are the Thais."

Top army officers seem far more interested in politics and lengthening their strings of cars, racehorses and women than in spending their time fighting what seems a remote and insignificant enemy.

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Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

WASHINGTON POST
19 MAY 1975

Retrieving the Mayaguez: 'It Was Pure Ford'

High Pentagon officials, backed by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, argued strongly during President Ford's secret deliberations with the National Security Council (NSC) for rock-bottom minimum use of U.S. military power—*less* than the President finally ordered—in the rescue of the pirated Mayaguez.

Mr. Ford rejected their argument for strict application of the "rule of proportionality"—meeting an enemy's force with no more than the minimum required counterforce. The President opted instead for "a higher degree" of American counterforce, or what some military analysts call "equivalence plus."

This shows that often-maligned Pentagon hawks, operating within new congressional restrictions on the use of military force, are now more conscious of political backlash than their counterparts in the State Department and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

This was no bare-knuckle, backroom brawl. Nor did it convert the austere cabinet room of the White House, where the NSC held its deliberations, into a debating society.

Rather, the threads of the pro-and-con discussion over what kind of military action the United States should take lead to no villains, no heroes. Those threads do reveal that the President ruled in favor of "equivalence plus"—but also overruled at least one State Department suggestion for American bombing of the civilian-military Cambodian airfield outside Phnom Penh.

That bombing proposal—opposed by the Pentagon—stemmed from a diplomatic effort to milk maximum psychological advantage from a case of piracy on the high seas. It was cloaked, of course, in conventional military argument—that the Cambodians might use the airfield against the American force in the Gulf of Siam. But it would have been a clear case of overkill.

Whether Secretary of State Henry Kissinger favored it is not known. But the President vetoed it as provocative.

Thus, Mr. Ford asserted his own will in a crisis that, with only a little mismanagement or a bit of bad luck, could have escalated to extremely dangerous proportions. As one administration insider told us: "Don't think this was a Kissinger or (Defense Secretary James) Schlesinger extravaganza. It was pure Ford."

Among all the considerations behind the President's rejection of a strict "rule of proportionality" was the looming problem of South Korea. He chose to employ slightly more military force than required in order to signal the Communist government of North Korea that any military probe across the demilitarized line into South Korea would not only be turned back; it would assure punishment of North Korea.

The thesis: No distinct, unprovoked act of aggression should be given a free ride. Simply righting the wrong would not discourage similar acts in the future. The needed increment: punishment, to make the aggression more costly to the aggressor than to the victim.

The backdrop of Mr. Ford's planning was a virtual blackout of accurate intelligence, a factor that made the decision to intervene far more risky than it actually turned out to be, which was risky enough.

At the time Mr. Ford decided definitely that he would use force to recover the Mayaguez and its crew, the vessel was reported by U.S. intelligence to be somewhere in the sprawling harbor of one of Cambodia's most populated cities: Kampong Som (formerly Sihanoukville). The truth was far different. The vessel actually had been towed to Koh Tang Island, a fact not known to the Pentagon until

See PURE FORD, Pg. 4-F

WASHINGTON STAR - 18 MAY 1975(19)

Leaving to Meet Gromyko

Rescue Bolsters Kissinger

By Jeremiah O'Leary
Washington Star Staff Writer

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger departs today for important discussions with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko in Vienna, Austria, with his diplomatic hand considered strengthened by the United States' swift and decisive handling of the Mayaguez affair.

Diplomatic observers believe that the successful military response to seizure of the U.S. merchant ship by Cambodia last week restored American credibility at a time when it was never lower in the eyes of allies and potential adversaries after the collapse of Cambodia and South Vietnam.

Kissinger is viewed as in a much better position now to deal with Gromyko on the most pressing issues before them — the deadlock between the Arabs and Israelis in the Middle East and the suspended negotiations on the question of a new strategic arms limitation treaty between the two superpowers. Their talks, however, will cover the whole range of issues between the two countries, including European security, reduction of forces by the NATO and Warsaw Pact nations and future trade relations in the light of the controversial emigration clauses in the U.S. Trade Act.

IN THE TWO days set aside for his talks with Gromyko, Kissinger is expected to explore any remaining possibility that U.S. mediation might yet bring about a new Israeli-Egyptian separation of forces in the Sinai without resorting to the Geneva peace conference. U.S. diplomats believe that reconvening the Geneva conference under present conditions would inevitably lead to a stalemate and heighten the danger of new hostilities in the Mideast.

The Israelis so far have been adamant in their refusal to negotiate with the Palestinians at Geneva or anywhere else unless they are incorporated in the Syrian, Jordanian or Egyptian delegations. At the same time, Egypt is unwilling to issue a unilateral declaration of non-belligerency, which is Israel's price for giving up the key Sinai passes and the captured Abu Rudeis oil fields. Kissinger would attempt another shuttle diplomacy effort, but only if he had some reasonable prospect of flexibility on both sides.

The unknown factors are whether the Kremlin is willing to use its influence with the Arabs to make another Kissinger mediation effort worthwhile; whether the United States can use its review of Mideast policy to pressure Israel into a less rigid negotiating stance, and whether the Russians would cooperate to give the Geneva conference some hope of success.

THE SALT II talks also have a high priority. The discussions on a new 10-year SALT agreement bogged down at the technical level recently and have reached the stage where decisions are needed at the highest levels. The SALT II agreement originally was slated to be signed next month at a summit meeting in Washington between President Ford and Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev. That meeting has now been delayed, probably until September.

Kissinger will wind up his talks with Gromyko on Tuesday and fly to Bonn for talks with West German officials and a speech to the Senate in West Berlin.

On Wednesday night, Kissinger will go on to Ankara for two days of discussions with Turkish leaders. Kissinger is intent on trying to reach a solution on the Cyprus problem that led to a major rift between the secretary and Congress and threatened the whole southeast flank of NATO because of the strained relations between the United States and both Turkey and Greece

To shore up NATO, Kissinger's task is to persuade Turkey to reduce the size of its invasion force on Cyprus and the scope of its enclave on the predominantly Greek island and to agree to a resettlement of the thousands of displaced refugees there.

KISSINGER RETURNS to Washington Friday for a 48-hour stay before leaving again Monday, May 26, for Paris to take part in the opening of the International Energy conference. On May 29, he will fly to Brussels to join President Ford in participating in a NATO chiefs of state meeting. High on the agenda at Brussels will be the uncertain future of Portugal, which has swung to the left in the hands of it new military leaders, and Portugal's role in NATO.

On May 30, Ford and Kissinger go to Madrid to confer with aging Generalissimo Francisco Franco, primarily on the future of U.S. bases in that non-NATO country. On June 1 and 2, the two American leaders will be in Salzburg, Austria, to confer with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat about prospects for a Middle East settlement. Ford and Kissinger will go on to Rome on June 3 and return to Washington the following day.

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WASHINGTON POST - 19 MAY 1975

Another Hitler-Time?

Joseph Alsop

Mr. Alsop writes a syndicated monthly column.

In the inner group of American policy-makers, the post-Vietnam reassessment is naturally proving both intense and painful. The pain mainly arises from the somberness of the central question being debated. No one has put it quite that way, but the question can be best summed up as follows:

Can you have another Hitler-time without a Hitler?

It is a pretty important question for everyone in America. The truth is that a significant number of extremely intelligent insiders now see this country as well into a process like the one that led to World War II. One rather widely quoted formula runs, "After the Rhineland (in 1936 and the last really easy chance to stop Hitler) but not yet past the point of no return."

If we are in fact in the midst of a process resembling the tragic developments of the 1930s, it would of course be better if we were also face to face with another Hitler figure. So loathsome a man, so free with his threats and open about his aims, would surely arouse the country in short order. But the bureaucratized Soviet leaders, tirelessly, relentlessly plodding forward on iron-shod feet, could hardly be less Hitler-like.

The Soviets have no grand, obsessive Hitlerian plan of conquest. They do not take Hitlerian risks. They merely follow Lenin's advice to probe with bayonets any situation that looks mushy, withdrawing only if the bayonets meet steel.

In the American policy-makers' debate, the foregoing view of the Soviets is justifiably taken for granted from long experience in the Middle East and elsewhere. But quite another point is being made by those debaters who hold that you can indeed have another Hitler-time without a Hitler. They are also arguing that it took a lot more than Hitler to produce the Hitler-time.

This is, of course, exactly right. The historical Hitler of the final prewar phase, hovering over Europe like a greedy bird of prey, instilling fear in almost all the trembling, awe in far too many, was not the mere creation of his own misbegotten genius.

This common conception of Hitler is both cheap and superficial. For a deeper understanding of Adolf Hitler's brilliant initial successes, you have to remember a rule laid down by the great German strategist, Karl von Clausewitz, and often quoted nowadays by Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger. The rule is that those who fight in self-defense are always to blame for wars, since their enemies always ask nothing better than getting all they want without fighting.

At the beginning of the Hitler-time in 1932, every possible advantage lay with France and Britain. They were the responsible great powers of the that period—whereas the United States was then peripheral—because they were the dominant powers in Europe. Each was richer by far than Germany. Together, they also enjoyed a wide military superiority over Germany—until Hitler's rearmament was well advanced.

Yet the British and French refused to increase their own strength in step with Hitler's rearmament. They missed their easy chance in 1936, when Hitler was committed to resign if the reoccupation of the Rhineland met with the slightest resistance. They made the sordid Munich agreement in 1938. And in the end they had to go to war anyway, with every former advantage already lost to them, because their only other choice was to get ready to submit to Hitler a bit further down the road.

Two factors quite external to Germany in truth created the situation that Hitler exploited so long. The first factor was the flaccid British and French acceptance, as the '30s progressed, of a position of grave military inferiority amounting to military disarmament. Worse still, however, was the second factor. Almost until the moment when they belatedly turned and fought, the British and French were morally disarmed as well.

These grim facts from the past now haunt the discussions of the American policy-makers for an extremely simple reason. Post-Vietnam, the signs are plain that the United States now suffers from the kind of moral disarmament that finally ended the long careers of Britain and France as great powers in the world.

One must not take too seriously the more macabre kind of thinking that now flourishes on the floor of the U.S. Senate. Yet Sen. Frank Church of Idaho is after all a fairly representative Democratic member of the present Foreign Relations Committee. So it was a sign not to be ignored when Sen. Church recently announced on television that he saw no reason for the United States to defend any positions on the other side of the Pacific. That ocean, he said, would be a good enough "moat."

Presumably this means Sen. Church now wants to throw away all that is symbolized by the Iwo Jima monument, with its little group of Marines desperately struggling to raise the Stars and Stripes. Beyond much doubt, too, Sen. Church was specifically thinking about South Korea, which has swiftly become a major danger point because of what has happened in Cambodia and South Vietnam.

The South Koreans now fear, and the North Koreans now expect, another American abandonment. The megalomanic North Korean Communist dictator, Kim Il Sung, has just gone to Peking to argue that the precedent of American abandonment of Southeast Asia has now made it quite safe to launch another attack on South Korea. According to reports, Kim will later go to Moscow—which he has scorned to do for 10 years—in order to present the same thesis.

Fortunately or unfortunately, meanwhile, America's credit in the world is deeply engaged in South Korea—not to mention the Middle East, because of Israel, and several other danger points as well. The higher thinkers, of course, say that our country's credit in the world is of no consequence. The trouble is that they are mostly too well heeled to know what it is like to get a bad credit rating.

More down-to-earth persons know better. A good credit rating permits a man to do all sorts of desirable things that a bad credit rating prevents; and even more important, a good credit rating protects a man from all sorts of unpleasantness that a bad credit rating unfailingly invites.

Any nation's credit in the world further has precisely the same effects as a private credit rating. So we can fear the worst if we now lack the will to maintain our national credit in South Korea or elsewhere. Again, however, the higher thinkers in the Senate and the ghastly groves of academe now maintain that there is no real worst to fear.

They had better go back and study the Cuban missile crisis of 1962. The United States then enjoyed crushing superiority in strategic weapons and in local conventional forces. Above all, the United States then had the will to fight, if need be, to get the Soviet missiles out of Cuba. Nikita S. Khrushchev's move in Cuba was in fact a probe of the firmness of this U.S. will. If the needed will had been lacking, too, Cuba would now be bristling with Russian missiles aimed at our heartland.

Cuba further typifies the kind of renewed Soviet probe that may come someday and come, too, in the absence of America's now-lost military superiority! What else can we expect if the American loss of will is also proven, later on, by a whole series of ducked challenges like the one that will perhaps occur in South Korea? Or does anyone seriously suppose that the Soviets have changed Lenin's rule about testing mushy-looking situations?

Maybe Cuba seems too farfetched, despite the record, and you also do not give a damn about Israel. Then you might consider the remote and ill-defended Persian Gulf. Here the energy jugular of the United States and the West is now nakedly exposed. So what will the President, the Congress and the higher thinkers do if a long course of American weakness finally invites a Soviet decision to seize control of the Persian Gulf?

In sum, imitating the British and French in the tragic '30s will be catastrophically dangerous for the United States in the troubled '70s—even if we now have no Hitler figure to make us see the danger clearly!

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PURE FORD -- CONTINUED

late Monday.

Yet, Mr. Ford's decision to seize the boat wherever it was had already been taken on the logical grounds that to wait supinely for deliverance at the hands of the bizarrely revolutionary Cambodian government would make intervention progressively harder. In the background was Mr. Ford's refusal to let the Mayaguez become another Pueblo, whose crew languished in a North Korean prison for 11 months in 1968.

Any repetition of the humiliating Pueblo affair was ruled by the President as utterly unacceptable. Steering his thin line between State Department hawks, aiming for maximum political effect, and Pentagon doves, fearful of another outburst of anti-military animus from Congress, he followed his own convictions and wrote a bold new chapter of history.

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WASHINGTON STAR
16 MAY 1975 (19)

A Necessary Reaction

CARL T. ROWAN

I don't know whether the Cambodian Communists seized the American freighter Mayaguez out of giddiness, stupidity or what. I do know that they could not have picked a more dangerous time for this gambit in small-power stupidity.

I don't know whether Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington and Sen. George McGovern of South Dakota thought about the grim national considerations or not. I am sure that they and some other Democrats erred, both in terms of this nation's well-being and their own political futures, when they implied the United States ought to take a "paper tiger" attitude toward a most grievous national affront.

This was no case of a man suddenly intervening in a matrimonial quarrel of strangers, as one might consider the earlier U.S. intervention in Indochina. This was a case of your boy or mine walking home from school on a public sidewalk, suddenly being grabbed by a hostile neighbor who is gloating over the fact that he dumped garbage on our lawns last week and we took it with little more than a whimper. It was inevitable that President Ford would react the way any proud parent would.

Cambodia created a situation where she either had to surrender the Mayaguez's crew unharmed or face slashing military attacks from the United States.

Why was this?

President Ford and his top advisers knew better than most Americans that the recent debacles in Indochina have had a devastating effect on U.S. prestige in the world. They knew that not only had the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China been further encouraged to "fish in troubled waters," but that even the puniest of nations wanted to make sport of kicking Uncle Sam in the shins.

Ringing in the minds of Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger were a thousand messages of criticism and derision, none more rapier-like than the following by Wolf H. Halsti, one of Finland's leading foreign affairs analysts:

"My confidence in American power is utterly destroyed. A country that does not know how to use the enormous power it has, has none."

Against the background of this kind of talk around the world, the United States simply cannot afford to look gutless and helpless in the face of a brazen act of piracy by a band of ragtag Cambodians.

Perhaps you think the situation was not so serious as to justify military strikes at Cambodia. You, like other Americans, have been inclined to dismiss the criticisms of Asians (Thailand, Singapore, the Philippines) as just the plaints of politicials worried about losing their power and privileges.

But Halsti has no such interest, and listen to what he says in an interview in "Freedom at Issue," the magazine published by Freedom House:

"Why should the East Europeans have any confidence in the United States on America's present showing? What do they see in the United States? An unprecedented moral crisis, a paralysis of leadership and a creeping isolationism. After Vietnam the Americans are in no mood and no position to undertake open-ended foreign commitments . . ."

It was against this sobering background that President Ford did what the circumstances demanded. I support him.

It was Cambodia that foolishly stuck its snickering head too far into the mouth of a wounded tiger.

WASHINGTON POST - 18 MAY 1975 (19)

Joseph Kraft

Lessons of the Mayaguez

Tolstoy's famous insight into the chancy nature of battle finds vindication once again. The rescue of the Mayaguez and its crew abounds in ifs and maybes. The whole operation would have ended tragically, for example, if the master of the Mayaguez had not been an alert figure able to persuade his captors to turn him and his crew loose when American military operations got under way.

So nobody can confidently draw conclusions from the episode. But with the overriding importance of luck ackowledged, certain discreet and tentative lessons seem to emerge.

First is the utility of having a wide range of military options available to a President. When initial word came of the seizure of the Mayaguez, there was a push inside the National Security Council to punish Cambodia by B-52 bombing.

Defense Secretary James Schlesinger and the uniformed military in the Pentagon wanted nothing to do with such undiscriminating punishment. They were against tit-for-tat and other diplomatic games. They drove hard for the more limited and sharply targeted operation that was, in fact, ordered.

They thus gave the lie to the argument that all military forces ought to be cut because the Pentagon will inevitably use whatever is available. On the contrary, it seems clear that if the limited amphibious operation had not been available, President Ford would have felt obliged to go for the brutal, and probably useless, bombing.

A second lesson is the unreliability of intelligence filtered through the fog of war. There was no advance warning that the Mayaquez was traversing dangerous waters, although other ships had been recently seized by Cambodia in the same area.

While the off-loading of the Mayaguez crew on Kno Tang Island was spotted, the move of the whole crew from Kho Tang to another island was missed. Submarines were sent to Kho Tang in what might well have been a useless mission. Moreover, the estimate of resistance they would meet on Kho Tang was gravely understated. But all that, as anybody who has done wartime intelligence work knows, is par for the course.

The inflated claims of psychohistory were also unsaid by the rescue operation. Pop psychologists, trying to judge from a distance, assumed that President Ford, after a string of setbacks, was driven by the need to prove his method. In fact, far from acting tough, the President's main role was to go for the limited operation.

I happened to be in the White House during some of the most anxious moments of the crisis. I was struck by the apparent lack of psychological tension in men very close to Mr. Ford. Coming away, I asked the veteran White House correspondent of the Associated Press, Frank Cormier, his impression of the mood. "Calm," he said.

Another more subtle lesson emerges from the behavior of Thailand. Thai political leaders railed against the rescue operation in public and called for withdrawal of the U.S. force. Thai military leaders, privately, insisted that this country had to go in and rescue the ship and its crew—using force, and the sooner the better.

In the past Americans had a wide tolerance for such doubletalk by foreign nations. In the present case, the Thai behavior prompted U.S. demands for a withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Thailand.

The enduring lesson is that the need for candor in this country, plus a feeling that we shouldn't help countries that don't want our help, combines to reduce American tolerance for foreigners who say go away publicly while privately appealing for assistance. In the future, the commitments that are worth most to the United States will be the commitments foreign nations have the guts to acknowledge in public.

Yet another lesson applies to congressional control of foreign affairs. Precisely because ifs and buts bulked so large in the past few days, the Mayaguez affair demonstrates that it is impossible to foresee all contingencies.

A measure of discretion has to be left to the executive authorities. Congressional wisdom lies in not trying to anticipate what cannot be anticipated.

My impression is that the Congress, much as the President, acted in a responsible way during the Mayaguez affair. Which brings us to the final lesson. It is that the government can do some things and do them fairly well. The notion that government is condemned to bungle and fumble everything it touches is exposed as a wild generalization. That applies not only to foreign affairs, where President Ford is an activist, but equally to managing the economy.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 19 May 1975
KANSAS CITY STAR - 11 MAY 1975(19)

Military Maneuver at Ft. Leavenworth

By C. W. Gusewelle
An Editorial Writer

It was not, *self-consciously* at least, a part of the fallout from the trials and tragedy of Vietnam. Neither was it a public relations exercise—some tasteless attempt at military image-polishing. Least of all was it that.

No. The 1,000 or so student officers at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College at Ft. Leavenworth were about a more serious business. Their purpose, for two and one-half uninterrupted days, was to consider their several responsibilities as soldiers in the uniform of their country.

A few journalists and academics had been invited to participate in the symposium, for whatever uncertain contribution they might make. And also enough major generals and brigadiers assembled in one place, there on the old fort looking eastward from its bluff across the Missouri River, that the Russians, if they had known about it, might have been tempted to a preemptive strike. So many glittering stars that a one-time second lieutenant gone all to rumpled suits and middle age had consciously to keep his hand stuffed in a pocket lest it leap twitching up in involuntary salute.

But all of them—the generals no less than the journalists and professors—were outsiders. The event belonged to the students, most of them majors with a scattering of lieutenant colonels and senior captains. It was for them to ask, and if possible to answer, *the questions*.

Hard questions. Is the individual first a military officer, responsible to the dictates of the system, or first a human being answerable to personal conscience? What happens when professional mission and one's own value system come into conflict? What sorts of compromises can decently be made? And what sorts cannot?

In short, is it possible to reconcile the highest standards of moral integrity with a successful career—or even with survival—within the military establishment?

It had to strike any fair-minded listener with astonishment to hear how freely, how fiercely, these midrank officers—some of them the top leaders of tomorrow's armed forces—were willing to punish themselves and challenge their superiors with that kind of introspection.

In the civilian world, our options are somewhat freer. At last resort, if a collision of values cannot be resolved, we may change jobs. Move to another newspaper. Sign on with a different bank. Apply for a position on another faculty. The career soldier cannot look for a different Army to serve.

Moreover, few of our moral choices involve life and death. And most of them are made behind desks or in board rooms, not in the pressing fury of the bunker or the trench.

And yet how many of us—in the course of our whole careers—have ever, in so concerted, so deliberate or so open a fashion, set about trying to define the relationship between our professional obligations and our human ones? Between principles and promotion? Between private honor and blind obedience? And how many of us ever will be called upon to pay with our livelihoods—and conceivably with our lives—for our choices?

It was, all in all, not an especially pleasant two and one-half days for anyone concerned, the participants or the observers. But it was a remarkable experience and an illuminating one.

My own military service dates back to those fine, comfortable, cocksure days before it was learned that some wars are unwinnable and that the most critical battle of all is the political one for public understanding at home. When, within the bounds of strict legality, there was no such thing as a "good" order or a "bad" order; they all were carved in stone.

I was astonished to find how generally those memories have been overtaken by change.

Amazing, first of all, is how young the majors have gotten. Nearly all of them have served a combat tour, and some of them two or three. And yet, to a man, they are in their 30s, often their very early 30s. Probably it is only the time-warp of middle age that creates the memory of an old man's Army. Maybe it never was.

Amazing, too, the level of skills and of sophistication they represent. It's true the students at Leavenworth were the cream of their age and rank groups. But well over half of them owned master's degrees in some nonmilitary discipline. Many had two.

I found them a reflective, widely informed, genuinely inquiring and relentlessly candid class of professionals, full of self-directed wit, willing to ask—and be asked—questions of elemental principle. Willing to say to 2-star generals not only that it is permissible to question the decency of an order but that there are in fact occasions when an order must be disobeyed because there are higher obligations even than the one to discipline and the flag.

That is strong stuff. If you have spent any time around or in the military establishment, you know just *how* strong. Granted that the Command and General Staff College is nominally an academic environment as opposed to a strictly military one. Granted, too, that after these students go on to their eventual assignments, every conflict between the ideal and the expedient may not invariably be resolved on the side of the graces. Perfection, like piety, is a rare commodity, otherwise fewer people would have to spend their whole lives seeking it.

Still, it cannot be doubted that if the sort of constructive self-examination evidenced at that recent symposium comes in time to permeate the services, the result will be a military establishment that is better led, with a more refined sense of duty, than any that has ever gone forth to win a war or defend the peace.

There was, as mentioned earlier, very little direct reference to Vietnam. But Vietnam was nevertheless the tapestry into which many of the themes and issues were woven. One heard the name of Calley mentioned. And My Lai. One heard the term "body count" used as a kind of code for any such blind stupidity as believing that victory is measurable by corpses, even fictitious corpses.

Then, on the evening before the last morning of the symposium, the last American was plucked by helicopter off a rooftop in Saigon and the government of South Vietnam surrendered unconditionally to the invading Communists.

And on the chalk board in one of the classrooms the next day someone had written: *It's all over over there.*

No one referred to that epitaph to a war. None of them even acknowledged it. They simply went on talking, a while longer, about the kind of men and officers they hoped and intended to be—the kind they would insist that the system let them be. And then, at the appointed time, they went off to the main auditorium for the concluding session.

A journalist spoke. The professors spoke, and one of the generals. And a student for his fellow officers. There were questions from the floor. Finally it was the turn of the commandant of the college, a major general, who, after some summarizing comments, seemed to hesitate just an instant and then asked them all to stand.

It must be a hard thing to say a public prayer from the lighted stage in an auditorium of 1,000 professional soldiers of many backgrounds and several faiths, or none at all. In the Army, praying is the chaplain's job. But this obviously was something that it had occurred to the general spontaneously in that moment to do.

The long habit of command had shaped his manner. So that when he spoke to God he still sounded a little like a man addressing troops. But his sincerity was not to be doubted, nor the plain decency of what he asked.

He prayed for all those who had suffered in the war just ended, and those who might yet suffer after it. And for the country. And for the wisdom to understand duty. And for the courage to do it. And finally he prayed for the friends and comrades that all of them—*every single man there*—had left behind on that bloody field.

It was a moment very full of emotion.

Somehow reluctant, then, to pronounce an *Amen*, which seems more a preacher's word than a general's, he simply stopped, having said what was in his mind.

And after a pause told them: "Now just go quietly out of here."

They did. And it was a little time before some present could comfortably speak.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 19 May 1975

BALTIMORE NEWS-AMERICAN - 17 MAY 1975(19)

Army Resumes Drug Tests On Pups

By EDWARD COLIMORE
Staff Reporter

The Army has resumed drug-related experiments with beagle puppies at Edgewood Arsenal but denies the dogs are being used in biological or chemical warfare research.

The beagles are put to sleep for autopsies following the tests dealing with their ability to tolerate toxic levels of insecticides, detergents, adhesives and aerosols.

The puppies are also used in a series of experiments on the methods of disposing of obsolete chemical warfare agents.

Lt. Col. Hugh Waite, Army chief of the news branch in Washington, said 100 beagles, aged seven months to a year were procured one month ago for the tests.

He said the Army is accepting bids from commercial breeders until May 24 for another 350 dogs.

"The surgeon general, the Dept. of Army staff and the Congress have been notified," Lt. Col. Waite said. "All tests meet the guidelines established by the Institute of Laboratory Animals."

The spokesman said the Army plans to use:

- 116 puppies in a parathione experiment for the Food and Drug Administration to determine the "no effect" level of parathione insecticides.
- 48 in a consumer product safety commission test on detergents, adhesives and aerosols.
- 20 in toxicological screening of proposed non-lethal riot control agents.
- 180 in neuropharmocological studies to determine physiological effects of drugs proposed for use in the prophylaxis and treatment of effects of anticholinesterase in man.
- 50 in safety testing to define hazards associated with the disposal of obsolete chemical warfare agents.
- 144 in preclinical testing of a therapeutic formula for treatment of anticholinesterase.

Mrs. Brenda Eckstein, an Edgewood Arsenal spokeswoman, said the beagles are put to sleep after experiments are performed.

"The laboratory studies are related to health, safety, immunology and therapeutic drugs," Mrs. Eckstein said. "Once completed, the animals are put to sleep. Autop-

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Column 1

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
19 MAY 1975

He hawks the Army and sales are good

By Monroe Anderson

WILLIAM RHEA could sell a Dale Carnegie course to W. Clement Stone, some U.S. Savings bonds to Leonid Brezhnev, or a used Chevy to Henry Ford.

He could be rich; instead, he says he'd rather be happy.

"Anyone can sell a vacuum cleaner or a car, that's there to be seen and examined," says Rhea. "But you can't imagine the enjoyment I get when I can say to myself, 'I sold this person exactly what he needed and I sold him that product without really showing it to him.' "

So instead of making money selling baubles and bonds, Rhea sells his riches, his enjoyment, his product, his life—Staff Sergeant Rhea sells the new Volunteer Army.

"I sell the Army," says Rhea, "like most people sell insurance—anywhere, everywhere, and all the time."

A former helicopter maintenance supervisor with three years service in Viet Nam, Rhea is averaging 158 per cent of his assigned monthly recruitment quota. That gives him the best record of any of the 146 recruiters in the 34 Cook, Du Page, and Lake County recruiting stations which make up the Army's Chicago Recruiting Command.

A 28-YEAR-OLD bachelor, he divorces little of his free time from his work time. He's one of five recruiters in the station at 11019 S. Halsted St., but he spends as little time as possible in the office, putting in 13 or 14 hours a day—plus a few more during weekends—in search of new bodies and minds.

As many days as not, his search takes him on a walk down Michigan Avenue thru the business district in his recruiting area. There, he visits with merchants, talks with customers, or corners people on the street.

Not unlike the friendly stranger passing out candy to the kiddies, Rhea pulls slick Army brochures from his Army decal-covered briefcase. Then he begins his siren song about the great joys of being in today's Army.

THE NAME OF THE game is personal contact—"Anytime I meet people I try to be in uniform, so they'll know who I am"—and personal conversation—"eight girls enlisted after just talking to each other about what I had told them," says Rhea.

And when he isn't spreading the word on the street, he spreads it at the universities. He frequently hangs out at Olive-Harvey and Chicago State Colleges. There he plays cards with the students in the lounges, reminding them how much it's costing them to attend and letting them know how much the Army would pay them for attending.

And to make sure the market is covered from every angle, Rhea makes it a point to date college counselors: They know which students are in academic or financial trouble and may be most susceptible to his pitch.

At night, Rhea keeps his uniform on, combs his Afro out to "street" length and heads for the bars. Altho he doesn't smoke or drink, he likes to visit bars because "anything can pop up in a bar," he says.

A former high school athlete, the muscular 6-foot-4, 210-pound Rhea spends Saturdays at the local YMCA playing basketball with the teen-agers, talking to coaches, and trying to convince all to send anyone who needs a good, steady job to him. On Sundays, Rhea, who admits to be only nominally religious, goes to at least one of the 35 to 40 churches he keeps regular contact with.

EVEN HIS OWN past and personality can be put to use to spread the message and push the product. A native of Johnson City, Tenn., where he was valedictorian of his high school class, Rhea deliberately speaks in his Southern accent.

One of his favorite ploys is to tell a young city dude: "I'm just a country boy who don't know much about the city so I'd appreciate your letting me know what's going on."

All the time Rhea spends searching and talking out of the office is designed to get potential recruits into the office. Once across from his desk, Rhea says he can sell his prospective recruit in half an hour.

"What I do is paint pictures in the mind," Rhea says of his sales technique.

"He's got to want to do something," explains Rhea. "So you find out what that is. But you never give a person a full spiel because he's going to have some objection. It's like fishing, you give them just enough of that worm to get them on the hook."

OBVIOUSLY, RHEA is a very good fisherman. Since he became an Army recruiter in March, 1974, he has persuaded 15 women and 75 men into signing the bottom line.

Since the draft ended in March, 1973, the Army's 7,000 recruiters nationwide have had to go it alone in making sure there are enough new troops available to maintain the Army's minimum authorized strength of 782,000. To do that, the Army needed 250,000 new recruits in the 1974 fiscal year.

For a while no one was sure that recruiters would be able to keep the soldiers marching. "It really was hard because we were living Viet Nam down," Rhea reluctantly admits.

However, times have changed. The recession and its ensuing ranks of unemployed have forced more and more young Americans to retreat into the Army as an economical sanctuary. For example, an Army recruit now gets about $7,000 a year in pay and benefits, more

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NEW YORK TIMES - 18 MAY 1975(19)

Kissinger's Challenge

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, May 17—The next twelve months, beginning the last quarter of the twentieth century, are likely to be a critical period in the politics of the world, and a test of the leadership of the major powers.

For the last few years, Washington, Moscow, and Peking have been dealing with the problems of the past, with the hangovers of the Second World War in Europe, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia. But now there is a pause that can be either creative or destructive, and we have come to a fork in the road, where there will either be a decline into separatism, nationalism and protectionism, or a determination to break with the past and create a new world order.

WASHINGTON

In the next few weeks, some specific questions will have to be answered:

● In June, the British people will vote on whether to join the European Common Market.

● Within the next few days, Secretary of State Kissinger will meet with the Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko, to discuss, and hopefully to clarify, among other things, what they really mean by the policy of "détente."

● Again in June, President Ford will meet President Sadat of Egypt in Europe, and later in the month, Prime Minister Rabin of Israel in Washington, and both times he will have to answer a fundamental question: What Israel is Washington defending—Israel where she stands now in the Sinai, the passes and the oil fields she captured in the 1967 war, or Israel back roughly to her 1967 borders?

● After that, President Ford will be going to China, where he will have to answer the question whether the United States wants to go on recognizing the regime on Taiwan as a potential government of all China, or cut from Taiwan and recognize Peking as the sovereign capital of that country.

The questions now in the headlines —the recovery of the American ship and men in Cambodia, the withdrawal of the Ambassador of Thailand from Washington, the demonstration, as Henry Kissinger puts it, that there are limits to Americans' patience, are not the main questions.

The issue now is what Kissinger has always said it was—whether the nations can get away from these secondary considerations of the past, and deal with the primary questions of military security, economic stability, inflation, hunger, unemployment, population control, monetary control, trade prices and even redistribution of wealth in the coming months and years.

It will be interesting to see now whether Kissinger, the historian, will turn from the divisive issues of the early '70's to the creative opportunities of the 80's. The credibility of the United States does not depend on defeating the Cambodians— as one of his colleagues described it, "intimidating an ant and pretending it was a tiger"—but in defining the problems of the future and coming up with imaginative proposals to deal with them.

Time is a critical factor in this challenge to President Ford and Mr. Kissinger. None of the major governments of the world is now very secure. Within a year, the Presidential election of 1970 will dominate decisions in the United States. China and the Soviet Union are governed by old and fragile men. Franco in Spain and Tito in Yugoslavia are loitering down into the shadows, and when they go, the strategic questions in Europe may be very different.

But for a little while, roughly between now and the Presidential primary elections of next spring, Mr. Ford and Mr. Kissinger have a chance to give the world a more hopeful vision of the coming years.

They have been putting out fires these last few days, and devoting a great deal of energy to ceremonial occasions with the Shah of Iran and other visitors, and consulting with the leaders of Congress, and defending their Cambodian policy with the press —all of which have their uses—but in the coming months, there is a brief opportunity, even a challenge, to get down to fundamental things and come up with some new creative ideas.

The President is much stronger now on Capitol Hill than he has ever been in his brief stewardship. The Congress is beginning to realize that maybe it went too far in limiting his authority in dealing with Cyprus and Soviet trade and immigration policy, so it supported him on Cambodia, particularly because it was a success, and will probably be more responsive to his leadership elsewhere in the coming months.

The main question is whether he and Kissinger will take advantage of this opportunity. They are not really in a weak position, either at home or abroad, if they deal creatively with the larger questions. After the last World War, it was the United States, and nobody else, that came forward with policies for the reconstruction of Europe and Japan, for the control of atomic energy, for the organization of the United Nations, and for the stabilization of world trade.

Vietnam and Watergate diverted Washington from these larger visions of a decent and orderly world, but they are behind us now, and the President and his Secretary of State, despite all their troubles, disappointments and blunders, still have a chance to lead again with new ideas and concepts, looking, not to their immediate personal and political problems, but to the end of this century.

HE HAWKS -- CONTINUED

than a second lieutenant was making a decade ago.

THE PAY AND OTHER Army benefits such as guaranteed specialized job training, guaranteed base location, and a variety of educational benefits, all have made Rhea's job easier.

When he joined the army nearly 8 years ago, says Rhea, "all I was guaranteed was three hots and a cot."

However, in the new Volunteer Army, even the barracks cots have given way to semiprivate rooms more akin to college dormitories. K.P. and other onerous tasks now are done mostly by hired civilians.

So, for all of Rhea's hard-sell tactics, he says he feels no remorse: "I know the Army can help a lot of these people. They don't know what they want to do."

But the Army's new-found attractiveness, combined with the great selling abilities of Rhea and recruiters like him, have caused some new problems—the Army now is upgrading its standards.

During the month of January, for example, Rhea says he processed 37 people; the Army took only 11.

"Now, it's not a matter of quantity. I can get that," says Rhea. "But now I've got to find quality."

DRUG TESTS -- CONTINUED

sies are performed to get he research answers.

"The beagles used are purebred. Using them reduces the variables and minimizes the number of animals that have to be used. In many ways, they are acceptably close to humans."

An official of the U. S. Army Materiel Command in Washington, said the beagle is the best laboratory animal because of its physiological responses are so much like humans.

He said the Edgewood dogs would not be used in any chemical biological warfare related experiments to comply with an amendment attached to the military appropriations bill by Congress last August. The amendment banned the use of Pentagon funds to buy animals for chemical-biological warfare tests.

Meanwhile, at Aberdeen Proving Grounds, two laboratory analysts attempted to answer charges by U. S. Sen. William Roth Jr., R-Del., that the Army killed or maimed nearly 500 animals in testing nonlethal weapons for crowd control use.

Sen. Roth said hard rubber balls and other less lethal projectiles were fired at high velocities at baboons and pigs. He said the projectiles were aimed at heads, faces, kidneys and other areas of the body to determine the extent of wounds.

The two Army scientists, who asked not to be identified, said 443 animals were used in the tests from 1973-1974 at the Land Warfare Laboratory at Aberdeen Proving Grounds.

They said 38 baboons and pigs were killed during tests and the others that survived were put to sleep for autopsies.

"We were trying to find something that might prevent another Kent State tragedy, one scientist said. "We want to give the man with the gun another choice.

"Look at the policeman. He has a 19th Century pistol and a caveman's club. These weapons can do real damage. A nonlethal weapon that stuns gives him another choice."

The scientists said the project, costing more than $1 million in military and justice department funds, did not produce a working nonlethal weapon.

However, tests results showed the most acceptable projectile to be a silicone ball, 1.25 inches in diameter. The ball fired at a velocity of 250 feet per second wold be safe at a close distance and produce a sting at 200 feet.

Other projectiles tested included a baseball, beanbag, clay pellet, "super ball," and water-filled plastic ball.

AAI, a Cockeysville firm, developed the compressed gas-powered weapon that fired the projectiles.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 19 MAY 1975

The unfashionable Schlesinger CHICAGO TRIBUNE 18 MAY 1975 (19)

Pentagon's professor shows his style

By Nick Thimmesch

WASHINGTON—Of late, Americans have seen a lot of James Rodney Schlesinger, the pipe-smoking Secretary of Defense, first because of the evacuations of Phnom Penh and Saigon, and then, last week, the spectacular recapture of the U. S. merchant ship, S. S. Mayaguez, and its crew by Marines and naval forces.

His appearances in the press and on television during the evacuations put him in the unpleasant role of letting the public know that we truly had lost in Viet Nam, that it was a debacle.

But with the Mayaguez, Schlesinger had a winner, a successful mission which prompted many a "hurry!" across the land. On Thursday, the day after the ship's recapture, the only American official to appear on TV was Schlesinger. Somehow, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger wasn't around.

FOR SCHLESINGER, who has spent more time defending the Defense Department's basic right to exist than he has in the chore he prefers—correcting its internal problems—the Mayaguez episode was a desperately needed tonic.

"Gulliver is rising, I believe," he told me Friday, alluding to the hero bound by the tiny Lilliputians. "He may now feel justified in not lying flat on his back, even if there are no bonds on him.

"The American spirit needs stirring," he said. "The leadership groups in this country seem to think that the West has no right to defend itself, that the use of force is not moral. I spend too much of my time defending the corpus of the Department of Defense.

"But it has even been satisfying articulating the case for defense across the country. It has to be a major effort to develop appropriate attitudes. We've made some progress, even if we've only stopped the heedless hostility toward the military establishment. It's all been part of the disillusionment of our time."

During those dismal nights when Americans were being evacuated from Phnom Penh and Saigon and during the Mayaguez outing, Schlesinger prowled the Pentagon's command center, in 18-hour stints, occasionally uttering forceful growls, and increasing the admiration that the military brass holds for him, an American who has never served in the Armed Forces.

Schlesinger is not the sort of person who exudes charm or wins friends and influences people readily. He is a loner and individualist. He appeared in his rarely-worn tuxedo at a state dinner at the White House last week, but neglected to affix his cufflinks. No matter.

Three years ago, he appeared at the White House correspondents dinner in the tuxedo but forgot to wear his bow tie. Told this at the door, he unbuttoned his collar, and said, "Now no one will know I don't have a tie on."

HE HAS made a career out of being unfashionable. His clothes, lifestyle, ideas, and bluntness marked him as a contrary fellow when he came into the new Republican administration in 1969, and hardly as one who would rise to Cabinet level. Consider Schlesinger's against-the-grain record.

At the Bureau of the Budget: Tho billed as sympathetic to defense needs, and expert in them, Schlesinger as assistant budget director, put the knife to $6 billion in weapons plans, and singlehandedly killed the Air Force's Manned Orbiting Laboratory and the Navy anti-submarine carrier task forces.

At the Atomic Energy Commission: Chairman Schlesinger told utility company executives complaining of his seeming to side with environmentalists: "Gentlemen, I'm not here to protect your triple-A bond ratings."

At the Central Intelligence Agency: After retiring 1,200 of the 18,000 employes and ordering that a road sign reading CIA be put up, replacing one that had read "BPR" [Bureau of Public Roads], Director Schlesinger said: "The trouble with this place is that it has been run like a gentleman's club, and I'm no gentleman."

At the Department of Defense: Secretary Schlesinger responded to charges *that Henry Kissinger complained to* Israeli Ambassador Simcha Dinitz that during the Arab-Israeli war he was in a one-man fight with the Pentagon and couldn't get the Pentagon to move: "There is a difference between dragging your heels and having your shoes nailed to the floor by national policy."

Given these typically ornery and impolitic stands, the question naturally arises in fashion-conscious Washington: Will James Schlesinger spoil success?

AND SO it is with many who are a bit startled on meeting the unconventional Schlesinger, whose past just doesn't seem to hang together right.

Schlesinger's close friends acknowledge he displays an arrogance which they claim is really a projected shyness. He lives simply in a markedly unpretentious home where he is about as "old shoe" as a mortal can get. He has had just one wife, is father to eight children, and finds that quite enough social life.

Schlesinger was catapulted into the defense job because of Watergate. He succeeded Elliot Richardson, who scarcely had time to warm his chair at the Pentagon, when he was snatched by President Nixon to relieve then Atty. Gen. Richard Kleindienst. It was the second catapulting in six months for Schlesinger. He had arrived at his previous job, director of the CIA, just as quickly, because the beleaguered Richard Helms suddenly found reasons to become ambassador to Iran.

Schlesinger, at 44, was the youngest man to take over the Pentagon, and is the first defense secretary in recent history not to have served in the military.

Neither fact means a damn to him. Nor does his gathering reputation that he refuses to fit into Washington's social mold, won't comply with the media's demands to simplify and compress complicated notions into brief quotations for printed page or precious broadcast time, and has disdain for much of the American so-called intellectual community.

"I am skeptical about the intelligentsia," he once said when asked about his reputed intellectual toughness, "and have been for some time. I suppose I am identified with them. But I recall what our friend, T. S. Eliot, said on that subject—*that 'the intelligentsia as* a class is not distinguished by a strength in intellect.'"

All this is spoken by a man who was educated in the finest schools, was graduated summa cum laude from Harvard University in 1950, went on to take two more degrees in economics from Harvard, and won himself a travel fellowship for his scholastic excellence. He's written tons for the scholarly prints, and spent his life in academic and think tanks. So he doesn't think much of the intelligentsia.

JAMES R. SCHLESINGER is the first defense secretary to direct that huge establishment and apparatus in 11 years without a war to fight. He has the job of rebuilding at a time when seeming detente suggests the contrary, and when Congress and the public aren't deeply in love with the military.

Schlesinger has the mission to convince Americans of what he believes and also accomplish a redirection of our strategic nuclear strength, and the maintenance and modernization of our conventional forces. And he has Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger to contend with.

THE DIFFERENCES between Kissinger and Schlesinger have come into the open and blossom like flowers in the spring. Schlesinger's supporters feel that while they might be substantive on both men's part, Kissinger also resents Schlesinger's rise to power and stubbornness at the Pentagon walls. An article, based on a book by CBS correspondents Marvin and Bernard Kalb [both partial to Kissinger], reported that the two secretaries indulged in a burocratic battle over the speed of moving military supplies to Israel during the October war.

As usual, Kissinger's ambiguity served him well, for he could tell the Arabs he slowed the shipments to stabilize the military situation, and he could tell the Kalb brothers that he had to

(See SCHLESINGER, Pg 10-F)

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SCHLESINGER--CONTINUED

get Nixon to order Schlesinger to "get the supplies there."

By the time Schlesinger was able to give his version, and Bernard Kalb suspects it is closer to the truth than what the State Department put out, Schlesinger looked second-best to Kissinger.

Schlesinger is an infant when it comes to manipulating the press, planting stories, touching up and technicoloring his image. His friends are few but they are people like William D. Ruckelshaus, Charls Walker, former Treasury official, and Richard Whalen, the author and former Nixon administration watcher.

Whalen feels there is a rift between Schlesinger and Kissinger based on the two men's characters.

"Jim Schlesinger is more of an idealist than Kissinger is," Whalen explains. "Back in 1967, I met him when I was working for Nixon and getting ready for the campaign. He did work for us in the 1968 campaign at a distance on Viet Nam. I was supposed to get together with him at Mission Bay [after Nixon's nomination], but I had a final blowup with Mitchell and Haldeman, and Jim called and wanted to know where in the hell I was that night we were to meet. I told him I bailed out, and he should stay the hell away, too, which he did. He would have hurt himself by getting too close after me.

"But if Nixon would have had sustained exposure to Schlesinger, it crosses my mind that it might have been Schlesinger, rather than Kissinger, picked to fill the National Security Council role.

"Then Nixon would have had a man with a settled, consistent, coherent philosophy, a committed Republican, a Nixon loyalist, and in some ways, a more admirable man than Kissinger. Schlesinger would have been more accessible to the ordinary American who looks at Kissinger thru the media image of a magician, a great maker of the New World balancing, something I think has changed for the worse. Schlesinger is an American type, a guy who could explain and justify, and defend changes in foreign policy. But perhaps he was too honest and direct to be worked in.

"THERE IS respect for Kissinger on Schlesinger's side because he is a gentleman. There is openness, intellectual respect and no envy whatsoever. I don't think that Kissinger, for his part, reciprocates this gentlemanly, open relationship. Kissinger is much more a knife-wielder and a backbiter."

Schlesinger was born in New York City, Feb. 15, 1929. His father was a prosperous certified public accountant. Schlesinger met his wife, Rachel, in 1948 when he was a Harvard junior and she was a freshman at Radcliff. They were married in 1954.

After he earned his doctorate in economics, he taught at Harvard for three years and then took a job at the University of Virginia. There he was asked to teach a course in international relations because he was the only one around who believed labor unions were here to stay.

By the end of the 1950s, he became interested in the economic aspects of national defense, and in 1960 wrote "The Political Economy of National Security." The theologians at Rand Corporation were impressed, and brought Schlesinger into their tank in 1963 as a defense analyst who wound up poking holes in systems analysis, then all the rage because of Robert S. McNamara.

His Robert Taft Republicanism and first-rate professional reputation weren't good enough to bring him into the Nixon administration's defense picture in 1969, simply because he had irritated then Defense Secretary Melvin Laird.

But he was recruited to the Bureau of the Budget by Robert Mayo.

When the Environmental Protection Agency was being formed, Ruckelshaus wanted Schlesinger to join him as his deputy. Kissinger objected because he wanted Schlesinger to remain in the budget bureau. By now Schlesinger was regarded as an irreverent challenger to assumptions and assertions. Yet, Nixon named him chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission in summer, 1971.

Schlesinger soon shook that agency up, improved the licensing system and solved problems in weapons management. He stumbled into great approval by Nixon, when he took his wife and children to Amchitka, in the Aleutians, to demonstrate to the world, doubting ecologists, and a skeptical governor of Alaska, that the underground explosion of a nuclear warhead there was a safe exercise.

President Nixon was so impressed with the news pictures of Schlesinger and his wife Rachel, that he sent her a letter praising her solidarity with her husband.

WHEN THE torrents of Watergate alt entatively flushed and beached administration officials, suddenly Schlesinger was running the CIA and Richard Helms was ambassador to Iran.

Schlesinger showed guts in getting his agency to fully describe its role in the unfortunate Ellsberg episode. This involved getting a CIA psychiatrist, who specialized in psychiatric profiles, Dr. Bernard Malloy, to write and sign an affidavit relating how David Young and E. Howard Hunt, claiming they represented a Nixon aide and Kissinger, pushed him to do such a profile on Ellsberg for purposes of defaming him.

"He's an unflappable individual," says Whalen. "Think of the jobs thrown at him i the past three years, and how he had to go into the CIA and open the windows and closets. He has great capacity for orderly, disciplined thinking.

"Jim doesn't worry about his socks matching, or his tie fitting in with his color scheme. His shirt tail hangs out over the back of his trousers, whether he's at home or in the office."

SCHLESINGER won't eat in good restaurants. There are times when 50 cents in a vending machine brings him an awful hamburger for lunch. His 1964 car still works, and he donated his 1960 Falcon to the CIA for shooting practice. A $20,000-a-year burocrat could afford his modest home in Arlington, Va.

Schlesinger is admired but remains a constant puzzlement to Joe Laitin, a seasoned government information man who befriended him at the Bureau of Budget. "Jim doesn't look over his shoulder," says Laitin, "to see if anyone is gaining on him. He is a people-one is gaining on him. He is a people-

"Strip thru that layer of Jim's intellectual arrogance, and do you know what you'll find? Another layer of intellectual arrogance. I say that, knowing that he's one of the best and nicest men I've ever met in government."

NEW YORK TIMES 18 MAY 1975 (19)

In Saigon, the Attitude Is Conciliatory

The new rulers of Saigon are continuing their methodical approach to normalizing South Vietnamese society and have begun to turn their attention outward as well. They are opening relations with other nations, and have proposed doing so with the United States.

During a three-day victory celebration, Nguyen Huu Tho, chairman of the advisory council of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, offered to establish relations with all countries.

Britain, Japan, Canada, India and other nations have already recognized the new Government in line with their traditional policies in such matters: Recognition is extended when a new regime has established control over its nation, no matter what the nature of the regime. France and some other nations had never broken relations but only withdrawn their ambassadors. The French mission has again been upgraded to embassadorial level.

The Saigon authorities have notified the United States that Algeria will take over the former South Vietnamese Embassy in Washington and will handle Saigon's affairs in this country. The Ford Administration has acknowledged receiving the notification. But Secretary of State Kissinger made clear there will be no hurry to initiate diplomatic relations. The matter is still "under consideration," he said.

The tendency in Washington at present is to place the new Saigon and Cambodian rulers in the same category as the hostile Governments in North Korea and North Vietnam. The Commerce Department has announced a general trade embargo against South Vietnam and Cambodia.

According to reports from American newsmen still in Saigon, the people of South Vietnam have been favorably impressed by the polite behavior of the Communist troops. The Communists, following the Maoist precept, "Do not take from the people so much as a needle or a piece of thread," have been scrupulously careful to pay for all food and other supplies.

Life in Saigon has returned to normal. Foreign journalists have been registered and are allowed to report, although communications have delayed their dispatches.

Authorities in Saigon and Hanoi continue to suggest that eventual reunification of the North and South remains a principal goal. The Saigon area commander, Lieut. Gen. Tran Van Tra, was quoted as saying reunification had been stipulated in the 1973 Paris peace accords. The regime has said it wants to carry out the terms of the accord but General Tra gave no date for when reunification might occur.

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Part II--Main Edition--19 May 1975

NEW YORK TIMES 19 MAY 1975(19)

Mayaguez Captain Tells Story of Rescue

By SYDNEY H. SCHANBERG
Special to The New York Times

SINGAPORE, May 17—The captain of the Mayaguez, the American freighter that was released by the Cambodians Thursday in the midst of a United States air, sea and land assault, said today that he and his crew were aboard a fishing boat that was strafed and tear-gassed by American planes.

Captain Charles T. Miller, who brought his container ship into Singapore today, said that the strafing incident was the "worst experience" in his 42 years at sea—a career that included tours on Liberty ships in the Pacific in World War II and kamikaze attacks during the invasion of Leyte Gulf.

Strafed for 4 Hours

The 62-year-old master of the Mayaguez, who is from Fountain Valley, Calif., held a news conference on the pier alongside which he had just berthed the 10,485-ton cargo ship. The session with the press was arranged by his company, Sea-Land Service, of Menlo Park, N. J. The corporation's executives wished to demonstrate among other things that the Mayaguez was not a "spy ship" and was carrying no arms or ammunition.

The captain said that on Wednesday he and his crew were traveling from Tang Island to the Cambodian mainland under guard on a fishing boat. American warplanes, he said, followed the boat for four hours, harassing it tenaciously and, with fortunate accuracy—no one was killed—strafing its bow and sides and even hitting it with tear gas. It was a futile attempt to make the boat turn back to the island, 30 miles off the coast, where the Mayaguez was anchored.

Does Not Blame Pilots

"You have to give our pilots credit," the captain said. "They can put a thread through the eye of a needle a mile away. They did everything that was possible without blowing us out of the water to try to get this boat to turn around and take us back to the ship.

"If we were strafed or bombed once, we were bombed a hundred times by our jets. Ten foot forward of our bow light. Rockets and machine gun fire. When they saw that was not going to work, two jets overflew the boat from bow to stern approximately 70 feet above us and they tear-gassed us.

"The first gassing wasn't too bad. I don't blame the pilots. They were only trying to keep us out of Sihanoukville. They wanted us returned to the vessel. After a half hour passed and we were still going, we were gassed second time. Everybody on the ship vomited; skin was burning; a couple of men were struc by shrapnel.

"The third engineer, who had a bad heart, passed out for about 20 minutes. We thought he was dead. Actually we didn't realize the condition the man was in for the first five or 10 minutes because we were all pretty sick ourselves. After we got in close to Sihanoukville the jets left us alone and they put the [reconnaisance] plane on top of us again."

The ordeal of the Mayaguez crew began Monday afternoon when Cambodian gunboat fired across the bow and then seized the vessel.

According to Sea-Land Service officials, the ship, bound from Hong Kong to the port of Sattahip in Thailand, was carrying such general cargo as Israeli oranges and oil-drilling clay, plus some supplies for American commissaries and post exchanges in Thailand—including liquor and shaving cream.

The company's interest in establishing its respectability was lost in the drama of the adventure as related by the spare, grizzled Captain Miller. He and his 38 crewmen looked reasonably well but some, including the captain, showed signs of sleeplessness and deep emotional strain.

Twice, during his account, the captain choked up, tears filling his eyes—once when he spoke of being finally picked up by the destroyer Wilson about 10:30 A.M. Thursday and again when he spoke of meeting a wounded marine major in the ship's hospital.

"I talked to the marine major that took in the first chopper to Koh Tang island that was shot down," Captain Miller said. "He had about a quarter of his back torn off with shrapnel, I cried. People were being killed to save me."

Captain Miller faltered, began to weep, it took him few minutes to compose himself. He continued, speaking of the marine officer: "And he took it like soldier. He says: 'Captain, all I wanted to see was your men released. Don't worry about me.'"

The captain also said that at least seven marines were killed on the island, in addition to the 13 already reported missing and believed dead. The Pentagon has reported casualties as one dead, 13 missing and 22 wounded.

The captain said the seven marines were already "on ice" aboard the Wilson on Thursday morning—when the operation still had 11 or 12 hours to run.

Captain Miller and his men all said they were never abused by their Cambodian captors. There were even accounts of kind treatment—of Cambodian soldiers feeding them first and eating what the Americans left, of the soldiers giving the seamen the mattresses off their beds.

But at the same time Captain Miller said several times that he and his crew had moments when "we didn't think we would ever get out alive—we thought we would be shot or have our heads cut off one way or another."

Repeatedly, Captain Miller praised the efforts of President Ford and American armed forces in trying to secure the crew's release.

"Let me tell you one thing," he said. "If it wasn't for our Air Force, our Navy and our marines, I don't think this crew would be standing before you today."

The captain, telling of the start of adventure, said that on Monday morning, his ship was challenged by a torpedo boat. "I reduced the ship's speed to maneuvering," he said. "The engines were stopped at 11:21 A.M. after the gunboat had fired at me with antiaircraft guns. I stopped the vessel and the motor torpedo boat pulled alongside.

"Seven men boarded my vessel—seven armed men anywhere from 10 years old to around 30—all carrying gernade throwers, shoulder rocket throwers, AK-47's, and a U.S. Army field pack telephone," the captain said.

"None of the men that boarded the vessel was able to speak English. The only thing they could do was point in the direction of the gunboat and indicate that I follow the ship. The evening of May 12, I dropped the anchor on the shoreside of Wai Island and armed insurgents aboard the ship.

"During the night nobody was allowed to sleep. At any time I tried to leave the bridge with eight or nine of these armd insurgents that came aboard at Pulao Wai Island they would make me go back up on the bridge. So I sat on the bridge all night with the armed men, the officer on watch and several other men."

On Tuesday the ship was moved to Tang Island and "a launch came alongside with more armed insurgents and the crew was ordered to get off the ship," the captain said.

"They took us ashore in two fishing boats with two armed patrol boats to lead us into "During this time our jets"—Koh Tang Island," he said. reconnaissance planes—"came along and found we were anchored off ths island.

BALTIMORE SUN 19 MAY 1975

OAS chief favors 'dialogue' with U.S.

By RICHARD O'MARA
Rio de Janeiro Bureau of The Sun

Rio de Janeiro – Immediately after being elected secretary general of the Organization of American States Saturday, Alejandro Orfila, 50, promised to revive the "new dialogue" between the United States and Latin America.

Mr Orfila is Argentina's ambassador in Washington and one of the most popular diplomats in the hemisphere. He just might be able to do it. Where he is sure to have trouble, though, is encouraging a dialogue between Argentina and Brazil, the two largest countries in South America.

The Brazilian government led the fight against the Argentine's election at the OAS meeting, which ends today in Washington. It endorsed and lobbied strenuously for the Dominican Republic's candidate, Victor Gomez-Berges. 35 Mr Orfila's victory, assured by the vote of the United States, was received here yesterday with a notable lack of diplomatic grace.

Diplomatic sources in Brasilia were quick to point out that the secretary generalship of the OAS is more a ceremonial post than one with actual power.

Brazil reportedly will review its balance sheet regarding contributions to the OAS. Also, it was hinted that Brazil was disappointed that Mr Orfila won with American help – the Argentine got only the 13 required votes—and saw this as an action that could weaken what Brazil regards as its special relationship with the United States.

Brazil expressed its opposition to Mr Orfila—who had been the favorite for months – long before the opening of the OAS conference. The government here regards an Argentine at the head of the OAS as inimical to Brazilian interests.

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WASHINGTON POST 19 MAY 1975 Pg. 14

Broader French NATO Role Draws Critics from Left, Right

By Bernard Kaplan
Special to The Washington Post

PARIS — Paradoxically, one reason that President Valery Giscard d'Estaing may have refused to attend next month's NATO summit meeting in Brussels is because France currently is collaborating more actively with NATO than at any time since withdrawing from the military side of the alliance a decade ago.

Cooperation with NATO has improved so much recently that, on both the left and right, Giscard has been accused of planning to re-enter the integrated military command that the late President de Gaulle quit in 1964.

The French Communists have launched a propaganda campaign based on the allegation. While it is almost certainly not true, Giscard was thought to see a political need to dampen the attack by the De Gaulle-like gesture of boycotting a summit conference initiated by the "Anglo-Saxons."

Military cooperation between France and NATO never really ceased. But, under De Gaule and later Georges Pompidou, it was kept well-camouflaged from the public here. The policy was to decide individual acts of collaboration in terms of direct French national interest.

NATO planners were thus hampered by a lack of assurance of longterm French cooperation.

Without an announcement, Giscard has dropped much of the secrecy and committed his government to a general policy of cooperation, at least in some spheres. According to the respected Paris newspaper Le Monde, the rapport between France and NATO is now "without complexes."

Observers here date the change from France's acceptance of the declaration made at last June's NATC foreign ministers meeting in Ottawa, which proclaimed a 'common Atlantic defense" as "interdependent and indivisible." A statement of French support for NATO was written into the final communique of Giscard's encounter in Martinique with President Ford in December.

Shortly thereafter, Giscard declared that "our military means are, essentially, directed against the Soviet Union." This refuted De Gaulle's "all points of the compass" doctrine, under which French strategy no longer assuemed that the Soviets were the main potential enemy.

Writing in the semi-official "National Defense Review,' the recently retired chief of naval staff, Admiral Marc de Joybert, explained that 'currently, France's military forces form no more than a part of the whole" (part of the allied forces in Europe.

An indication of the new French attitude was last November's appointment of General Rene Chesnais to head France's military liaison mission at NATO military headquarters. An aide de camp to both generals Eisenhower and Ridgeway when they were allied supreme commanders in the early 1950s, Chesnais is regarded as thoroughly "pro-Atlantic."

The naming of Gen. Alexander Haig as supreme allied commander also has helped improve rapport between France and NATO. Haig is viewed here as a francophile, a reputation he gained while serving in the Nixon White House.

Air and naval cooperation between French and NATO forces in the Western Mediterranean appears to have stepped up considerably over recent months, even though this is officially denied here. Sources say that the French fleet is now helping the U.S. Sixth Fleet keep tabs on Soviet naval movements in the area.

French naval and air units in February joined in a NATO exercise off Portugal. The French Communist Party immediately labeled this a "provocation."

According to sources here, there has also been a noticeable increase in collaboration between NATO and the French nuclear striking force. In recent months, a significant number of allied officers reportedly visited the main French nuclear command post at Taverny and other nuclear bases.

Technical collaboration appears to be on the rise as well. Within NATO, France, for instance, now participates in meetings of the directors of national armaments planning. A French observer regularly sits at the deliberations of Eurocom, a division of Eurogroup, a NATO body dealing with coordination of weapons production.

A general of engineers now heads the armaments section of the permanent French diplomatic 'delegation at NATO headquarters in Brussels. One of his duties is to represent his country on the supervisory committee of NADGE, NATO's long-range aerial detection network.

Observers here do not see Giscard's decision to move closer to NATO necessarily as an expression of pro-Americanism. They reason that France originally pulled away from NATO because it felt it was completely dominated by the United States, then at the height of its world power. The gesture did not involve a real risk for the French since, with or without them, American-backed NATO was considered here to be strong enough to protect Europe from Soviet pressures.

Now, however, Giscard reportedly believes that international developments reflect a waning of American power. From the French viewpoint, this suggests that France's support for the alliance may be more necessary than in the early 1960s and that there may now be greater scope for French influence in NATO.

But Giscard is unlikely to seek formal re-entry into the military command. He would have to pay too high a price domestically.

French aloofness from NATO is part of the Gaullist mythology of "national independence" to which even Giscard carefully continues to pay lip service. Politically, it is regarded as untouchable.

Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, titular leader of the Gaullists in government, gave a skillful demonstration of myth-maintenance in rebutting Communist accusations over NATO. French participation in NATO's long-range aerial detection system was for "our security," he said. French "liaison" with the allied command was for reasons of "coordination" and had nothing to do with "integration." Participation in NATO naval maneuvers resulted from a "bilateral" accord. And so on.

So far as NATO is concerned, this was one more indication that France increasingly must be judged not by what its leaders say but by what they do.

NEW YORK TIMES 18 MAY 1975(19)

Seoul Feels Indochina Reverberations

Events in Indochina have caused uneasiness among the United States allies in east Asia, but nowhere more than in South Korea. South Korean analysts and some American officers expect trouble from the Communist regime in North Korea, not necessarily conventional warfare, but in the form of subversion.

Japanese experts, who are watching the situation because of Korea's proximity to the Japanese islands and because of extensive economic ties between the nations, also see little likelihood of war. They reason that neither the Americans, the Chinese nor the Russians want that, and that the big powers have enough influence to make their wishes felt.

But they believe limited armed conflict instigated by the North is possible. The Government of President Park Chung Hee is already weakened by internal unrest.

The Japanese and other foreigners note that the stated objective of North Korea is still to take over the South. The recent trip to Peking by North Korean President Kim Il Sung was believed to have been to seek support for that aim. He is reported planning a similar trip to Moscow.

The repressive nature of the Park regime in South Korea and the unrest that it faces seem likely to intensify. Last week, curbs on political dissent were tightened again. A new emergency decree prohibited all political activities by university students.

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CURRENT NEWS
WEEKEND EDITION

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WASHINGTON STAR - 18 MAY 1975 Pg. 9

Navy Sees Lesson for Hill in Ship Incident

By Vernon A. Guidry Jr.
Washington Star Staff Writer

The Navy is hoping that the Mayaguez incident and the evacuation of South Vietnam will make the task of selling the need for increased naval forces to Congress easier.

Events of "the last month are bound to have caught the attention of Congress" says a high-ranking Navy man dryly.

It is felt that the responsiveness and flexiblity of naval forces, particularly the carrier, were demonstrated, along with their necessity in providing a "forward posture" for the United States in a time of shrinking U.S. flexibility ashore overseas.

THE SHARPLY adverse public reaction of the Thai government to the use of U.S. bases there as a staging area for the U.S. campaign against Cambodian captors of a U.S. merchant ship are cited as evidence of the perishable nature of bases in foreign countries.

Yet, it was the unavailabilty of U.S. naval forces, at least with the immediacy deemed essential, that prompted use of Thai bases as the jumping-off point for Marines involved and recapture of the container ship Mayaguez.

The surprising seizure of the ship early Monday morning, Washington time, by Cambodian gunboats found U.S. forces occupied elsewhere.

"We couldn't have been worse postured," says a Navy source.

THE ARMADA that had been assembled for the evacuation of South Vietnam had long been disbanded. Two aircraft carriers were, according to a

See NAVY, Pg. 2

NEW YORK TIMES
18 MAY 1975 Pg. 16

U.S. EASES POLICY ON BALTIC STATES

By JAMES F. CLARITY
Special to The New York Times

LENINGRAD, May 17—The United States, through its consulate here, is diluting a 35-year-old policy of refusing to recognize the incorporation of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia into the Soviet Union.

Western diplomats here feel that there is a gradual but unmistakable American movement toward de facto, if not formal, recognition of the Soviet Baltic republics, which were placed under Moscow's rule in 1940. Since the United States consulate opened here 22 months ago, the diplomats note, American contacts with political, economic and cultural officials in the Baltic republics have significantly increased.

The American consul general Joseph W. Neubert, said in an interview that United States policy of nonrecognition had not changed. But he acknowledged that in effect he was now the United States ambassador to the three republics. Since he became consul general eight months ago, Mr. Neubert has visited each of the Baltic capitals—Vilna in Lithuania, Riga in Latvia, and Tallinn in Estonia—which fall within his consular district.

Americans of Baltic origin have expressed concern that the United States is drifting away from its policy of nonrecognition. Acting on their behalf, Representative Edward J. Derwinski, Republican of Illinois, recently received a letter from Kempton B. Jenkins, a Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, affirming United States policy.

Mr. Neubert adheres to American policy protocol by not making direct contacts with the highest party and government officials in the Baltic republics, but he has met with their deputies.

"I am pleased," Mr. Neubert

See POLICY, Pg. 2

WASHINGTON STAR
16 MAY 1975 Pg. 9

Military Action Defended

By Fred Barnes
Washington Star Staff Writer

The White House, defending its military action in the Mayaguez affair, has asserted that the use of force was influential in convincing the Cambodians to release the 40 captured merchant seaman.

"The minimum force used in this did have some influence on the Cambodian actions," said White House Press Secretary Ronald Nessen, citing two examples.

First, it was shortly after the United States began its military operation Wednesday to free the seaman that the Cambodians announced by radio that the Mayaguez would be released.

Then, following the bombing of bases on the Cambodian mainland that destroyed 17 airplanes and some amphibious craft, a boat with the seaman aboard was cut loose.

NESSEN SAID there is no way for the U.S. government to know exactly what motivated the Cambodians to take the two steps, since there was no contact between American and Cambodian officials.

But the press secretary contended that "the sequences of events would indicate that the military action influenced their decision."

The bombing of the

See ACTION, Pg. 2

NEW YORK TIMES
18 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

3,000 THAIS MARCH ON U.S. EMBASSY AS PROTEST GROWS

Formal Note Says Bases Accord Is Under Review —Apology Is Asked

By MALCOLM W. BROWNE
Special to The New York Times

BANGKOK, May 17—Thailand today formally expressed indignation that the United States had used a Thai base in the Marine operation two days ago to recover an American merchant ship from Cambodian forces, and 3,000 demonstrators marched on the American embassy here.

The chargé d'affaires, Edward S. Masters, was summoned by Foreign Minister Chatichai Choonhavan to receive a note, saying that Thailand planned an immediate review of "all aspects of cooperation and commitments" between the two countries.

The note specifically mentioned the agreement under which the United States has permitted the use of military bases, which played an importnat role in the Indochina war.

Student Demonstrators

The demonstration at the embassy was organized mainly by activists at Bangkok's Thammasat University, but included some labor and other outside groups.

The demonstrators spent the afternoon with a three-hour march through Bangkok from the university, reaching the embassy shortly before nightfall.

As loudspeakers blared invectives against alleged American

See PROTEST, Pg. 2

JAMES KILLINGBECK, CHIEF, CURRENT NEWS BRANCH, OX 78765 HELEN YOUNG, ASSISTANT CHIEF.
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PROTEST ... CONTINUED

imperialist practices in Thailand, the crowd tore the United States seal from the embassy gate and erected a 12-foot effigy of Uncle Sam on top of the gate, presumably for burning as the night wore on.

Speakers demanded that the United States Government issue a written apology to Thailand for the Marine rescue operation tonight, implying that the mob planned to go beyond burning the effigy if the demand was not met.

Thai newspapers published excerpts from a news conference by Secretary of State Kissinger, in which he said, "insofar as we have caused any embarrassment to the Thai Government, we regret those actions."

Foreign Minister Chatichai said at a news conference, that the statement could not be considered an official apology and that Thailand's protest stood. He added that the Thai ambassador to Washington, who was recalled yesterday for consultations, might not return.

Mr. Chatichai also conferred today with a South Vietnamese diplomatic mission that arrived yesterday to demand the return of military aircraft and boats that came to Thailand during the collapse of the former Saigon government. The three-member group was greeted at Bangkok Airport last night by Vietnamese residents who presented flowers.

As the crowd outside the embassy cheered and yelled obscenities, about 80 Americans, including some Marine guards in civilian clothes, as well as 50 Thai policement, including Bangkok's police chief, waited inside the compound.

The crowd was not expected to storm the gate, but precautions included turning out the compound lights. The flag, normally lowered at 6 P.M., was left flying for the night.

One of the leaders of the demonstration was Seksam Prasertkul, a former student of Thammasat University, whose fiery harangues in October, 1973, played a large role in gathering the crowds that brought down the military government of Gen. Thanom Kittikachorn.

At that time, nearly half a million students, workers and other demonstrators took to the streets, overwhelming the police, and ordered a civilian government into power.

Since then, the authorities have been careful to avoid inflaming the students.

But, today, efforts to organize a large crowd clearly failed. Despite the use of sound trucks roaming the city and the march from the university to the embassy, most people took little notice of the demonstrators.

Thailand, which traditionally adjusts her foreign policy to accommodate whatever major foreign force appears to be dominant in Southeast Asia, is seeking to make amends for her role as an American ally in the Indochina war.

Her main objective is to shut down the American bases as quickly as consistent with the need to avoid damaging the Thai economy.

The government, before the Marine operation, demanded that all American forces—now numbering about 25,000—be withdrawn by next March, and the United States has been reducing these forces steadily.

If Thailand were to demand an earlier deadline, the United States has indicated that it would comply.

In the meantime, Premier Kukrit Pramoj said yesterday, Thailand will demand close supervision of the bases.

One Thai official said recently:

"You know how it has always been on those bases? Even the Prime Minister could not get in without advance arrangements by the Americans, although prostitutes were always given freedom of the bases whenever they choose to come or go."

POLICY ... CONTINUED

said, "that these three cities fall within the consular distric and that our relations with their officials are developing quite well." The consul general said the Baltic republics were a major part of his job. Th consulate, rather than the embassy in Moscow, has responsibility for reporting on the Baltic region to the State Department.

The American nonrecognition policy, diplomats feel, is also being weakened by increasing Baltic-American contacts in culture and education. A number of American performing groups have visited the Baltic republics.

Preliminary discussions are under way to bring American educators to Baltic universities to teach English. There are no American exchange students now in the Baltic republics, but their arrival is considered likely in the next few years. American tourists may visit the Baltic capitals and there are no special restrictions on American imports of goods produced in the Baltic republics.

American officials are said to feel no strong pressure from Soviet officials for a formal change in United States policy. The Soviet Union, according to diplomats, seems content with the present Americans are said to doubt that formal recognition will come soon, but they believe that it is inevitable.

The Soviet incorporation, which many Baltic emigres denounced as a Soviet usurpation, took place after Stalin had signed a nonaggression pact with Nazi Germany in 1939. When Germany attacked the Soviet Union in 1941, it occupied the Baltic states. At the end of the war, Moscow resumed its control.

The Baltic governments in exile still maintain officially recognized missions in Washington. Some diplomats here, noting that the emigre leaders are getting old, feel that pressure against recognition of Soviet control will fade.

ACTION ... CONTINUED

mainland bases was the most controversial aspect of the military operation, and the White House insisted it was absolutely necessary.

There was nothing punitive about the bombing raid, Nessen said. It was carried out to nullify the "real threats" that 2,400 Cambodian troops, the airplanes and the amphibious craft posed to the Marines who landed on the island 30 miles from the mainland.

THE DECISION to bomb was supported by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the press secretary said. Ford also was urged to be cautious by several Democratic leaders in Congress, Nessen said.

The leaders, reportedly Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield and Majority Whip Robert Byrd, voiced their doubts about the bombing runs at a White House session with Ford on Wednesday shortly after Ford had ordered the military operation.

"It would be too great a risk not to have this supportive action on the mainland," Ford was quoted by Nessen as telling the congressional leaders. "I could not forgive myself" if the 2,400 Cambodians attacked the Marines, Ford added.

There was never any thought given to the possibility that the use of military force in Cambodia might improve Ford's political standing at home, according to Nessen. "The sole consideration was the safe recovery of the ship and crew."

IN TERMS of telegrams to the White House, the reaction to the President's decision to use military force was overwhelmingly favorable.

Since the first conflict with Cambodian gunboats on Tuesday, telegrams and letters were running more than 5 to 1 in favor of Ford's policy — 2,657 for and 507 against as of about noon yesterday.

The White House also asserted that Ford carried out his obligation under the war powers resolution to consult with Congress before committing troops to combat. "The President believes he complied with the statute," Nessen said.

The spokesman said there is no requirement under the resolution that the President gain the approval of congressional leaders before ordering American servicemen into combat.

NAVY ... CONTINUED

Navy man, "in the wrong place and pointed in the wrong direction" at the time of the seizure. They were still involved in handling refugees and aircraft from the evacuation.

The carrier Coral Sea, which eventually played a key role in the Mayaguez incident, was headed for Australia when it was ordered to turn around and head for the Gulf of Thailand.

The closest U.S. ship was the destroyer Holt, which was at sea near Subic Bay in the Phillipines when the seizure occurred.

The Holt, which was to carry a Marine boarding party to the Mayaguez, was the first U.S. ship to arrive in the vicinity of the Cambodian island that was to be the focus of the U.S. military operation. The ship arrived some time after 2 p.m. Wednesday, Washington time. The military operation began in earnest some hours later

THE CARRIER Hancock, says a Navy source, could have been at the scene equipped with helicopters for the Marine assault on the island in 36 to 48 more hours. But this officer stresses that such w delay might have negated advantages offered by the Hancock.

In any event, says this analyst, it was the "forward posture" of the United States, both with its naval forces and its forces in Thailand, upon which the rescue depended.

And the message to Congress will be, "If you don't have a land base, you will have to fill that void with naval forces."

Congress has been resistant to that message as ship costs mount. The Navy has some 500 ships but says it should have 600 vessels to do its job.

THERE ARE now 15 aircraft carriers, but not for long. The force will shrink to 13 next fiscal year, and 12 active carriers with one in an emergency reserve role through 1980.

Even at that, the Navy is retaining two aging carriers it had hoped to retire in the next two years.

One reason for retaining older carriers is delay in completion of the nuclear-powered carrier Eisenhower. The ship was to have joined the fleet next fiscal year but the schedule has slipped to fiscal 1977 or beyond.

Construction of a new nuclear carrier, the Vinson, is scheduled to begin this fall with an estimated price tag of $1.1 billion.

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BALTIMORE SUN - 17 MAY 1975 Pg. 2

U.S. reports 1 killed, 13 missing, 22 injured

By CHARLES W CORDDRY
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—The Defense Department reported yesterday that the military rescue of the merchant ship Mayaguez and its crew cost the life of at least 1 American, and possibly 13 others still listed as missing, and injuries to 22 servicemen, at least three of them serious.

In reporting the casualties, which were said to be subject to further confirmation, the department's spokesman said he could not "give any great hopes" for the possible survival of the 13 missing men, who went down at sea off Tang Island in a helicopter struck by Cambodian gunfire. They are believed to be United States marines. Air Force helicopter crewmen and Navy corpsmen.

The spokesman, Joseph Laitin, also reported for the first time that there was a second air strike late Wednesday night against facilities at the Cambodian port of Kompong Som—more than an hour after the 39 Mayaguez crewmen, freed by the Cambodians, pulled alongside the U S destroyer Henry B. Wilson in a fishing boat manned by five Thais.

Previously it had been announced only that a strike from the carrier Coral Sea hit the Ream airfield near Kompong Som at 10.57 P M. Wednesday, Washington time. The Wilson sighted the crew approaching at 10 45 P M Mr Laitin said the second strike occurred at 11.50 P.M. and was "mainly" against the port's oil storage facilities.

In view of official assertions that the sole purpose of the military operation was rescue of the ship and crew, and of some congressional criticism even of the first air strike, Mr. Laitin was asked why the second one was not called off.

In an agitated voice, he responded that the oil storage targets were struck because there were "200 marines on an island [Tang] under heavy attack."

That was a reference to the marines who were taken by helicopter to Tang Island, beginning at 7.20 P M Wednesday, when it was still thought some of the Mayaguez crew might be there. Cambodians on the island, 30 miles from the mainland, gave stiff resistance with what Mr Laitin has called "small-caliber" weapons. Others said the weapons were AK-47 rifles, machine guns and mortars.

Asked the connection between that battle and mainland oil storage facilities, Mr Laitin said planes and boats need fuel, presumably a reference to concern that Cambodians might try to menace the U.S. operation, and "this was part of the battle plan."

Cambodian planes previously had been reported knocked out in the 10.57 air strike. In a related development yesterday, Henry A. Kissinger, the Secretary of State, maintained at his news conference that "there seems to have been some relationship between the release of the crew [of the Mayaguez] and the attacks on the mainland."

He said crew members were told "they were being released on the assumption that this would end the bombing attacks."

This version seemed contradicted by the Defense Department's logs of the operation, showing the crew was released before any bombs fell.

The only planes the Cambodians could have seen overhead before 10.57 P.M., Pentagon officials said, were reconnaissance aircraft, which were not bombing or shooting.

A strike on the Kompong Som port facilities originally had been scheduled for 8.45 P.M., but both White House and Defense Department sources said it was called back after planes were in the air, because of concern about foreign ships in the harbor. That strike's targets were scratched from the list.

On the question of casualties, Mr. Laitin said it was still difficult to compile accurate figures, because marines and airmen in the Tang Island operation were scattered, after being rescued or withdrawn, to ships, to U Tapao base in Thailand and to Okinawa, which is the marines' home base. Rosters are still being checked, as are various hospitals on ships and bases.

Mr. Laitin said ships are still searching the Gulf of Thailand area, but there "is no indication that anyone was left on the island."

The 13 missing men were among 26 on a downed helicopter. Half are known to have been rescued. The wounded were on another helicopter brought down just short of the beach at Tang.

Mr. Laitin said the Air Force dropped a 15,000-pound bomb of the type used in Vietnam to clear landing zones, "at some time during the action" on Tang Island. He said he did not know the target, but the bomb could have been used to clear a landing area for the second wave of marines.

BALTIMORE SUN - 17 MAY 1975 Pg. B1

Army to resume tests on beagles at Edgewood

By EDNA GOLDBERG and TOM HORTON

The Army has resumed its controversial procurement of beagle puppies for chemical-related experiments at Edgewood Arsenal, a spokesman for the military said yesterday.

The Army denied, however, that the dogs would be used for chemical or biological warfare research, such as the beagle nerve-gas tests that touched off a furor among animal groups and several members of Congress.

The beagles are to be used in research dealing with their ability to tolerate toxic levels of insecticides, detergents, adhesives and aerosals, the Army said.

Researchers also plan to use the puppies in a series of experiments on methods of disposing of obsolete chemical warfare agents.

Mary Downey Wilkes, executive secretary in Baltimore for the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, said she has called on all of Maryland's congressmen to investigate the beagle experiments at Edgewood Arsenal.

"We're not going to drop this," she said.

Meanwhile, at nearby Aberdeen Proving Ground, the Army presented two scientists at a morning background briefing yesterday in an attempt to answer charges by a United States senator that it had killed or maimed about 400 pigs and baboons in testing various projectiles for crowd control.

The two scientists from the project, who asked not to be identified because they feared "harassment," said that of 443 animals used in tests of "less-lethal weapons" since 1972, 38 had been killed by the projectiles.

They said the tests, which involved firing various experimental projectiles at heart, brain, kidney, spleen and liver areas, were concluded in August, 1974, and no further tests or purchases of animals are planned.

They admitted that so far the tests at Aberdeen, which cost about $1.6 million in military and Justice Department money, have produced neither a working model of a crowd control device, nor any definite plan for ever making one.

The most satisfactory projectile, the scientists said, proved to be a silicone ball, 1.25 inches in diameter which, fired at a speed of less than 250 feet a second, produces only a sting.

spokesman said the Army already has procured 100 beagles, aged 7 months to a year, and will open bids in late May for another 350 of the dogs.

An official of the U.S. Army Materiel Command in Alexandria, Va., said that after last year's public outcry over the proposed purchase of beagle puppies for testing, the Defense Department did "an intensive review of beagle procurement."

Their findings indicated that the beagle is still the best standard laboratory animal because "their physiological responses are acceptably close to those of humans," the official said.

An Army spokesman said that the Edgewood dogs would not be used in any chemical-biological warfare related experiments to comply with an amendment attached to the military appropriations bill by Congress last August. The amendment banned the use of Pentagon funds to buy animals for chemical-biological warfare tests.

Another set of Edgewood beagle tests is aimed at developing a vaccine to protect against chemical agents, such as tear gas, officials said.

A spokesman said the dogs would be used under guidelines for the care and use of lab animals established by the Institute of Laboratory Animals.

The tests of the baboons and pigs at Aberdeen came to light last week when Senator William V. Roth, Jr. (R., Del.) called them "unnecessarily cruel and barbaric."

In his charges Senator Roth also named AAI, a Cockeysville firm, as the holder of the Army contract for the tests. AAI officials denied that they were involved.

Yesterday at the press conference, one of the scientists said that "AAI provided the materials and some personnel."

Marvin J. Kahn, executive vice president of AAI, while continuing to deny that any of his people were involved in the tests, said that AAI designed the compressed gas-powered weapon that fired various projectiles at the test animals.

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NEW YORK TIMES - 17 MAY 1975 Pg. 2

Shah Visits Air Base and Then Meets Schlesinger

WASHINGTON, May 16 (Reuters)—The Shah of Iran inspected American radar-carrying planes at Andrews Air Force Base today and then flew by helicopter to the Pentagon for talks with Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger.

The Shah, in the United States on an official visit, is known to be considering the purchase of four or five of the $110-million Boeing 707's equipped with an airborne warning and control system that can scan a 200-mile area.

The Shah is also said to be considering the purchase of other planes, including Fairchild A-10 attack bombers and Grumman F-14 fighter jets. He has already bought more than $2-billion worth of American arms in the last 10 months.

While in his visit, to end next week, the Iranian leader may conclude two major financial deals. One is the Shah's investment of $300-million in the Pan American World Airways and the other is a United States agreement to build nuclear energy plants in Iran.

President Ford and the Shah, at a private White House meeting and a public toast last night, pledged continued economic cooperation.

BALTIMORE SUN - 17 MAY 1975 Pg. 6

Service is too selective, is sexist, U.S. judge rules

Butte, Mont. (AP)—A federal District Court judge ruled yesterday the Selective Service System is unconstitutional because it is sexually discriminatory.

In the first such decision in the nation, Judge W. D. Murray said draft laws must apply equally to males and females.

Dismissing a grand jury indictment against an alleged draft dodger, Judge Murray held Selective Service laws "establish a sex-based classification which burdens and penalizes members of one sex and not another," thereby "violating the defendant's constitutional rights to due process and equal protection under the Fifth Amendment."

Judge Murray held: "Legislation limiting the draft to male citizens denies them the equal protection of the law. All citizens, male and female, must be subject to the draft on an equal basis."

The decision came in the case of Kenneth Reiser, 22, of Bozeman, Mont., who was indicted by a grand jury November 30, 1973, for allegedly refusing to submit for induction into the armed forces.

In Washington, Peter Straub, the general counsel of the Selective Service System, said lower courts have held draft laws do not discriminate sexually and therefore are constitutional. This has been upheld by the Supreme Court three times.

BOSTON GLOBE
18 MAY 1975 Pg. 111

USS Nimitz to make its first voyage

By Nat L. Kline
Globe Staff

The Navy's newest nuclear-powered aircraft carrier, the USS Nimitz, recently commissioned at Norfolk, Va., will begin its first voyage in July.

It will go to the Caribbean for training operations and later be deployed with other carriers of the Atlantic Fleet.

President Ford, in a recent speech at the Navy League Convention in New Orleans, termed the Navy a major instrument for resolving crises short of war. Navy representatives say Mr. Ford's statement has been bolstered by the Mayaguez incident.

The Mayaguez crisis, they say, backs up the Navy League speech about the need for strong aircraft carriers and their air groups, and for Navy-Marine Corps teams.

The Nimitz is termed the largest warship in the world, with a flight deck of four and a half acres, carrying a hundred aircraft of varied types and capable of storing provisions for three months. Its two nuclear reactors enable her to steam more than 12 years without refueling.

The next nuclear carrier, the Eisenhower, is expected to be delivered in 1976 or 1977 and the Vinson in 1980 or 1981.

President Ford at the Nimitz commissioning, also said that without the five aircraft carriers operating off South Vietnam and the skill and performance of the military personnel the rescue of US citizens and Vietnamese from Saigon could not have been done in less than 24 hours.

NEW YORK TIMES - 18 MAY 1975 Pg. 9

Angola Rebel Group Accused on Arms

LISBON, May 17 (Reuters)—Portugal's chief representative in Angola has accused the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola of distributing arms to civilians and children in an indiscriminate manner.

Gen. Antonio Silva Cardoso was quoted by the Lisbon weekly Expresso today as having said that the present situation in the West African territory could lead only to chaos.

From 500 to 1,000 people are estimated to have died in fighting between the Popular Movement and the Zaire-based National Front for the Liberation of Angola in the Angolan capital of Luanda earlier this month. The National Front attributed the fighting to indisciplined hastily armed youths.

WASHINGTON STAR
18 MAY 1975 Pg. G-6

Fourteen Soldiers, No Army

NEWPORT NEWS (AP) — What do you do with 11 Cambodian and three South Vietnamese military officers who are receiving training here for armies that no longer exist?

If you're U.S. Army officials at Ft. Eustis, you keep feeding them, housing them, paying them, and figuring that sooner or later they'll go away.

Capt. Dean Tiba, assistant post information officer, said last week that "the whole situation is in limbo."

ALL OF THE foreign officers arrived at Ft. Eustis near the first of the year for training in a school of transportation.

They have remained here helplessly as their countries — and in some cases their wives and children — fell under Communist control.

The Transportation School classes end this month and so far the only decision the U.S. Army has made concerning the men's fate has been to offer them a 30-day extension to their stay here.

"We don't know what will happen. We haven't gotten new guidance (from the Department of Defense) for two weeks," Tiba said.

ONE DEPARTMENT of Defense message that did get through, however, was that the Cambodian officers were not to talk with reporters.

"We got that in a classified message," Tiba said.

He said the Cambodian embassy in Washington requested that the Department of Defense send the no-communication communication.

The message came about three weeks ago, Tiba added, long before the Khmer Rouge seized the U.S. merchant vessel Mayaguez and the U.S. marines went in under fire to get it back.

TIBA SAID he feels the foreign officers will opt to remain in this country. "All the ones I've talked to say they want to stay."

If they didn't, he added, they may encounter difficulty in getting back home.

"It would be very hard for the U.S. to get them back the way things stand right now," he said.

The probable chain of events after the officers lose their U.S. pay and living privileges in late June will be for the men to be simply declared refugees.

"I imagine they'll be processed like all the others, try to find sponors and employment," he said.

SOME OF THE men are no longer attending their Transportation School classes, but most are sticking with their studies in hopes that it will help them get jobs here, Tiba said.

The school teaches land, air and sea methods of moving men and equipment, and Tiba said the training could prove useful in merchant seafaring, trucking, air freight or railroad employment.

Some of the South Vietnamese officers are still "sitting on pins and needles," hoping that their families will turn up in the thousands of refugees who fled just prior to the Communist takeover, he said.

Tiba said he imagines the morale among all the officers is very low, but added "it's hard for the American mind to understand how (they) feel."

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WEEKEND EDITION--17 MAY 1975

EDITORIALS

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
17 MAY 1975

Defining our commitments

President Ford assured South Korean officials last week that the United States will keep its security commitments to their country if it is invaded from North Korea. In saying this, he hoped both to offer comfort to the South Koreans and to convey a warning to the North Koreans, whose words have been increasingly ominous since the Communist sweep thru Indochina.

In fact, there wasn't much else Mr. Ford could say. It was one of those automatic, unavoidable responses that have to be made, and the Koreans—both North and South—know that it means what Congress decides it will mean, and no more. Our 1954 treaty with South Korea commits us only to respond to aggression in accordance with due constitutional process.

This is why a mass rally in Seoul recently called for a "strengthened" commitment by the U. S., and why some Korean legislators have urged that our response be automatic. Our present commitment is far from automatic, especially since a recent poll shows that 65 per cent of Americans would oppose U. S. intervention in a new Korean war, and only 14 per cent would favor it.

Since it is probably unrealistic to expect a modern, democratic government to make long-term automatic military commitments, the South Koreans can feel comfortable only if the administration's commitment to them reflects a national consensus. The more specific that commitment is to be, the more clearly it must be concurred in by Congress and the public.

Wars often break out simply because one government does not perceive clearly how another may respond to a given provocation. The late Charles Bohlen, once ambassador to the Soviet Union, attributed the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 to a miscalculation by Stalin about how the U. S. would respond to an attack there.

There is, of course, also a problem of being too specific in stating foreign commitments: To draw or even suggest a line beyond which we won't respond is, in effect, to give the green light to aggressors to move into areas beyond the line.

The ideal policy, no doubt, would be to make clear and specific commitments where we know beyond question that we must and will live up to those commitments, while keeping our commitments vague in areas where we want potential aggressors to think we will respond more vigorously than we care to promise.

There is the added problem, in a democracy, that neither the executive nor his administration can be too specific, knowing that the nation's course of action will be determined in part by a lawmaking body with a mind of its own and by the public. At the moment, the public is vigorously opposed to anything resembling another Viet Nam. And as Mr. Ford told the South Koreans, Congress' foot-dragging has had a damaging effect on his plan to modernize their equipment.

Our commitments tend generally to be rather vague. Even in Western Europe, where our interests should be the strongest, we have no iron-clad obligation. At our own insistence, the North Atlantic Treaty, like the Korean and Southeast Asia treaties, merely commits each member, in the event of an attack, to take "such action as it deems necessary" thru its "constitutional processes."

In short, a country's intentions are not measured only in words. They are measured by public opinion, the presence of troops, military capacity, and a variety of other factors.

Where we have no doubt about our intentions, a firm commitment can be clearly enunciated—and should. Beyond this, where we prefer to leave our options open, even our strongest words will be subject to skeptical assessment by others.

In this no-man's-land, the most effective steps we can take for freedom are to demonstrate that we as a people thoroly believe in it. Yet in deciding which nations to aid and which to shun, we must be guided by one criterion and one alone: The ultimate importance of that aid to the security of the U. S. If it is determined to be essential to our security to aid Spain or the Philippines or Taiwan or, as it apparently has been, South Korea, then it becomes irrelevant to mutter about imperfections in the political structure of those countries, which are minor compared with those in the Communist world.

In a democracy, in short, a successful foreign policy must inevitably depend largely on the confidence of the people that the policy is right and on their determination to stick to it. The world must know that we prize our free system, and it must know that we have the military strength to support any decision we make.

BALTIMORE SUN 17 MAY 1975

Thailand: A Chance for Real Restudy

Thailand's prime minister tried repeatedly to convince Washington he really did not want his country used for military action to recover the Mayaguez But officials in Washington told reporters the Thai protests might be "for domestic consumption," and the Marines went directly from Utapao air base to Tang island Now Mr Kukrit has called his ambassador home, which may provide a chance—if Washington will use it—for a real restudy of America's new relations with Thailand.

When Thailand was Siam, its location made it a buffer between the competing colonialisms of Britain and France. Siam accepted British protection and thereby remained the one coastal country from the Indian Ocean to the Gulf of Tonkin that did not become a colony It also refined the art of "bending with the wind" that it later used in World War II. Again today, Thailand is ideally located to be a buffer among Southeast Asia's competing Soviet, Chinese, North Vietnamese and American forces. The new government's desire to move in that direction was shown by its request that American forces leave Thailand by next year But Washington may try to do little more than prune some air bases no longer needed for Vietnam. Pentagon officials tell some newsmen they still hope to retain a "residual presence" in Thailand.

The short-range convenience of American bases in Thailand cannot be denied, and the new government might yet prove amenable But it would inherently risk giving Thailand the appearance of a post-Vietnam American bulwark. That would erase Thailand's potential as a buffer and might grant her growing local Communist insurgency a patriotic appeal it need not be given.

Thailand's fragile coalition government faces many problems in coping with the guerrillas. Corruption, partly fueled by the American military presence, debilitates the army and much of the bureaucracy and gives the Communists a potent talking point. The military prefers to fight American-style, with helicopters and jeeps, and does little damage to an enemy that moves on foot and lives among the villagers. An unnecessarily large American presence—conceivably any military presence at all—would only aggravate these problems.

The government also has important natural advantages. Patriotism is still on the government's side against the Chinese and Vietnamese influences of the Communist insurgency. Thai rice farmers are among Southeast Asia's most prosperous, and the essentially conservative, Buddhist Thai people deeply revere King Bhumibol Adulyadej. No one can guarantee that these resources will enable the Thai government to defeat its Communist insurgents. But the government's natural advantages would surely be undercut by any major American military presence. Washington's problem, as it reviews policy toward Bangkok, will be to balance the short-term convenience of its bases against possible injury to Thailand's best hopes of keeping its Communist insurgency from maturing to a full-scale civil war.

WASHINGTON POST
17 MAY 1975

Cambodia: U.S. Attacked After Crew Released

The new government of Cambodia accused the United States yesterday of launching a "ferocious, insane" assault 20 minutes after the release of the American merchant ship Mayaguez and its crew.

Cambodian Information Minister Hu Nim, in a broadcast over radio Phnom Penh, described the Marine landing on Tang Island as "an act of open aggression."

"In the face of our goodwill, U.S. imperialism responded by savage, ferocious, insane, aggressive acts," Hu Nim said in a broadcast monitored in Bangkok.

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Weekend Edition -- 18 May 1975

WASHINGTON STAR - 17 MAY 1975

Suez Symbolism

When the Suez Canal was shut down in the Arab-Israeli war of 1967, a commercial calamity was perceived by some observers. But the maritime world has done very well without this shipping shortcut, and in fact has made other arrangements which may render the canal a less valuable property for Egypt than in years past. This does not lessen in any way, however, the favorable symbolism of the canal's reopening.

In fact, the timing itself may be a good portent. Egyptian President Anwar Sadat announced late in March that he would open the canal for business on June 5, despite the breakdown of Secretary of State Kissinger's peace mission in the Middle East. Most notably, this action is being taken without the sought-after final disengagement agreement with Israel. It adds a certain optimistic note, however small, in the wake of Kissinger's stunning failure to organize some sort of solid accord. It suggests a strong desire for peace on Sadat's part, and perhaps a feeling that renewed war is not very likely.

Whether this is a modest consolation offering to help reduce the widespread pessimism about the upcoming Middle East meetings in Geneva, we cannot say with any assurance. If this is so, then so much the better. Other factors, of course, cannot be discounted: Egypt wants and needs the revenues which the canal will produce, the Russians are anxious to secure this shorter naval route to the Indian Ocean. No doubt some other countries with legitimate commercial interests have been urging Cairo to hasten the reopening.

The revenues, though, may be rather disappointing, because those new supertankers that now carry so much of the world's oil are too large to use the canal, and passenger ships have vanished from the seas in large numbers. But European nations especially will derive some benefits from restoration of this freight route, and a few of them need all the help they can get.

Relaxation of tensions would have been abetted much more had Israeli shipping and Israel-bound cargoes not been banned from the canal by Sadat, but his reopening move can be seen nonetheless as a hopeful sign. When those two German freighters moved out of the canal last week, after entrapment in the littered and mined waterway for eight years, there was a pleasant sensation of release. If Suez can be swept clean of its many obstructions and traffic resumed again, perhaps other obstructions in the Middle East — those that frustrate the best of diplomacy — someday will yield.

LOS ANGELES TIMES
16 MAY 1975

Pirates Take Note

Pentagon and White House reports of the rescue of the Mayaguez and its crew depict an operation of limited and efficient use of force after diplomatic efforts had been fruitless. That sort of cool restraint can only be commended.

It was risky. It could have gone wrong, and both ship and crew could have been lost. There already have been quibbles from Congress and other quarters. But, given the possibility that the crew might have become hostages on the Cambodian mainland, and faced with an absence of response to diplomatic appeals, the President had no alternative.

The operation was a success in humanitarian terms. The nation rejoices in the safe return of the seamen, even as it mourns those lost in the operation. And it was a success in terms of a world more or less committed to a rule of law. The firm, uncompromising response to piracy serves the interest of every nation, because secure passage on the high seas is important to every nation.

In a sense, this was the first test of the War Powers Act adopted over a presidential veto at the end of 1973. The result was reassuring. It worked well.

The President may argue that he was acting on his own constitutional authority, but he must know how ambiguous that authority is. We prefer to think that he was acting precisely as the War Powers Act provided, utilizing the flexibility provided for just such an emergency, while accepting both the responsibility to keep Congress informed and the limitation on protracted action without specific congressional sanction. The fears that led Richard Nixon to veto the act, fears that it would paralyze emergency presidential action, proved unfounded.

The operation was made no easier by the protests of Thailand. We can understand the sensitivity of the new democratic government in Bangkok as it adjusts to the Communist conquests in neighboring states. But Thailand must surely understand that the American actions, mounted from American bases in Thailand, were directed at keeping open Thailand's own sea lanes, in protecting Thailand's own ocean commerce. The Mayaguez was en route from Hong Kong to Thailand when it was seized.

This rescue will also stand as a reminder of the importance of carrier task forces in a world in which the United States will have fewer and fewer foreign land bases.

Perhaps the most perplexing question is why the Cambodian government did what it did, less than a month after the Khmer Rouge took control of the country. Time may tell whether it was the beginning of a campaign of disruption and defiance of the norms of international relations, or whether it was an isolated, impulsive act of vengeance.

An important lesson has been taught by the American armed forces. It is that piracy, no matter what the motive, cannot be tolerated.

St. LOUIS POST DISPATCH
12 MAY 1975 (18)

No Longer At War

Predictably enough, some congressmen and Pentagon officials have been quick to air their dissatisfaction with President Ford's proposal to stop special educational benefits to those who join the armed forces after July 1. The opponents argue that without the added inducement of educational benefits the military will not be able to meet its manpower quotas through voluntary recruitment.

Every branch of the armed forces has, in fact, exceeded its quota since last November. With military pay scales closer than ever before to civilian levels, there is no reason to extend costly benefits that have never been provided during peacetime. Educational benefits should of course be continued for Vietnam-era veterans. Beyond that, however, Mr. Ford's proposal is a heartening reminder that "America is no longer at war."

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SEA POWER MAGAZINE - MAY 1975(18)

The Long Green Line

AT A TIME when U.S. naval and military capabilities around the world are being challenged on an almost daily basis, President Ford, Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger, and Navy Secretary J. William Middendorf, II, have cast a big vote for strength and stability by nominating Lieutenant General Louis H. Wilson, Jr., to be the next (and 26th) Commandant of the Marine Corps.

Wilson, currently serving as Commanding General of Fleet Marine Forces Pacific, arrived in Washington on 5 May for a few days of high-level meetings at the White House and Pentagon, and on Capitol Hill. Speedy confirmation of Wilson's nomination for the Commandant's post is expected from both the Senate Armed Services Committee and, shortly thereafter, by the full Senate. A Medal of Honor winner, a combat-tough Marine veteran of World War II, Korea, and Vietnam, the Corps' top ground force commander, and an officer richly, and deservingly, respected by seniors and subordinates alike, Wilson is expected to succeed General Robert E. Cushman, Jr., the outgoing Commandant, on or about 1 July—thus breaking the Corps' long established tradition of New Year's Day change of commands.

The qualities of person and personality which have propelled Wilson to the top, and which have made him (in the words of veteran defense columnist Robert D. Heinl, Jr.) "one of the bravest and ablest leaders of the Corps," all will be needed in abundance, and then some, through the next four post-Vietnam years. Those years might be tumultuous indeed. The Marines, with the other U.S. services, are passing through a major period of transition, shifting their own orientation from trans-pacific to Europe and the Mideast. And they must replenish their weapons inventory at a time when defense expenditures have become increasingly unpopular both with Congress and with the U.S. body politic at large.

Finally, with the Army considerably reduced in strength from its Southeast Asia peak, and with the renewed emphasis within all the services on rapid response capabilities, the Marines are now, more than ever before, most likely to be called on first in future emergencies. Under Wilson, as under his many illustrious predecessors, they will always, we know, "keep their honor clean." We are extremely proud, therefore, to issue a salute of welcome to General Wilson, and to extend our sincerest best wishes, to him and the Corps, for every success during his tenure.

We also want to pay well-deserved tribute at this time to General Cushman, and to General Earl E. Anderson, his Assistant Commandant, who also is planning to retire in the near future. It was under the leadership of Cushman and Anderson—both of whom were among the Corps' finest combat commanders in Vietnam during the peak of the war—that the Marines began their still ongoing restructuring and reorganization toward a possible transatlantic conflict.

Cushman's early departure—six months short of what would have been the normal 1 January turnover date—is somewhat ironic. Under a quirk in the retirement laws a so-called "pay inversion" takes place, depending on the date of retirement, which pays a handsome premium to early retirees but exacts a heavy financial penalty from those who elect to remain on active duty and serve their country for just a few months longer. (Cushman told reporters in April that he himself stood to lose over $100,000 during his expected retirement lifetime if he were to remain in service until 1 January.)

Cushman has been a vigorous spokesman for a change

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THE NEW REPUBLIC - 10 MAY 1975 (18)

Congress and Intelligence

The Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) wants congressional approval to build an $80 million headquarters on the site of a former air force base in Washington, DC. We suspect most people familiar with the CIA and FBI would be hard put to say what the DIA does or has done that would justify setting it up in the nation's capital's fifth most expensive government building.

Since 1961, when it was created to manage the various intelligence collection and distribution operations of the individual military services, DIA has been busy trying to win back, from the civilians at CIA, control over military intelligence estimates. That control is important to the Pentagon because intelligence estimates are the foundation upon which the army, navy, air force and marines build their future weapons and force structures. The inroads DIA has made in this effort—not just the so-called "substandard facilities" it claims to have—may be behind the Pentagon's decision in this tight budget year to solicit $86 million to house DIA's 3000 Washington-area employees.

The fight between DIA and CIA over military intelligence information has been financially wasteful and politically damaging. A former CIA analyst, Samuel Adams, recently wrote how his military opposite numbers deliberately misrepresented North Vietnam and Vietcong force level estimates to justify Pentagon policies. During the 1969 congressional debate on the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system, CIA and DIA produced contradictory data on Soviet offensive and defensive missile systems. The CIA material was used to oppose the Safeguard; DIA intelligence to support it.

The DIA's daily intelligence digest circulates in the Pentagon and competes for readership in the rest of the national security establishment with the CIA's daily digest. In addition the DIA puts out reams of regular studies on "existing or impending foreign military trends, activities, or threats" and on a myriad of other subjects including "counterintelligence." Within the Pentagon a sharp distinction is made between DIA, acting as a manager and processor of intelligence information, and the intelligence branches of the individual services, which do the actual collection.

It was once held that the establishment of DIA would inevitably lead to a unification of the various services' intelligence and security operations. That has not happened. In 1971, after the embarrassing revelations of army domestic spying were disclosed to Sen. Sam Ervin's constitutional rights subcommittee, the Pentagon did set up a Defense Investigative Service combining in one organization the personnel security investigations for all Defense Department agencies. But behind this unit each service still maintained its own individual counterintelligence and criminal investigative operations. The army's Counterintelligence Corps, which did the civilian information collection that so aroused the nation, still exists.

Each service also has its own overt and covert intelligence collectors. And on top of that, they each operate electronic listening organizations called "security services." These units use sophisticated

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GREEN LINE -- CONTINUED

in the law, to correct what is generally recognized as a serious inequity, but has thus far been unable to succeed in his efforts for remedial legislation. For this reason, and because the rest of the Corps' general officer ranks would be similarly affected, Cushman risked (and received) a somewhat unfavorable press by seeking to have his successor named well before 1 September, on which date the pay inversion sets in. With the next Commandant, Wilson, now named, other USMC generals who might be affected by the succession are now free to make their own individual plans without being unfairly penalized for their continued service.

Anderson's departure, like Cushman's, leaves one with mixed emotions. With his retirement the Corps, and the Nation, lose another fine officer, an articulate and able leader fully and eminently qualified in every way to be Commandant himself—Anderson was, of course, as Cushman's alter ego, among the top runners to succeed Cushman. He is still a relatively young man, however, and will undoubtedly be heard from again in the future.

It is consoling to realize, as Cushman and Anderson join the glittering roster of great Marine alumni, that the Marine system produces so many leaders of such high caliber that the Corps is not now, never has been, and never will be dependent on the talents and leadership of any one individual. When a Greene, or a Chapman, or a Cushman, retires, there will always be another Marine of the Wilson quality to take command. And behind and beside the Commandant will always be such men as Walt and Krulak, Anderson and Chaisson, and many another in that long green line of heroes which stretches back to the beginnings of the Republic, and forward to the far horizons of the future. ■

NEW YORK TIMES - 17 MAY 1975

The Greek-Turk Talks

It would be hard to exaggerate the importance of the meetings under way in Rome of the Greek and Turkish Foreign Ministers—the first high-level contact in many months between the estranged allies. Heading the agenda for Messrs. Bitsios and Caglayangil is the question of how to take to the International Court of Justice the sharing of oil resources on the Aegean continental shelf between the two countries—a highly emotive issue that has recently bedeviled relations between the Governments of Greece and Turkey.

They will also discuss other outstanding issues such as flying rights over Aegean areas close both to the Greek islands and mainland Turkey, the possible demilitarization of those islands and, perhaps most important, the Cyprus question. Both Governments say they hope for enough of a beginning in three days of talks in Rome to warrant further meetings between Prime Ministers Caramanlis and Demirel at the North Atlantic Treaty Council session in Brussels at the end of the month.

Nothing could give a greater lift in morale for the Atlantic Alliance community than the resolution of the formidable problems that have threatened at intervals over the last ten months to provoke war between Greece and Turkey. The Greek Cypriotes have made proposals that go far toward meeting Turkish demands for a bicommunal federal state on the island.

By offering in return some concessions it has previously hinted it would be willing to make—troop withdrawals, a pullback from some of the territory seized by the Turkish Army last August, etc.—Turkey could clinch a settlement that should satisfy the Turkish Cypriotes. By such actions, the Turks could also insure a resumption of American military aid.

NEW YORK TIMES - 18 MAY 1975

Peking and Paris Strengthen Ties With a Visit

Teng Hsiao-ping, China's Deputy Premier and the highest-level Chinese Communist official ever to visit Western Europe, has completed a week-long visit to France. The trip was treated as one of considerable importance by both nations: by France, as evidence of her improving ties with developing nations, many of which hold China in high esteem; and by China as an opportunity to express support for the more united Europe she considers important as a restraint on the Soviet Union.

France has recently sought better diplomatic and trade relations with developing nations and the Arab world. She helped formulate the Lomé agreement for improved trade with 44 developing nations, and opposed American attempts to break the oil-ducers' cartel.

CONGRESS AND INTELLIGENCE -- CONTINUED

devices to overhear or automatically record radio transmissions. Though each service maintains its own capability for communications intelligence, there is a managing organization, the National Security Agency (NSA), to coordinate the entire operation. NSA, like DIA, sets out the tasks that the individual services are to undertake to meet Pentagon needs. But the services are also free to undertake some intelligence collecting on their own. For example the army's Security Service in 1963 overheard and recorded walkie-talkie radio transmissions during Martin Luther King's march on Washington. They used them again in 1968 in Chicago during the Democratic convention. In 1969 and 1970 the military services, listening overseas, picked up radio telegrams sent by American radicals and anti-Vietnam war leaders traveling abroad.

Neither NSA nor DIA has ever been subject to extensive congressional inquiry. Neither was established by statute so neither has been barred by law in any way from undertaking, for example, domestic police type activities. Their joint budgets run over four billion dollars. CIA's is about $750 million.

The Rockefeller commission examining the CIA's domestic activities is due to make its report in June. Thanks in part to a tip President Ford gave *New York Times* editors, John Kennedy's assassination has become the subject of the commission's inquiry and public concern. That concern is also reflected in a decision by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence that it, too, will look into assassinations in addition to CIA activities in Laos, Chile and the US, and FBI wiretapping and counterintelligence.

The House Select Intelligence Committee has had trouble getting underway. With a vague charter and a broad-spectrum political make-up, the committee has had a problem selecting a staff director. Perhaps it would be wise for both the Senate and House intelligence committees now to stand aside on the explosive Kennedy assassination issue and give it to a separate joint committee. Then they could devote more time to probing DIA and NSA, which represent problems that will be with us in the future.

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WEEKEND EDITION 18 MAY 1975

FEATURES COLUMNISTS

CHICAGO TRIBUNE 18 MAY 1975

'Commitments' could drag U.S. into war

By James McCartney
Knight Newspapers

WASHINGTON — Like it or not, the United States could be dragged into a new war by any one of hundreds of "commitments" President Ford is fervently assuring the world he is determined to honor.

The nation has 41 formal mutual defense treaties with nations across the globe, from Korea to New Zealand, Norway to Turkey.

Beyond that, it has a network of military bases the administration considers "commitments"—more than 340 major bases in 30 countries overseas, at least 3,000 minor ones.

BEYOND THAT, it has scores of "executive agreements" with nations on every continent that raise the question of whether the U. S. should intervene if threats arise.

In addition, the U.S. has pledged to provide a "nuclear shield" for Europe, Japan, Korea, and Latin America. It has strongly suggested publicly that the "shield" extends thruout the Pacific, to the shores of China. This means we would use nuclear bombs in the defense of allies attacked by nuclear weapons.

These are the commitments the President and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger are talking about in a concerted campaign to reassure U. S. allies that the U.S. intends to stand by them in the wake of the collapse of South Viet Nam.

THE DRIVE already has brought a parade of foreign leaders to Washington to meet and be photographed with President Ford. It will continue on a European trip late this month.

The message Ford has delivered personally to leader after leader is the message he delivered to Congress in the dying days of South Viet Nam: "We will honor our commitments."

But few here, even at the top levels of government, can say precisely what all of the commitments are.

That is because U.S. commitments have been built up over a quarter of a century since World War II and have become so complex, and often so subtle, that there is nowhere to go to get a list.

THE STATE Department press office, for example, recently was asked for a list of "major" U.S. commitments, and was unable to supply one.

A State Department lawyer who specializes in treaties referred a reporter to a list of "Treaties in Force" published by the department in January, with 445 pages.

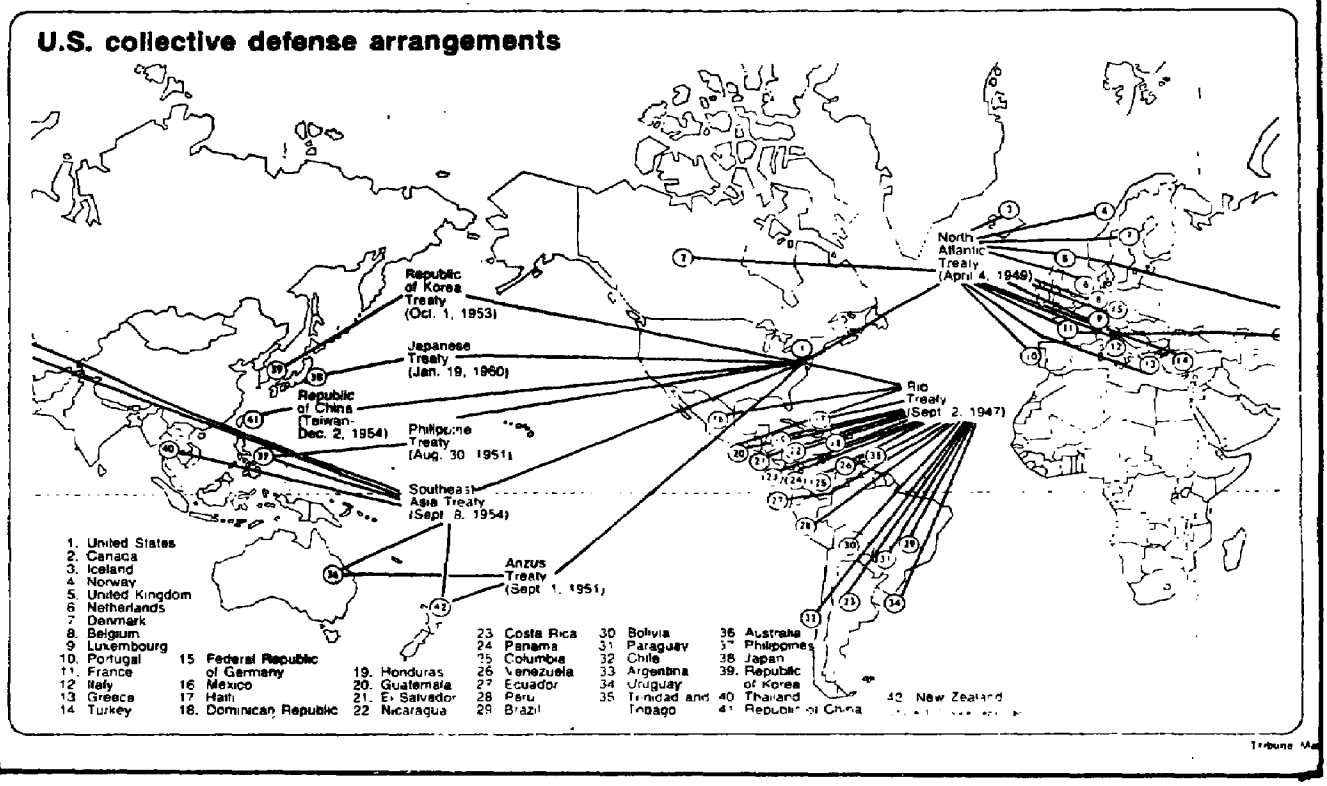
The list made no mention of a major commitment to the survival of Israel—for the simple reason that the U.S. has no treaty with Israel.

YET TOP officials of the department say the U.S. commitment to Israel ranks as one of the nation's most serious. Every President, beginning with Truman, has verbally guaranteed Israel's survival.

The point is that commitments include formal treaties involving many nations and ratified by the Senate; bilateral [two-country] treaties; announced agreements, sometimes in the form of communiques; public announcements by a President, or a Cabinet official; and perhaps secret communications between heads of state.

"A commitment can be very

(SEE COMMITMENTS...Pg.2-F)



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COMMITMENTS -- CONTINUED

solid and deep, ratified by Congress, or it can be a general intention on our part," said one top State Department official.

"THE PRESIDENT is using the term these days in his broadest foreign policy sense—meaning all kinds of commitments—because questions are arising now from our allies about our intentions. This was the price of Viet Nam."

One Senate foreign policy expert said: "A commitment is often what a President says it is and tries to sell to the public when he wants to do something."

The U.S., for example, had no treaty with South Viet Nam. Bit it went to war in Viet Nam, anyway—citing the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty [SEATO], to which South Viet Nam wasn't a party, as legal authority.

IN A VERY real sense, then, the nation's most important "commitments" are not what is on paper anywhere; they involve what the President in power believes to be important.

Today, top officials say the most important U.S. commitments are, in order:

● The North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], a treaty signed in 1949, involving 14 countries. The U.S. has pledged to go to war if any are attacked. To officials, NATO is the most sacred of all U.S. commitments. The U.S. has fought in two world wars to keep Central Europe in friendly hands and NATO is designed to prevent a third world war, this time with Russia.

● The survival of Israel. This is a totally different package in which no treaty is involved. The U. S. has not pledged to use its own troops to defend Israel, but Presidents repeatedly have accepted responsibility for Israel's survival in a sea of Arabs. Exactly what the U. S. would do in a crisis, officials say, would depend on the circumstances. If Russia sent troops to the Middle East, U. S. troops might be sent, too. Said one top official: "If Israel couldn't defend itself with our arms, we would be hard put not to go to war."

● South Korea and Japan. This is now considered the most sensitive area in the Far East because the interests of four of the world's great powers converge—China, Russia, Japan, and the U. S.

THE U. S. HAS 40,000 troops in South Korea equipped with nuclear weapons, including some on the North Korean border. They play the role of "trip wire" in case of attack.

To some top officials the Korean-Japanese commitment is even more important than the commitment to Israel—but Israel lies in an area where dangers are more immediate.

A vitally important point now, however, is that top officials are not identifying the U. S. "commitment" to Thailand as among major concerns.

THIS IS important because Thailand has long been described as the next of the threatened "dominoes" in Southeast Asia if Viet Nam and the rest of Indochina were to fall to the communists, as they now have.

Thailand is a member of SEATO, which President Johnson used to justify U. S. intervention in Viet Nam, and the organization, on paper, still stands. But the U. S. has written if off.

Officials now expect Thailand to move toward "accommodation" with Communist regimes in North and South Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia. Eventually, they expect it probably will seek neutrality.

SAID ONE official: "The Thais will probably align themselves with the Third World."

The U. S. also has a mutual defense treaty with Taiwan that history has overtaken and which the U. S. has carefully avoided mentioning since President Nixon's visit to Communist China in 1972.

The U. S. will not go to war over Taiwan, officials say privately, regardless of the treaty.

IN SPITE of its worldwide commitments, and the current administration campaign to try to provide reassurance to allies, the Viet Nam War unquestionably has had a major impact on thinking of policymakers about U. S. military involvements.

"It is clear that the U. S. no longer can play the role of world policeman," says Joseph Sisco, undersecretary of State. "It is essential that our policy be one of selective engagement."

He says this means that administrations will have to provide "clear cut justification in terms of our national interests" of any military plans.

PERHAPS EVEN more importantly, Congress has tightened the reins on the President and the executive branch.

A War Powers Act passed in 1973 as a direct outgrowth of Viet Nam requires the President to inform Congress, in writing, within 48 hours, of any use of U. S. troops "equipped for combat in a foreign nation."

It also requires withdrawal of the troops in 60 days unless Congress specifically approves the war.

The Senate also has sought to define just what a "national commitment" is thru a non-binding "sense of the Senate" resolution adopted in 1972.

IT SAID there are no national commitments unless Congress has agreed formally that there are.

Kissinger has said that a lesson of the Viet Nam War is that Congress must concur in military actions.

Nevertheless, the Ford administration clearly has a far more hawkish view of the U. S. world role than many Democrats in Congress, and a stronger sense of U. S. "commitments."

Only a few weeks ago Ford insisted publicly that the survival of Cambodia was of "vital interest" to the U. S. The statement was, in a way, an attempt to convince Congress of a "commitment." Congress didn't agree, refused money and the U. S. withdrew.

KISSINGER'S personal style of diplomacy leads to many executive "commitments" that currently defy the ability of Congress to exert effective control. He may promise anything behind closed doors.

Congress still has not found a way to handle that kind of problem not covered by the War Power Act.

But the act still will make it necessary for an administration to explain its actions to Congress and to the public in far more detail than was provided in Viet Nam, once troops are committed.

The debate is far from over. It is only beginning.

NEW YORK NEWS 18 MAY 1975

Warns Russia May Rule Waves

Washington, May 18 (News Bureau) —The Soviet Union may soon supplant the United States in the position of "overriding dominance of the oceans," according to a Library of Congress study made public today.

The report, prepared for Sen. Ernest F. Hollings (D-S.C.), chaiman of the Senate National Ocean Policy Study, concluded that the Soviet Union is challenging the U.S. and have already surpassed it in several areas related to seapower.

Sen. Ernest F. Hollings

It said the Soviet merchant fleet has outstripped its fishing and oceanigraphic programs have attained equality with the Americans.

Although it concentrated on nonmilitary ocean activities, the study also said the Russian Navy is expanding "very rapidly" and has shifted "from a basically defensive posture towards inclusion of an offesive capability, appropriate for making global political impact and challenging the U.S. presence in many areas not contiguous to the Soviet Union."

"A Very Serious Matter"

"At a time of growing U.S. dependence on foreign sources of oil and raw materials," Hollings warned, "further erosion of our overall ocean capablities is a very serious matter . . . particularly in view of the growing maritime strength of the Soviet Union."

Among the study's findings were that:

● The Soviet merchant marine moved from 23d to 6th place in the world between 1946 and 1974, while the U.S. merchant fleet was slipping from first to eighth.

● The Soviet Union has greatly improved its fishing industry in the past two decades and is "likely to become the dominant fishing nation of the world in the near future."

● Although the Soviet Union is still behind in offshore drilling and production capability, it is speeding to catch up by importing Western equipment.

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NEW YORK TIMES 18 MAY 1975

The Laws Under Which Mr. Ford Took Action

By ANTHONY LEWIS

As the affair of the Mayagüez was played out last week, public and Congressional attention focused largely on questions of war, diplomacy and politics. But the Mayagüez affair also raised profound questions of law and constitutionality. They were very much in the minds of White House lawyers and it was said, President Ford.

The "law" most quoted during the Mayagüez events was the War Powers Act passed by Congress late in 1973 over President Nixon's veto. It asks Presidents "in every possible instance" to "consult" with Congress before sending the armed forces into hostilities, and in any event commands them to "report" to Congress within 48 hours. White House aides did inform leading members of last week's military plans, if not exactly consult them, and the President did send a formal report thereafter.

But the really relevant law was not the general language of the War Powers Act but a specific statute prohibiting American military activity in Indochina. It was passed by Congress in June, 1973, and signed into law by President Nixon on July 1. It prohibited all combat activity in Indochina after Aug. 15 of that year.

The language has been re-enacted in each defense appropriations bill since then. In the current law it reads as follows: "None of the funds herein appropriated may be obligated or expended to finance directly or indirectly combat activities by U.S. military forces in or over or from off the shores of North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Laos or Cambodia."

On their face, in the ordinary meaning of the language, the words totally and explicitly prohibit what President Ford did last week. So the question must be: Is there some loophole, some escape from the flat language that appears in the statute book as a command?

This question was discussed last week with President Ford's counsel Roderick Hills, who made clear that it had been a weighty one for him and his colleagues.

Some have suggested—Senator Henry Jackson did last week—that the 1973 law banning Indochina combat was somehow "superseded" by the later War Powers Act. Mr. Hills saw no force in this argument, and no legal comfort for the President. He said the law was on the books and, on its face, would seem to have prohibited use of the funds that in fact were used to send the Marines and aircraft to the Gulf of Siam. But in the unlikely event that a court will try to apply a statute, that would not end the discussion. The court would first look at the legislative history—the debates before passage—to see whether they suggested a different meaning for the words of the statute. And it would measure the act against the Constitution.

The 1973 Congressional debates are not very illuminating in this case. Members did not discuss a situation like that of the Mayagüez. Last week one of the bill's sponsors, Senator Frank Church of Idaho, said he had not intended to keep a President from using force to rescue American citizens. But even the most flexible ideas of statutory interpretation did not allow authors of bills to give ex post facto accounts of their meaning.

The Constitution confided to Congress the power to declare war. Money for the armed forces must also be voted by Congress, in regular appropriations. To use the power of the purse to restrict war-making by the United States thus sounds like an act well within Congress's power, and a traditional way of using the power.

On the other hand, Presidents have for many years committed the armed forces without asking Congress first. The business of fighting enormous wars without a formal declaration, as in Vietnam, is a recent and much-criticized development. But back into the 19th-century Presidents did use the military on their own for such lesser actions as protecting American lives and acceptance of the principle at the time helped set a precedent.

The great legal test of Presidential war powers came when President Truman seized the steel mills in 1952 to prevent a strike during the Korean war. The Supreme Court held the seizure unconstitutional. Justice Robert H. Jackson wrote that the branches of the United States Government are not totally separate; their powers overlap. A President's power is "at its lowest ebb" when he acts against the "will of Congress"; the courts can sustain him then only by holding Congress powerless in the area—and they would hesitate to do that.

Maintaining Equilibrium

"Presidential claim to a power at once so conclusive and preclusive," Justice Jackson wrote, "must be scrutinized with caution, for what is at stake is the equilibrium established by our constitutional system."

Mr. Hills, perhaps reflecting that outlook, did not argue directly that the 1973 appropriation act was unconstitutional if applied to restrict a President's power in the Mayagüez circumstances. He was careful, indeed, to say that President Ford had not treated the law as unconstitutional. Rather, he took a more sophisticated position often taken by the Supreme Court when faced with a grave Constitutional question over a statute. That is to give the statute's words a narrow meaning, even a strained meaning, in order to avoid the constitutional question. For example, the Supreme Court, rather than decide whether the Constitution allowed withholding of passports on political grounds, held that the old passport laws did not authorize such withholding.

A court might put it this way, Mr. Hills argued: "We should not assume that Congress would lightly interfere with the true constitutional war powers of the President—and what could be more at the heart of the true power than assuring the free passage of vessels in international waters and the safety of American citizens? Congress has the power of the purse. But if it gives the President armies to command, and the duty, he must exercise it...

"There is a rational argument," Mr. Hills concluded, "to show that the President did not willynilly ignore the law or declare it unconstitutional." Mr. Hills added that the President had discussed the legal issues very seriously with him and his senior counsel and old friend, Philip Buchen.

One curious thing about the role of law in the Mayagüez affair was how little anyone mentioned it. Mr. Hills said he thought that that was unfortunate—that there should have been candid discussion of the law. Very likely politics overwhelmed concern for the law, as it occasionally does, at least during the drama of last week.

The years of Vietnam and Watergate were often said to have carried great lessons about respect for law and the Constitution. If those lessons were learned, there will be further reflection in Congress and the country about the legal basis for the President's military actions in the Mayagüez affair.

Anthony Lewis is a columnist for The New York Times.

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WEEKEND EDITION 16 MAY 1975

LOS ANGELES TIMES 16 MAY 1975

The Mayaguez Incident: Is Singapore the Key to U.S. Need for Bases?

BY ROBERT S. ELEGANT

HONG KONG—In a week when direct military confrontation between the United States and Cambodia has emphasized the need for American bases in Southeast Asia, the recent advice of Singapore's Prime Minister Lee Kwan Yew—spoken in rather blunt terms—takes on added significance.

Lee has definite ideas about where the United States went wrong in Vietnam, and what it ought to do now in Southeast Asia. He has not hesitated to enunciate those ideas, whether on his home base or, as last week, at the White House.

The prime minister apparently believes that he can tell other people what to do because of his spectacular success in maintaining internal stability and in creating a thriving economy in his small island state, despite major difficulties. Perhaps his semimiraculous performance does give him that right, even if he rules with an iron hand.

Lee's prescription in part goes like this: The United States must reassure its friends by a strong, continuing military presence. Further precipitate withdrawals could cause total collapse of confidence and spread havoc from Western Europe through the Middle East to the Far East, gravely damaging American interest everywhere.

President Ford's decision on Wednesday to retrieve the captured cargo ship Mayaguez and its crewmen from Cambodia must have reassured Lee to some degree. Yet almost-concurrent actions by the Thais no doubt disturbed the prime minister almost as much as they did the President.

America's "allies," the Thais, have not only demanded an accelerated withdrawal of the 27,000 American troops now in their country but have also decided to "return" to the new Saigon regime some 50 American-supplied aircraft flown to U.S. bases in Thailand by refuge-seeking South Vietnamese pilots.

Bangkok further objected to the arrival of about 1,000 U.S. marines in Thailand to take part in the recapture of the ship. A foreign ministry spokesman warned that the action meant Thailand "can't be friends with the United States."

Thailand, the last American stronghold in continental Southeast Asia, is preparing to close down the major air bases. The extensive Sattahip naval base that the United States built in Thailand at Thai request, and at great expense, will soon be unusable. Having lost faith in American guarantees of their security, the Thais don't want to provoke their Indochinese Communist neighbors by retaining those U.S. bases.

Given the present apprehensive atmosphere in Southeast Asia, the Thai attitude is wholly understandable—if not notably gracious.

But it poses a major problem for U.S. military planners. The Thai bases were not only important to Indochina, they have also enabled the 7th Fleet and the air force to maintain a strong presence directed southwest toward the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea. That power has comforted oil-rich Indonesia and safeguarded Japan's vital sealanes to Middle East petroleum fields.

Contrasted with the current Thai attitude, Lee is quite another case. He has repeatedly and vehemently said he wants the United States to remain militarily strong in Southeast Asia. Moreover, strategically located Singapore possesses excellent naval bases and military airfields, which are now being vacated by vestigial British Commonwealth forces.

If Lee puts his bases where his mouth is, he could practically ensure the U.S. presence he wants. For its part, the United States could maintain and even extend its power, while demonstrating the determination to fulfill its commitments as Ford has said he will.

Even more than the Cambodian action, setting up bases in Singapore would be a symbolic and practical move which would greatly increase our ability to influence future events and help restore confidence among nations that depend on the United States for peace and security. These range from the European community through Israel all the way to Japan and the People's Republic of China—perhaps even Thailand itself. All that could come about without undertaking any new commitments, spending large sums, expending U.S. forces in Asia or risking again being bogged down on the Asian land mass.

Offering the United States long-term use of those bases would benefit Singapore greatly. Under British rule, those bases employed large numbers of skilled workers, most of Chinese origin, a human resource available nowhere else in Southeast Asia. The economic benefit to Singapore is obvious, while the cost to the United States would—if anything—be less than present costs.

Singapore would also feel much more secure because of the American presence, located as it is between two bigger powers, Malaysia and Indonesia. Lee has implicitly aligned himself with the United States by his own utterances. But even the formally nonaligned though strongly anti-Communist Indonesians would feel more secure if Singapore gave the United States bases they cannot offer.

The southern tier of Southeast Asia is worried about two distinct threats: the resurgent Indochinese and their mechanized "guerrillas" on the one hand, and Russian expansionism on the other.

Lee could dramatically allay those fears by offering bases to the U.S. Navy and Air Force. American strategists would almost assuredly jump at the offer. Even those prudent American statesmen who properly fear overcommitment should welcome the opportunity to help stabilize a volatile situation that could lead to new wars—particularly since it would involve no new commitments or major expenditures.

It will be interesting to see whether Lee Kwan Yew is, as his critics charge, intoxicated by the sound of his own words or whether he will make the gesture his own voluble logic dictates

Robert S. Elegant is The Times' correspondent in Hong Kong.

NEW YORK TIMES
18 MAY 1975

Pathet Lao Taking Charge

The gradual erosion of the power of some pro-American politicians in Laos continues. They have been replaced by the Communist Pathet Lao.

The decline began on May 9 with the resignation of five rightist ministers from the coalition Cabinet of neutralist Premier Prince Souvanna Phouma. Their jobs, though apparently not their formal titles, were taken over by Communists. At the same time, there were student demonstrations and protests over the American presence.

In the southern Laotian city of Savannakhet, American officials were placed under house arrest by the demonstrators. Other American officials in the Laotian capital, Vientiane, were reported studying evacuation of the Savannakhet Americans, but were being cautious for fear of provoking a major incident.

Other countries were reported preparing to remove their nationals from Laos. Some Americans have left but the United States says it is not planning to remove the 300 Embassy officials and 490 dependents in the capital.

NEW YORK TIMES
18 MAY 1975

Refugee Funds Are Agreed To

The resettlement of the Vietnamese refugees appears no longer to be a political issue in the Congress. Both Houses have voted to authorize $405-million in relief funding for the program.

In the Senate, where the vote was 79-2, the usual procedures were reversed as authorization for the money was approved before a bill itself had cleared the floor. The money was needed immediately because existing funds for transporting, feeding and housing the Indo-chinese refugees is just about depleted. The Senate will probably push through a bill approving the refugee program sometime this week.

The difficulties for officials and for the refugees are now administrative. Of the 130,000 refugees, fewer than 10,000 have been processed. The majority are waiting in camps for the completion of security checks and the appearance of sponsors before they can be "admitted" to the United States. An emergency office has been pulled together in Washington to attempt to cut through some of the tangles.

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Weekend Edition - 18 May 1975

Ernest B. Furgurson

BALTIMORE SUN
18 MAY 1975

Semper Fi

Washington.

The Marines were in trouble before their rescue of the Mayaguez. They still are. Despite their performance and their reputation, they continue to be budgetary stepchildren among the armed forces. They deserve better.

What they did this week in the Gulf of Thailand was a classic, romantic Marine operation. It was in fact a near duplicate of their action in the first naval battle in our national history, the raid on New Providence in the Bahamas in March, 1775.

As they stormed ashore on Tang Island this week, so they landed near Nassau then, capturing 88 cannon and assorted other booty from the British. Through the Barbary wars, the Mexican War, the banana wars of the early 1900's, they were always there. And the reputation they built in those years has turned out a disadvantage in modern times.

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The assumption grew that the Marines were useful primarily to fight ill-equipped primitives in little sideshow operations. The grain of truth in that persists even to this day, even after World Wars I and II, Korea and Vietnam.

Between the great wars, the Marines perfected the techniques of amphibious warfare that were essential to winning World War II. In that war, their strength over half a million, they were the spearhead of the advance on Japan. Theirs was the most admirable record in Korea. They developed helicopter warfare doctrine while the Army was still scattering troops all over the landscape by parachute. In Vietnam they held the northern end of the country through the years of toughest fighting.

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Yet regardless of their battle streamers, despite the fact that they always have loaded more men into their rifle companies and fewer into administrative overhead than the other services, the Marines still come in as an afterthought when the Pentagon splits up the money for equipment. It still supplies the Marines as if they were sailing to the Caribbean to protect the interests of the United Fruit Company.

In 1942, when Army infantrymen already had the new Garand M-1 rifle, the Marines still had the 1903 Springfield. In Korea, the Marines routinely marched over distances the Army would not consider crossing without trucks. In Vietnam, when Army divisions had the new M-16 rifle, the Marines still had the heavier M-14. When the Army had the new, faster Huey helicopters, the Marines were still making assaults from chugging old Seahorses.

Today, the Marines are still getting along with pre-Vietnam tanks, anti-tank and anti-aircraft missiles, although the latest versions of those weapons have been sent by the shipload to nations of the Middle East.

That is one cause of faltering morale among career Marines. Another is even more depressing, and harder to solve.

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The all-volunteer Marine Corps, now 196,000 strong, has been plagued by violence and crime in its ranks. Desertion is up. Serious racial problems have rent units that survived earlier because of their tight-knit spirit. These troubles have created others, driving some career Marines to resign.

That was where the Marines stood before the fall of Vietnam. Under these discouraging circumstances, the Marines have demonstrated again that they can fill the assignment they were given in 1947, to be the nation's first-line force in readiness.

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Thus when thousands of Americans and Vietnamese had to be evacuated from Saigon, it was the Marines who handled the job with outstanding speed and skill. When the Vietnamese refugees needed a place to flee to, the Marines built tent cities overnight.

And when the Cambodians snatched the Mayaguez in the Gulf of Thailand, it was the Marines who took it back, less than three days later. They were called on because they were available, they were mobile, they were trained—and they had a tradition of boarding ships and capturing islands that goes back to when John Paul Jones was a mere lieutenant.

When the dollars are divided up, they deserve better.

WASHINGTON POST - 17 MAY 1975

Drunken-Sailor Image Seems True

By Jack Anderson and Les Whitten

The image of the drunken, brawling sailor apparently is founded in fact.

According to an official study, a startling 38 per cent of the Navy's enlisted men confess they are boozers, with a drinking problem which they describe as "critical," "very serious" or at least "serious."

What's more, 25 per cent of the sailors told the researchers that their excessive drinking had often made them belligerent. Half this number, 12 per cent, acknowledged tangling with the law during their alcoholic binges.

The study, stiffly titled "Attitudes and Behavior of Naval Personnel Concerning Alcohol and Problem Drinking," was conducted for the Navy by the Bureau of Social Science Research, a Washington-based research firm. We have obtained a copy.

The report is a shocking indictment of the Navy's inability to cope with its alcoholics, who number in the tens of thousands.

Alcohol is so much a part of Navy life that only one in 20 enlisted men in the survey claimed to be non-drinkers. Another 23 per cent said they were able to control their drinking. But the remaining 72 per cent admitted that their drinking habits could cause complications ranging from "potential problems" to "binge drinking."

Yet only 6 per cent of the problem drinkers said they had sought help. Two-thirds of the officers, who were questioned about this, agreed that the alcoholics don't trust the Navy brass. Over half of the enlisted men, echoing this view, said they were afraid to seek Navy counseling for fear it would hurt their careers or mark them as troublemakers.

One of the most alarming disclosures in the report was that 44 per cent of the enlisted men had been drunk at least six times at their present duty station.

One out of four confessed that alcohol had actually affected the performance of their duties at some time during the past six months. Somewhat fewer officers, 17 per cent, admitted similar alcohol-related difficulties.

A disturbing 19 per cent of those interviewed reported that their fondness for booze had caused financial failures.

The number of chronic alcoholics in the Navy is conservatively estimated at 30,000, and their alcoholism costs the taxpayers at least $45 million a year.

Navy spokesmen, in response to our inquiries, agreed that alcoholism is a serious problem for the Navy. They insisted, however, that Navy alcohol recovery programs are treating 4,000 alcoholic servicemen a year and are successfully returning 70 per cent to active duty.

Meanwhile, many sailors, having been promised absolute anonymity, declared candidly that the Navy was one of the main causes of their excessive drinking.

Footnote: Comparable studies indicate that 13 per cent of civilian tipplers are guilty of unsociable behavior under the influence of alcohol. Only 3 per cent admit "loss of control" after overindulgence.

NEW YORK TIMES
18 MAY 1975

South Koreans Meet On Security Issues

SEOUL, South Korea, May 17 (AP) — The National Assembly convened today for a four-day special session expected to endorse President Chung Hee Park's defense and internal security measures in the wake of Communist victories in Indochina.

The New Democratic party, the chief opposition group, agreed earlier in the week to give support to the policies, reflecting fear of a North Korean invasion.

Japan's Kyodo news service reported that North Korea had accused South Korean troops of "military provocations" near the demilitarized zone and warned that this would bring "serious results."

Kyodo said a North Korean broadcast reported that South Korean troops had fired machine guns twice at North Korean soldiers, but it made no mention of casualties.

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NEW YORK NEWS - 18 MAY 1975

We Still Carry a Big Stick

By JAMES WIEGHART and FRANK JACKMAN

Of the News Washington Bureau

BY THE TIME the last marine had been taken off the beach of tiny Tang Island under cover of darkness Thursday night, the great international flap over Communist Cambodia's "act of piracy" was just about over.

The loose ends were all tied up. The United States formally reported to the United Nations Security Council that it had resorted to the "inherent right" of self-defense under Article 51 of the UN Charter, to retrieve the captured merchant ship Mayaguez and her 39-man crew from the Cambodians. And President Ford carefully informed Congress of what he had done and why, in accordance with the War Powers Act of 1973.

On the face of it, the Mayaguez rescue operation in the Gulf of Thailand was a classic application of military force to achieve a limited objective — liberate the ship, free the crew unharmed, punish the Khmer Rouge, and clear out.

The fact that the crew had been removed from Koh Tang long before the marines landed and that the ship was recovered, abandoned, before Navy carrier jets bombed Ream airfield near Sihanoukville dimmed the luster of the exploit somewhat. But nothing succeeds like success — even the U.S. dollar gained on the European money markets — and no one of importance was making much of a fuss about it.

Kissinger's Discreet Briefing

Except for — presumably — the Khmer Rouge, everyone thought it quite an achievement. As is his custom, Secretary of State Kissinger even pointed the way for reporters with a little discreet "senior American official" backgrounding.

The crisis seemed to blow up out of nowhere early Monday morning when word reached Washington that vessels identified as Communist Cambodian gunboats had fired on and seized the 10,435-ton container ship Mayaguez, bound from Hong Kong to Sattahip, Thailand, with a miscellaneous cargo. The 31-year-old ship, owned and operated by giant Sea-Land Services Corp. of Menlo Park, N.J., the leading U.S. cargo carrier in the Indochina area, was 60 miles off the Cambodian coast at the time of the seizure, apparently well outside territorial waters but near an island claimed by Cambodia.

By Thursday, the crew was back on board the Mayaguez and the ship—no Flying Cloud—was puttering down to Singapore. The 200-plus marines employed in the helicopter assault on Tang Island — Pentagon brass called it a "vertical envelopment" — were aboard the aircraft carrier Coral Sea, and the big Navy task force assembled for the operation was dispersing.

As for the Khmer Rouge — that mysterious, ragtag band of peasant insurgents who emerged from the obscurity of a decade of jungle struggle into the world spotlight only last month — they came out of the operation with their bathtub navy largely sunk, their air force virtually nonexistent, and their motives in all this as cloudy as ever.

The last president of Cambodia, Sau Kham Khoy, now a refugee at Camp Pendleton, Calif., probably summed it up as well as anyone. Maybe, he said, the Communists seized the Mayaguez because "they needed a boat." After all, he pointed out, most of the Cambodian navy sailed away with Lon Nol and his friends.

The Khmer Rouge, said Khoy, "are uneducated, they know little of politics, and they are savage. The only thing they understand is force."

The United States emerged from the crisis — on the surface at least — with some of the honor it had lost on the way out of Vietnam partially restored. President Ford had issued an ultimatum: Release the Mayaguez and its crew or suffer the consequences. Then he enforced it to the letter.

It has become clear that, for the Ford administration, the Mayaguez incident had a much larger significance than the recovery of an aging cargo ship and its crew. Top White House and State Department officials quickly passed the word that bold and forceful measures had demonstrated to the world, to friend and foe alike, that despite its Indochina humiliation, the U.S. was a force to be reckoned with, that Ford and the nation had not only the power but also the will to act.

The message to America's friends and allies was that the U.S. would live up to its commitments. To potential adversaries — the Soviet Union, Communist China, and, most especially, Communist North Korea — the Mayaguez incident was a bright red warning signal to tread lightly and not to misread post-Vietnam agonizing over foreign policy as signs of irresolution or weakness.

But, as is often the case, the message came out somewhat garbled in some quarters. Once-friendly Thailand, with a wary eye on the new Communist masters of Vietnam and Cambodia, publicly fumed at the use of the big U.S. air base at Utapao as a staging area for the marine helicopter assault teams. Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj indicated that he might speed up his earlier "Yankee-go-home" demands to slim down further the U.S. garrison of 25,000 there. In the streets of Bangkok hundreds of students demonstrated, shouting "Bastard Ford!"

In Peking, the Chinese government, which served as a channel of communication in the brief diplomatic effort to free the Mayaguez, denounced the ship's recovery as "an outright act of piracy." Moscow played the story straight in dispatches from the official Tass news agency, however, omitting editorial comment.

Cautionary Note to Kim Il Sung

North Korea's leader, Kim Il Sung, was attending South Vietnam "liberation" ceremonies in Hanoi while the marines were liberating the Mayaguez. If the American show of force did anything to cool Kim's well-known ardor to "unite" Korea by marching south again, it will have more than served its purpose.

On Capitol Hill, members of the House and Senate — who have sensitive antennae to pick up the slightest shift in public opinion — were euphoric. Member after member rose to point to the operation as proof that the U.S. was not to be trifled with.

But perhaps there has been overreaction to the Mayaguez incident. The facts are these: A half dozen rickety patrol boats and the wild small-arms fire of a couple of hundred fanatical peasants are no match for U. S. carriers, destroyers, jet fighter-bombers, aerial gunships, and helicopter-borne assault teams. These are not new facts.

While the Mayaguez incident should serve as a source of gratification for Americans, even a source of pride, it is surely not to be offered up to the world as proof of power.

If the Ford administration hopes that belting a few zany reds during a 14-hour engagement on an island at the end of the world will somehow cow the Communists and deter red aggression worldwide when the huge decade-long expenditure of men and treasure in Vietnam could not do so, those hopes may well be only a fantasy.

WASHINGTON POST - 17 MAY 1975

Austria Says Detente Hurt By Belgrade

Reuter

VIENNA, May 16—Austria today rejected sweeping Yugoslav protests against Austrian government policies, and said Belgrade's sharply-worded complaints were in "flagrant contradiction" of the spirit of detente.

Chancellor Bruno Kreisky took unusual action in authorizing a special declaration to answer charges leveled by Yugoslavia in a statement issued in Belgrade on Tuesday.

The Yugoslav statement accused Austria of failing to fulfil obligations toward Yugoslav minority groups, as stipulated under the Austrian state treaty of 1955, and of tolerating hostile activity aimed against the Tito government.

Yugoslav-Austrian relations have been sharply strained since right-wing Austrians tore down Slovene-language signposts in the Austrian province of Carinthia in 1972.

The Austrian declaration called the Yugoslav accusations "insulting," and said Yugoslav behavior toward Austria in recent times was "astonishing."

The Yugoslav statement was in "flagrant contradiction of the spirit of the policy of detente," and the accusations it contained were "sharply rejected," Austria said.

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Weekend Edition -- 18 May 1975

NEW YORK TIMES 18 MAY 1975

The Demise of South Vietnam

By William C. Westmoreland

CHARLESTON, S. C.—Senior American and Vietnamese officers who observed at first-hand the collapse of the Vietnamese Army and the disintegration of morale of the people have given me further insight into the recent tragedy in South Vietnam.

To appreciate the predicament of South Vietnam one must understand several salient facts. First, any military force on the offensive has the advantage of the initiative. The North and South Vietnamese Armies could not be viewed as two boxers in a ring with no initial advantage to either. North Vietnam, as the invader, was capable of massing its forces at points of its own choosing without fear of an attack on its home territory.

Conditions of the cease-fire enabled the North Vietnamese to outflank the South Vietnamese Army on every front. Hanoi's violations of the Paris cease-fire agreement greatly strengthened its military advantage by use of the demilitarized zone, Laos and Cambodia, to say nothing of the large-scale build-up of forces and their reinforcement with modern Soviet matériel.

South Vietnam's sole aim was to hold on to its territory and avoid encroachment along the cease-fire line. Its troops were spread, making them vulnerable to defeat at any point that the enemy chose to mass his forces for attack. Hanoi was prepared to engage twenty divisions in the South. (It subsequently did. South Vietnam fielded thirteen divisions.) The stage was therefore set adversely for the South Vietnamese last January.

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In 1973 and 1974, there had been only local engagements along the cease-fire line, with both sides jockeying for key territory, in some cases in technical violation of the cease-fire agreement, but with no widespread violations.

In those skirmishes, the South Vietnamese acquitted themselves well. But last January Hanoi decided to test the South Vietnamese leadership and the United States. A large attack was made in Phuoc Long Province some forty miles north of Saigon.

President Nguyen Van Thieu chose not to commit his reserve strength to defend the area, or to counterattack when it was lost; he did not want to suffer the inevitable personnel and equipment losses or expend limited supplies fighting for an area not deemed critical.

The United States passive reaction after this major violation of the Paris peace agreement by the North Vietnamese dismayed the Government in Saigon. During January, February and March, many Congressmen visited Vietnam, and President Thieu drew the obvious conclusion that further United States support was uncertain. He established policies to husband supplies and conserve trained manpower and equipment. (As an example, the ration imposed on ammunition was one grenade per combat soldier per month and 85 rifle bullets per soldier per month.)

Foreseeing a big enemy offensive, he conceived a withdrawal strategy to concentrate his regular forces in the critical areas along the coast and around Saigon.

Mr. Thieu's carefulness and caution served him well as the political head of the country for ten years. But undue caution is not a virtue for a military commander. Thus, for political and psychological reasons, he delayed putting into effect a strategy that could have temporarily thrown the enemy off balance and put the South Vietnamese Army in a sounder military position.

In March, the Communists attacked from bases in Cambodia and seized the remote provincial capital of Ban Me Thuot. By accident, South Vietnamese bombs devastated the command headquarters of the defending brigade, and efforts to recapture the city failed.

President Thieu wanted to make a stand at Ban Me Thuot since it was considered the capital city of the montagnards and its loss would destroy the morale of the tribesmen who populated the highlands.

Subsequently, the commander of Military Region II, Maj. Gen. Pham Van Phu, ordered a withdrawal from the highlands to the coast. His plans and preparations were inadequate to accomplish the most difficult of all military maneuvers. Hampered by hordes of refugees, closed roads, demoralized montagnard soldiers expected to secure the route, and by inaccurately delivered bombs, the withdrawal became a disaster. General Phu, an officer of excellent reputation, had been fighting for 24 years and had worked himself up through the ranks.

The enemy then began to put strong pressure on the outnumbered, outflanked and overextended South Vietnamese troops in the Hue area to the north.

Gen. Ngo Quang Truong, considered the best field commander in South Vietnam, advised President Thieu that he could hold Hue. Mr. Thieu announced on the radio that Hue would be defended to the last man. Without knowledge of Mr. Thieu's statement, but confronted by the overwhelming forces, General Truong ordered a withdrawal. Upon learning of this development, Mr. Thieu ordered General Truong to retake the city. It was too late. The tens of thousands of fleeing civilians clogged the roads, communications were lost and military units disintegrated. General Truong was helpless; he had lost control. Panic reigned.

The strongest link in the Vietnamese society is the family unit. Dependent families usually live near the soldiers. As soldiers learned of the withdrawal, they thought of their families first, and many broke ranks to find and try to move them to safety.

This debacle made it impossible to organize the defense of Da Nang, South Vietnam's second largest city, and it fell without a fight. Unnoticed at the time, South Vietnamese troops fought hard and successfully in the Mekong Delta and Saigon regions.

After twenty years of struggle, morale was shot. It was a tragedy of errors and circumstances. North Vietnam had flagrantly violated the Paris agreement. The United States had not provided adequate support in contrast to that furnished North Vietnam by the Soviet Union and China. (Twenty per cent of all aircraft were grounded for lack of spare parts.) The United States Congress appeared to be disposed to stop military aid. The signatory powers who were to assure success of the Paris agreement were silent.

Despite a letter from President Richard M. Nixon to Mr. Thieu saying that the United States would react vigorously to a major Communist violation of the Paris cease-fire agreement, we were paralyzed by the Case-Church amendment, which prohibited the use of funds for Southeast Asia combat activities. That action by the Congress not only tied the hands of President Ford but also removed our only deterrent to large-scale attack. I am told that members of the South Vietnamese National Security Council were in possession of copies of the Nixon letter and that they did not fully understand the implications of the Church amendment.

South Vietnam had suffered a major defeat and Mr. Thieu had lost face. Saigon's élite general reserve troops —paratroops and marines—were crippled by heavy casualties. The end of the Republic of Vietnam was near at hand. The Machiavellian Hanoi regime and its lockstep, closed society had virtually achieved their long-sought goal, domination of Indochina.

Was defeat of South Vietnam inevitable? Ultimately yes, under the conditions that prevailed: specifically, total violation of the Paris agreement by Hanoi; United States impotence, and the negative conduct of those nations that were to assure success of the agreements. But emphatically not from a lack of courage and heart

(See VIETNAM, Pg 8-F)

General W. C. Westmoreland, now retired, is former Army Chief of Staff and headed United States forces in Vietnam.

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WASHINGTON POST 17 MAY 1975

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Mr. Ford and the Rule of Law

The gamble taken by President Ford in using armed force against Cambodia, starting with air strikes against Cambodian gunboats Tuesday evening, was based above all on this hard conclusion: The U.S. had to seize the occasion of Cambodian piracy to prove it both could and would react with decision and power to international lawlessness.

There was no split of any kind in the National Security Council (NSC). Indeed, every top official in the administration agreed that whatever the risk, a show of American will and power was absolutely essential following the humiliation of South Vietnam.

In ordering American attacks on the Cambodian gunboats to block an obvious Cambodian effort to remove the American crew of the Mayaguez to the Cambodian mainland, neither the President nor the NSC even attempted to figure out an answer to this potentially explosive question: What if the Cambodians should use the gunboat attack as the pretext for murdering some 40 American crewmen?

"Of course we had contingency plans," one top presidential aide told us. "But we couldn't sit around and try to estimate every possible contingency when we are dealing with a primitive government which has virtually no outside contacts with the world. We had to act." In the climatic triumph of Mr. Ford's policy, that question is mooted. But it shows the President's faith—and determination—in the plan he followed.

The underlying assumption of the President's aides was that the U.S. must deal with such an act of piracy as a Western nation acting in a civilized fashion: Demand immediate return of the ship and crew and map a contingency plan to seize both by force if the demand was not met within a reasonable time.

Following seizure of the Mayaguez by Cambodia just after midnight, Sunday, the President allowed almost 48 hours to go by without any military response. Next, the basic plan of isolating the little island in the Gulf of Thailand, where the Mayaguez was held, went astray when Cambodian gunboats moved toward the mainland about 15 miles away. The President then gave his order to halt the gunboats.

At that point, the U.S. went the full and necessary distance to prove what Mr. Ford and his Secretaries of State and Defense, Henry Kissinger and James Schlesinger, had been preaching nonstop ever since the catastrophic end of the Vietnam war: Despite that national humiliation, no foreign country should make the mistake that the United States was discarding its role as world leader, or was reluctant to take strong action where demanded.

Indeed, the private remarks of top officials here make it abundantly apparent that the Mayaguez seizure became the ideal case to prove the point.

In the background was the utter failure of all efforts to open some kind of circuitous diplomatic channel to the revolutionary Cambodian government of the Khmer Rouge. The Soviet Union has been kicked out of Phnom Penh for failure to break with the old regime. The People's Republic of China, according to one high official, informed the U.S. it would try to help, and did so, but proved the point that the jingoistic Cambodian regime was simply beyond reach.

On Tuesday evening, Mr. Ford ordered word passed to congressional leaders that "appropriate action" would be taken. Perhaps in retrospect the President should have summoned these leaders to the White House for a face-to-face conversation. Sen. Mike Mansfield of Montana, the Senate Democratic leader, for example, said later that he had not been "consulted," on the theory he was told, not asked.

Other criticism in a Congress now showing dangerous symptoms of taking over American foreign policy from its feuding committee rooms was also heard, raising ominous questions about a vicious partisan debate erupting from the President's bold action.

But on that point Mr. Ford and his top aides, often indecisive and vacillating on lesser matters, showed no concern this time. They assumed that whatever partisan outcry might ensue, the American people as a whole would react with overwhelming approval to the President's powerful response to an unprovoked act of piracy on the high seas.

"Sure they'll try to demagogue it," one senior presidential aide told us. "That's par for the course. But no one considered that as part of the problem."

Thus, in this first, clear show of American power since the Indochinese fiasco, Mr. Ford has demonstrated what he is often criticized for lacking: a talent for leadership and command, in a case void of ambiguity to him and his advisers. Despite political risks, no one around him exhibited second thoughts about the obligation of the U.S. to underwrite the rule of law in the world.

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(VIETNAM.....CONTINUED.)

by the long-suffering Vietnamese soldier.

Could the outcome of our involvement, based on actions by several Administrations, have been realistically different? Yes, perhaps. Between 1962 and 1965, when political chaos was rampant in South Vietnam and the lack of cohesiveness of that heterogeneous society became clearly evident, we could have severed our commitment with honor—but not without strong political reaction in light of President Kennedy's inaugural address.

Again, after defeat of Hanoi's Tet offensive in 1968, we could have used our military power, brought Hanoi to its knees, and negotiated on our terms. At that time we had in Vietnam the finest military force ever assembled. But again the political reaction in the United States would have been intense.

Born of our post-World War II policy of "containment" of aggression, our Vietnam venture suffered from overextension of our nation militarily, economically, and psychologically.

We failed to accomplish our objective in Southeast Asia and can take little solace from that fact that we delayed a Communist take-over of Indochina by ten years. The military power and the cost required to accomplish our idealistic purpose in Vietnam exceeded that which was apparently acceptable to many of our people.

I hope our vast expenditure of precious resources will not be a total loss. We are challenged to overcome our current international image of disorganization, unreliability and impotence. Let's have no witch-hunt, but let's not sweep under the rug. If we are introspective, analyze our mistakes, and heed in the future the lessons to be learned, we can emerge a stronger nation.

All segments of our nation must share the blame for our failure and should engage in self-examination—policy-makers, planners, diplomats, military leaders, politicians, bureaucrats, the news media and the body politic.

The comic strip character Pogo has aptly summed it up: "We have met the enemy and he is us."

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 19 MAY 1975(18)

Schlesinger warns North Korea

Washington

Defense Secretary James Schlesinger said in an interview released Sunday that if North Korea invaded the South the United States would hit back harder than it did during much of the war in South Vietnam.

He also warned, in an interview with U.S. News and World Report magazine, that the United States would be "less likely to be tolerant" of a new Arab oil embargo and that economic, political and, conceivably, military measures could be taken in response.

Mr. Schlesinger said North Korea would be acting rashly if it precipitated a crisis with the United States.

NATIONAL OBSERVER
24 MAY 1975 (18)

The State Department said the number of American officials in Laos would be reduced because of increasing anti-American demonstrations in the Southeast Asian nation.

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Weekend Edition -- 18 May 1975

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

WASHINGTON POST
18 MAY 1975

Another Foreign Policy Plus for Mr. Ford

On the heels of the spectacular triumph in the Mayaguez incident, Gerald R. Ford's embattled presidency is nearing a second successive foreign policy win: breaking the ominous deadlock with Congress over barring U.S. military aid to Turkey.

More important, the virtual certainty that the Senate will vote Monday to lift the arms embargo assures a delay in the expected closing down by Turkey of vital American base facilities. Once started, that process could erode even more dangerously the strained relations between the United States and its longtime valuable ally.

The private Senate headcount shows a minimum of 53 senators ready to vote to end the arms embargo imposed last fall by the Greek congressional lobby after Turkey's use of U.S. arms in invading Cyprus.

What makes the timing so important is next Wednesday's meeting of the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) in Ankara. In confidential negotiations with congressmen leading the Greek lobby, administration officials have pointedly warned that Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and his political deputy, Under Secretary Joseph J. Sisco, would find themselves in a diplomatic hornet's nest in Ankara unless Congress showed some give on the arms embargo.

That word has now switched a number of senators. Softening their anti-Turk animus even more, however, is the fact that Monday's vote, unlike the similar vote last fall, *follows* the November election. The well-financed Greek-American lobby had far more leverage last fall.

Sen. Thomas Eagleton (D-Mo.), who led last fall's Senate bar of all U.S. military aid to Ankara, is still opposed. However, Eagleton will confine himself to a speech opposing the amendment, and not make an all-out fight against it.

Only two weeks ago congressional leaders of the Greek lobby privately warned the White House that if the President insisted on forcing a Senate vote now, Kissinger would be "burned to a crisp" in the debate. Following Mr. Ford's new eminence as a strong President boldly moving to assert American rights in last week's dramatic Cambodian *rescue*, such threats have vanished.

A *footnote*: The administration has no intention of pressing for an early vote in the House, where the Greek lobby is stronger and shows little interest in compromise. The Turkish government, however, will accept the Senate vote as a signal of major change in Washington, enough to postpone the closing of U.S. bases.

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NEW YORK TIMES - 17 MAY 1975

Just What The Doctor Ordered

By C. L. Sulzberger

PARIS—Overnight, by resolute and skillful leadership in the Mayaguez crisis, President Ford has seemingly moved from the doldrums of Hooverdom toward the vigor of Harry Truman. He made up his mind; he consulted political leaders; he acted; and he succeeded. Small as the incident may later seem in history, a polluting stain is being erased from the previous American image of lassitude, uncertainty and pessimism.

This is a matter of world ideological concern as well as strategic balances because too many democracies are sick. The oldest, Britain, staggers toward disaster. People forget how long Italy has appeared to be at death's *doorstep*. And the United States, leader of them all, for too long gave the impression of reeling both at home and abroad. Now a new vibrancy creeps into the picture.

Only this week a commentator had written in The Times of London: "The [American] political parties are losing their hold on the electorate. There are now more voters who dislike most of

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

'A polluting stain is being erased from the previous American image.'

what they see in both parties than approve of either."

The internationally renowned "American *tempo*" and productivity still lag and the work ethic with its emphasis on speed and efficiency—whether prompted by puritanism or by the capitalistic profit motive—has certainly undergone visible and withering change.

In this uncertain age American flabbiness is not only harmful to the United States. France's *Nouvel Observateur*, an intellectual leftist weekly, asserts that "many governments allied to Washington are asking themselves about the value of this alliance and on what protection they can count. Their anxiety is manifest."

The magazine specifically cites Israel, West Germany and Japan. Moscow's *Literaturnaya Gazeta* contentedly purrs: "Profound processes are rocking the existing political and economic structure in both Western Europe and the United States."

The health of an individual democracy depends on its institutions but also upon the quality of its leaders. In the instance of Britain, the fact that it has no written constitution—although it is the oldest constitutional democracy—has curiously been a great strength. Pitts and Churchills are far rarer than Harold Wilsons but the British paradox of relying on something that isn't really there worked miracles.

Now, however, Britain has spent itself into a paralysis compounded by bankruptcy, dilapidation, maximal leisure and minimal discipline. Eight years ago, when visiting Montevideo, I wrote: "Contemporary England might well take a southwesterly look at Uruguay while murmuring: 'There but for the grace of God go I.' For Uruguay is the welfare state gone wild." Well, the British got there in the end.

Britain's current inflation rate of *over 30 per cent is far beyond the limit* at which the stability of even the most well-entrenched democracy is assured. It was not difficult in the nineteen-sixties to see that Uruguay, once South America's most promising land, had become a pilot project pointing to the disintegration of similar exaggerated systems elsewhere.

Historians rarely agree on what precisely saps the vitality and determination of a nation. It may be a succession of bloodlettings or over-extension of commitments, word-weariness or moral dissolution. The real reason Charles de Gaulle vetoed Britain's entry into Common Market Europe a dozen years ago was his conviction that Britain wasn't working hard enough.

The science of politics differs from the art of governing because politics means just staying ahead of the mob, not leading it. What we find today in Britain and Italy is a plethora of politicians and no statesmen. The mob obeys the logic of its own passions and in Britain there seems now to be only a flock.

Nobody wants dictators. Democracies simply require leadership, not followship; Franklin Roosevelts, not Coolidges. One reason for the democratic malady is a lack of such quality at the top: Britain, intent on suicide by nibbling itself to death; the United States, until this week, still stunned by Watergate and Indochina.

Many countries, cut adrift when for months there was an evident absence of U.S. leadership, felt forced to follow the principle that if you don't know where you're going, any road will get you there. And that's where we ourselves were headed earlier this week.

Now Gerald Ford seems to have put an end to that sad phase. Abruptly he has shown Americans and the world that he knows how to get where he wishes to go. Hopefully, he also possesses a good sense of direction.

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WASHINGTON STAR - 17 MAY 1975

GARRY WILLS

The Need for Reflection on Vietnam

The lesson is simple, and learning it should not be all that difficult. But we cannot learn it by urgently repeating to each other that we must not learn.

There is nothing more interesting about our collapse and withdrawal from Vietnam than the injunction that we should not allow ourselves to think about it. God knows, we thought very little about our entry into that country and what thoughts we had in the course of our engagement were muddied by slogans, deception, and conflict. At the end, we fled (almost too late) from "peace with honor" we pretended to believe in. If we are not to think about it now, then we have foreclosed all thought on the subject.

President Ford says all the lessons are learned — just after proving that he had learned nothing except to call for more arms and money and men, as we had done from the outset.

Now this poses an interesting question. Anyone of rounded human capacities should grow from each experience undergone; and how grow but by reflection? Yet now all reflection is interdicted (lest it turn to recrimination). No passions are to be "recollected in tranquility." Just buried in oblivion. We have the build-up of a mandated non-think on Vietnam.

Why is that? The experience, after all, was novel to America — we are not used to losing. Normally, the rarer the experience, the more need for reflection. Vietnam was our longest war by far — we fought it 10 years openly, and twice as long covertly.

Yet all our other (shorter) wars called forth vast libraries of assessment afterward. No one said this time of assessment was unnecessary then. Why did meditation go out of fashion so quickly?

The fear, of course, is of a new McCarthyism; and the parallel is with our "loss" of China. But we did not wage open war for between one decade and two over Chiang Kai-shek's regime. We did not lose 55,000 men to overthrow Mao Tse-tung. Nor engage in the largest carpet-bombing venture in mankind's history over the withdrawal to Taiwan. The comparison is absurd.

It would be suicidal for any organization or individual to forbid study of its own experience, especially an experience of setback or defeat. Why do people so readily fall in with this prescription for America in the post-Vietnam period?

I suppose because analysis so easily turns to accusation, on both sides. What one side sees as creeping escalation (where a quantum jump was called for) the other side calls a "secret war." Strategy and tactics are both called too much, too soon, and too late, too little. Our own internal divisions were reflected and magnified all through the course of the war — our racial troubles, our generation gap, our revolt against the experts.

But analysis of Vietnam should not be given ourselves. It was self-preoccupation that made us so sure we could do what we wanted to Asians. The true lesson of Vietnam is so obvious we miss it — especially if we indulge in further fascination with ourselves. Seen in the light of history, Vietnam will clearly be just one episode in the receding of colonialism. This movement has dominated the history of Asia and Africa for a quarter of a century. It was our naive assurance that we make all things new that led us to overlook the obvious. France could not hold Indochina, any more than it could Algeria. But we stepped in front of the wave and said stop. It did not listen. Why did we expect it to?

NEW YORK TIMES - 18 MAY 1975

Year of the United States

By C. L. Sulzberger

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PARIS—In vanished days when we were given to proclaiming basic policy intentions, 1973 was dubbed by Washington as its "Year of Europe," meaning that American diplomacy intended to focus on that vital area. This idea was never more than a propaganda blast. The year wound up in the silence of an energy famine and intra-allied throat-cutting.

There is no point in resurrecting the 1973 label now, even though both President Ford and Secretary Kissinger are coming to this continent. Slogans are not useful diplomatic devices and Mr. Kissinger, the man who lost his claque, is wise enough to recognize this.

In order to reassess its global role, the United States must recognize certain basic truths. It is no longer a superduper power preaching an American century but suddenly, perforce, what Mr. Kissinger recommended in a little-noticed speech (New Delhi, November 19, 1974): "America sees a world of free, independent sovereign states as being decidedly in its own national interest."

Within this framework, however, independent sovereign America must protect itself and its friends. That, too, is a "national interest." Psychologically, as much was reaffirmed by President Ford in the Mayaguez incident.

A pro-American ambassador recently told me: "Everyone is now learning that if you are an ally of Russia, you are supported to the end; if you are an ally of the United States you are supported so long as the vagaries of mass opinion and the convenience of politicians go along.

"Everyone with any sense of decency hated what the Russians did to Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 when they suspected each might leave the Soviet bloc. They moved right in and supported their political allies. Their brutality has been forgotten in the era of détente.

"Obviously America shouldn't and couldn't do that. But your policy of diving deeply in and totally out has made you hated on both sides in Indochina, just as you are hated by both Greeks and Turks for your inability to make up your minds to do something."

Michel Gauvin, the Canadian who headed Vietnam's International Commission of Control and Supervision, says: "It is a tragedy that such a great, generous and powerful nation as the United States could be humiliated and have peace with honor stolen from it because of internal division and lack of leadership."

Europeans never worried so much because of the Indochina disaster to Washington's policy as they did about American resolution and clarity of vision. The almighty dollar's depressing dip is more symbolic over here than the lowering of the Stars and Stripes in Phnom Penh and Saigon.

Continental observers have for long seen the Southeast Asian war being lost in the Mississippi and Hudson valleys, not along the Mekong, as a result of United States indecision and confusion back home. Increasingly, since General de Gaulle first posed the problem after the Cuba confrontation, they wondered if America was ready to risk destruction of New York and Washington if Soviet land forces occupied Lübeck.

They have seen the United States shift increasingly to a flexible strategy reliant on conventional weapons; yet Russia has ten times America's tank production and is speedily narrowing America's seapower lead. And the result? Europe falters down a road toward "Finlandization," with its left becoming more anti-capitalistic and its right more anti-American.

"Prestige" is an unfortunate, often misused word but the United States had to do something about refurbishing its prestige as a reliable ally backed by a reliable national resolve. Hopefully the unexpected Mayaguez affair helped in this respect. At the same time, Washington must come out with clear-cut support for the European community and stop saying one thing while doing another.

The latter remains fundamental. Of course, lesser reforms are also needed. For example, we are going to have to cease handing out important diplomatic posts as political spoils; this is no time for second-rate envoys. And it might be a very good idea if some of our chief leaders wore gags when out in private: Mr. Kissinger confiding to Israeli colleagues; Secretary Simon on Iran's Shah ("a nut"), Rockefeller on how grateful Greece should be that Turkey invaded Cyprus.

With leaders who permit themselves such indiscretions in the electronic age, an isolation ward might indeed be the best place for the United States to shelter in this giddy world. As the comic strip says; We have met the enemy and he is us.

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Weekend Edition -- 18 MAY 1975

BALTIMORE SUN 18 MAY 1975

Three days in May may change U.S. history

By PETER J. KUMPA

Washington.

Along the northern shores of the Gulf of Thailand, where there are reefs, scrubby islands and good fishing, a bizarre collision of men, ideas and forces took place in three long days of May last week that may affect future American history.

The brief, bloody crisis over the ship Mayaguez was by all accounts an accident.

On one side, there was the spirited and victorious new Cambodian government that had directed vigorous patrolling of its share of the coast and somewhat questionable portion of offshore islets (some have a Vietnamese claim). For nine days, the new Cambodians had been stopping ships (at least four) and firing on others in long-established and undisputed international shipping channels.

Such a danger to freedom of navigation should have been flashed quickly to all mariners. It was not for still inexplicable reasons. From middle-level bureaucrats, the word was passed to the insurance companies on the usually sound theory that those who have something to lose will protect their interests with the greatest speed.

Policymakers in Washington—suffering post-Vietnam fatigue—were unaware of the flinty situation. Neither did they know of the voyage of the Mayaguez, a 10,000-ton converted container vessel, a U.S.-flag ship, that had left Hong Kong with a crew of 39 Americans, a cargo of considerable PX stores, for the Thai base of Sattahip (containing a port, a B-52 bomber base and hundreds of Americans connected with the military).

Early last Monday (Washington time), two Cambodian gunboats stopped the Mayaguez some 60 miles from the coast and some 8 miles from the Paule Wai Islands. Before the radio room was reached by the boarding party, messages went out that told of the removal of the crew and the capture of the American vessel on the high seas.

President Ford was given a full report as he awoke that Monday. A National Security Council meeting was called. Diplomatic efforts were started immediately through the People's Republic of China, the only country with ties and communications to the new Cambodia, for the return of crew and ship.

Later, a mystery developed whether any such demands had gotten through, for the Peking liaison chief here returned the United States note a day later. The Secretary of State, Henry A Kissinger, however, has no doubts about delivery, for a copy was handed over to the Cambodian Embassy in Peking. What heightened the mystery in the first days was a blank lack of response Nothing, until military operations were well under way late last Wednesday (Washington time) was anything heard from Cambodia. In one of the many "could have beens" in the incident, a quick response may have averted the use of force.

The United States took the seizure very seriously. Nothing raises American anger quicker than interference with lawful shipping or the capture of its merchant crews, a reflex action going back to Barbary Coast days and the founding of the republic. Mr Ford labeled the seizure "an act of piracy" and "serious consequences" were predicted unless the men and their ship were returned.

What alarmed the policymakers more was the break in the Cambodian pattern. Unlike some of the other incidents, the Mayaguez crew had been removed. A Panamanian vessel had been simply stopped and searched for two hours.

The vision was raised of haggling for the lives of Americans with the Cambodian Communists. It might take months, as with the Pueblo seizure by North Korea in 1968. And it would be bartering with the sort of inhumane leaders who had ordered some of their own countrymen sent from hospitals and surgical tables to certain cruelties and likely deaths out of the city during the fighting last month.

Beyond the need to save American lives, there was a further vision of the United States, its credibility strained over the fall of Vietnam, taking a humbling stance when it clearly had a legal, historic right to protect its people and its shipping. Was the Mayaguez to be the start of a string of other seizures, other incidents?

President Ford made the ultimate decision to draw the line. There is no evidence of disagreement in the National Security Council by either the military men or the diplomats. There was strong sentiment in Congress for action.

The 45,000-ton carrier, the Coral Sea, that had started for World War II anniversary celebrations in Australia, was turned around. With it came destroyers. Marines from from Okinawa were alerted and then flown to Thailand, a nervous ally that now was opposed to antagonizing its new Communist neighbor. The Thais opposed use of their territory for any military operation. At least publicly, the protest was ignored.

The military tactics were dictated by what was known and what was guessed at last Tuesday and Wednesday. The ship had not been brought into the port of Kompong Som. It had traveled half-way from its seizure point and was still 30 miles from the coast "lying dead in the water" by the jungle-covered Tang Island. From continuous observation from Thai-based aircraft, it was concluded that the crew were either on one of three possible places—the 3-mile-long Tang Island, below-deck on the ship itself or somehow on the mainland. The first step was to prevent gunboats and other smaller Cambodian vessels, from moving back and forth, possibly transferring the American captives.

Early last Wednesday morning (again Washington time), American aircraft tried to prevent shore-to-island movement and sank three gunboats and damaged some others. One was allowed to escape to Kimpong Som when the pilot noticed a huddle of what might have been crewmen on deck.

Diplomatic messages were continued the language escalated (an actual ultimatum was prepared but never sent) with no response. Last Wednesday afternoon, Mr. Ford gave the decisive order The Marines would storm both Tang Island and the Mayaguez. Facilities on shore would also be struck, in part to prevent any T-28 fighters from attacking helicopters bringing in Marines and also to keep Cambodian forces "occupied" ashore.

The Marines were landing and taking fire at Tang Island as a domestic Cambodian service was issuing its first word on the Mayaguez. It was offering the ship back while denouncing the American action, saying nothing about returning the crew but attacking alleged spying attempts. It took less than than an hour for this word to reach the White House which immediately offered an end to military operations for the return of the men. To reach the Cambodians quickly, a special broadcast was made and the message also given the news services.

A 10.23 P.M. Wednesday, a Thai fishing vessel bearing a white flag, approached one of the destroyers. All of the crewmen were aboard but the count took until 11.07 P.M. Then, the White House ordered all "offensive" operations halted. Some of the bloodier fighting still came to extract the Marines from Tang Island, an operation that in hindsight proved unnecessary. Some of the heavier strikes on the Cambodian mainland took place later, starting at 10.57 P.M.

There has to be more than a suspicion that some of these attacks were reprisal messages—for the Cambodians in the future or for other potential adversaries.

Mr. Ford emerged out of the incident with a new reputation as a decisive leader.

It was Secretary Kissinger who

(See U S HISTORY, Pg 11-F)

Mr. Kumpa is chief of The Sun's Washington Bureau.

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Jack Anderson WASHINGTON POST 18 MAY 1975

Diplomacy Minus Morality

The global rout of Henry Kissinger's policies — and his attempt to disarm his own handiwork by laying it at the door of an obstreperous Congress and an unsteadfast people — calls for comment.

Kissinger has cut a great swath through our times. He has a formidable intellect and an arresting eloquence. He is possessed of an awesome drive and dedication. He is a brilliant negotiator and a commanding personality.

But he has made one great mistake. As the chief navigator of our foreign policy since 1969, he has kept the flag of American idealism deliberately lowered and has sailed the seven seas without a moral rudder. He has been willing to do what must be done to get "results," ready to make common cause with any pirate who controlled a useful ship.

If the expediency of the moment called for throwing the gentle Cambodian people into the maw of an already lost war in order to facilitate our retreat from it, or for the terror bombing of Hanoi at 11:59 of the war to disguise the surrender inherent in his peace terms, well — that's the way the game is played.

If the calculations of power politics caused America to stand before the Solzhenitsyns of the world with eyes averted while placating their oppressors, or to deceive Congress and the public as to exactly what had been done or pledged in their name, well — it isn't easy to be Bismarck.

For a time, Henry Kissinger dazzled Washington. He was adept in the backrooms at producing accords that meant different things to different signators, assiduous in building up houses of cards by ambiguities.

He practiced a diplomacy of duplicity and manipulation, putting expediency ahead of principle. He underestimated the American ideology. He forgot that there comes a time when the foreign policy of a democracy is no stronger than the people's respect for it.

One by one, the houses of cards have fallen in. Success would have permitted at least a pragmatic defense of his tactics. But where are the victories?

The Indochina debacle is merely the latest example. By 1969, the Vietnam War was lost. It was painfully evident that we could not forever defend a regime that could not defend itself.

Yet instead of facing the true reality and dismantling the war in the most humane and least costly manner possible, Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger prolonged it for four years in pursuit of appearances. They had their eye on the global chess game and domestic politics.

That the Nixon-Kissinger "peace with honor" was never more than a cynical slogan, that the Paris peace accords were made only to be broken was obvious even to the Joint Chiefs. Their secret estimate was that under the Paris agreement, the Saigon regime could not survive, for the accord left large North Vietnamese forces within South Vietnam, building up for the final kill.

The Vietnam mistake was part of a pattern. Here is the dismal record, which must be understood before it can be corrected:

• Early in his regime, Kissinger found our official coldness toward South Africa and Rhodesia inconvenient and quixotic, based as it was on mere ideological considerations. He thought he could saddle the issue and, with a little manipulation, play up to both sides. His first secret tilt was toward the white supremacist nations, while he sought to placate the black nations with U.S. aid. It didn't work. Today the black Africans — almost the whole continent — are convinced we're against them.

• During the India-Pakistan war, we claimed neutrality while tilting toward Pakistan. It was another maneuver in the chess game. Thus, we ineffectually backed the abject loser and alienated the world's largest democracy.

• In the Greek-Turkish war over Cyprus, Kissinger's passion for meddling and manipulation embroiled us to such poor effect that it cost us the enmity not of one side but of both. But Greece and Turkey had been long-time U.S. allies.

• In Latin America, Kissinger's neglect of our traditional allies has turned them against us. He was compelled to cancel a trip south of the border because he was advised secretly that his visit would cause riots in some countries.

• By the time of the Secretary's attempt to mediate the Arab-Israeli hostilities, the long pursuit of pragmatism at the expense of principle had exacted its awful price. Kissinger had compromised so many interests, had carried so much water on so many shoulders in so many parts of the world, that President Ford had to take personal charge of the Middle East negotiations.

• In Portugal, U.S. Ambassador Stuart Nash Scott tried to establish friendly relations with the new military government. He advised Washington that Portugal was not lost to the Communists, that the United States should bolster the moderates who wanted to remain in the Atlantic Alliance. Kissinger not only refused to listen but fired him for his wrongheadedness. Now Portugal has concluded a wholly free election, with 92 per cent participation. The Communists wound up with only 13 per cent of the vote. The ousted ambassador was right; Kissinger was wrong.

If Kissinger's mistakes suddenly are catching up with him, he has told friends plaintively that it isn't his fault — if the presidency had retained its authority, if the Congress had not rebelled, if the people had not flagged.

But that is the point. The foreign policy of a great democracy, if it is to endure, must be forthright and based on principle. Free men will not long shed blood or spend their treasure to support mere facades, manipulations and secret deals.

An American foreign policy that does not recognize this is built on sand.

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U.S. HISTORY--CONTINUED

doubted that the Cambodians had planned the entire operation. It appeared to be a case of a local commander taking an initiative but with his headquarters later taking advantage of it. Why were there no answers to diplomatic message for 60 hours? What was the Cambodian motive? The cries and charges of CIA-espionage are not taken seriously here. Phnom Penh's new rulers may be paranoid. They may mistake normal shipping for fishing squabbles in the area as threats to their authority.

In hindsight, it is easy to see some tactical mistakes. But without action, the situation might also have been far more tragic. In one still disputed account, the Mayaguez crewmen are supposed to have credited the onshore bombing for their release.

The hope here is that the incident has served notice that the United States is not a toothless nor a paper tiger: that it has its limits of patience and that it will stay out of local Asian disputes unless it has no other choice

NEW YORK TIMES
18 MAY 1975

Greece and Turkey Open Talks on Rift

ROME, May 17 (UPI)—Greece and Turkey opened talks today on issues that brought the neighbors and Atlantic Alliance members close to war less than a year ago.

The Foreign Ministers of the two countries met at the Turkish Embassy for the first round of negotiations on the Cyprus problem and a more recent conflict over oil rights in the Aegean Sea.

Dimitrios Bitsios of Greece and Ihsan Febri Caglayangil of Turkey will move their talks to the Greek Embassy tomorrow.

The talks, the first ministerial contact between the two countries in nine months, will pave the way for a meeting between Premier Constantine Caramanlis of Greece and Premier Suleyman Demirel of Turkey in Brussels later this month.

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RADIO - TV DEFENSE DIALOG

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TUESDAY, MAY 20, 1975 (BROADCASTS OF MAY 19, 1975)

SUMMARY OF NETWORK NEWS IN THIS ISSUE

John CHANCELLOR, Charles QUINN, and Lou ALLISON, all of NBC News, report on Mayaguez casualties. QUINN reports on the revised Pentagon casualty estimates of five dead, 16 missing and 49 wounded and includes a statement by Secretary LAITIN about why the estimates were delayed and tentative. ALLISON reports from Subic Bay on a press conference called by the commander of the Mayaguez attack Lt. Colonel Randall AUSTIN who relates the heaviness of the fighting on Koh-Tang island. He also includes a statement by Sergeant SALINAS about the crash of his helicopter and his escape at sea from it. CHANCELLOR reports on the names of three of the five killed soldiers and that the dispute between Thailand and the United States has been resolved by a regrets letter. Richard VALERIANI, NBC, reports that Secretary KISSINGER and Soviet Foreign Minister GROMYKO are meeting in Vienna to discuss SALT, the European Security Conference, detente and the Middle East and that no concrete results are expected from the talks. CHANCELLOR and Catherine MACKIN report that the Senate has passed by one vote a bill to end the military aid ban on Turkey but that action in the House on the bill is unpredictable. CHANCELLOR reports on three events in Vietnam and that the Pentagon will open a fourth refugee center in Indiantown Gap, Pa.

Roger MUDD, Ike PAPPAS, Keith KAY, and Paul HAYES, all of CBS News, report on Mayaguez news. PAPPAS reports on the revision of the Pentagon casualty estimates from the Mayaguez fighting and on previous estimates. He reports on Secretary LAITIN's statement that the Pentagon will withhold nothing from the operation and that he confirmed that the bodies of killed soldiers were left behind. KAY reports on the Subic Bay press conference called by Lt. Col. AUSTIN and includes a statement by AUSTIN on the heavy fighting at Tang island and also a statement by one of the wounded Marines. HAYES interviews the father of 2nd Lt. Richard VANDEGEER who was killed in action in Cambodia. MUDD reports that Thailand is satisfied with the U.S. note of regret for the Mayaguez incident as it relates to Thailand and that a fourth refugee camp will be opened by the Pentagon. Marvin KALB, CBS, reports from Vienna on the KISSINGER-GROMYKO meeting and on expected issues and the American hard line stance following Indochina losses. He also, MUDD, reports the Senate's action in passing a bill to end the arms cutoff to Turkey, and that the House is debating action on a $32 billion weapons bill.

Harry REASONER and Ted KOPPEL, ABC News, report on the KISSINGER-GROMYKO talks in Vienna, on the cautious atmosphere and on the issues to be discussed. Bill ZIMMERMAN, CBS, has a report on the Egyptian armed forces since the 1973 war and Egypt's willingness for either peace or war vis a vis Israel. Howard K. SMITH and Tom JARRIEL, ABC, report on Mayaguez casualties. JARRIEL reports that the White House is annoyed with Pentagon delay in releasing casualty figures and on the defense of the operation by the White House in attacking Cambodian facilities on the mainland. Lou CIOFFI, ABC, reports on the current status of USAID officials and programs in Laos and that the Pathet Lao will accept U.S. AID money but not supervision. SMITH reports on Senate action regarding Turkey. REASONER reports on the smoothing over of relations with Thailand. SMITH comments on adverse reactions by some Americans to the military action taken by the U.S. to free the Mayaguez. He gives his reasons for the necessity of the operation; freedom of the seas; possible imprisonment of the crew and the failure of diplomatic channels.

Bruce MORTON, CBS Morning News, reports on SCHLESINGER's Issues and Answers appearance. Toki ROBERTS, CBS, interviews Ambassador MACOMBER about Turkey.

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NBC NIGHTLY NEWS NBC TV
7:00 PM MAY 19

Mayaguez Casualties

JOHN CHANCELLOR: Good evening. President FORD was described today as somewhat puzzled about the delays in the final casualty count in the Mayaguez rescue operation, but the White House also said there has been no attempt to hide any bad news. At the Pentagon a spokesman said getting accurate figures isn't easy and there was a sharp drop in today's estimate of wounded men which yesterday was 70 or 80. Today the Pentagon listed only 49 as seriously wounded. Others had injuries such as broken ankles or bruises. Here's the latest on the casualties from Charles Quinn at the Pentagon.

CHARLES QUINN: The Pentagon announced today the latest casualty figures; five dead, 16 missing, 49 wounded. These figures have changed several times since Wednesday, the day of the attack. Each time the Pentagon cautioned that the figures were incomplete, subject to change. The total is much higher now than first reported. At a briefing today reporters asked Pentagon spokesman Joseph LAITIN why it's taking so long to get a final casualty list.

SECRETARY JOSEPH LAITIN: I don't think that there's been any undue delay. We have tried to get you the casualty list just as fast as is humanly possible once the smoke of battle cleared away. All I can tell you is that we have done our utmost, that we have held back nothing.

QUINN: LAITIN said the figures came slowly because troops were spread out over several ships, that getting an accurate picture is complicated. But many people here at the Pentagon aren't buying that, they say they are puzzled, they say they simply don't understand what's taking so long. Even today's figures are not final, those are expected tomorrow. Charles Quinn, NBC News, at the Pentagon.

CHANCELLOR: Of the 16 missing men the White House said today that there are no indications any of them was taken prisoner. And the names of three of the five men killed were released today: 2nd Lt. Richard VANDEGEER (?) of Bucklin, Mass. of the Air Force; Air Force Staff Sergeant Elwood E. RUMBAU of Doffen, Alabama; and Marine Lance Corporal Ashton N. LONEY of Albany, New York.

In the meantime some of the dead mens' comrades were telling some of the story of the Mayaguez operation to the press. Lou Allison has that story from the Philippines.

LOU ALLISON: A Marine general and the Colonel in charge of the beach landing itself described the fighting to reporters but they refused to answer questions on why that particular island was attacked or why the bombing of the mainland continued after the civilian crewmen were released. The officers brought two wounded Marines with them to the news conference. They confirmed the new, higher casualty figures and said there was little hope that any of the 13 missing men might be alive. The battallion commander Lt. Colonel Randall AUSTIN of Glenside, Pennsylvania said his men met heavier resistance than he'd expected, but said they'd killed about 25 of the enemy.

LT. COLONEL RANDALL AUSTIN: Oh it was certainly very heavy combat. It was a rather classic heliborne assault, I think, in which unfortunately we encountered very heavy fire from the ground. Indeed there was very, very much close combat. I have several reports from my officers and men that were on the ground that there were many instances where the enemy had in fact thrown hand grenades in at our people and they had picked them up and thrown them back.

ALLISON: The Colonel said he thought most of the American casualties occurred in helicopter crashes. Sergeant Victor SALINAS of Corpus Christi, Texas and Corporal R. J. HUGHES of Louisville, Kentucky were both burned when their helicopter was hit and exploded.

SERGT. VICTOR SALINAS: It was just a big ball of fire. The pilot managed to put the bird down. After we got down most of the people started getting out -- as it was just a big ball of flame and inside the helicopter was all pitch black smoke.

ALLISON: After the news conference HUGHES and SALINAS were awarded their Purple Heart medals. Other wounded Marines and the rest of the attack force are due to arrive here soon aboard the carrier Coral Sea. Lou Allison, NBC News, Subic Bay, the Philippines.

CHANCELLOR: And from Bangkok today came word that our troubles with the government of Thailand are over, at least temporarily. The United States today formally regretted a misunderstanding through which over 1,000 Marines were sent to Thailand without the Thai government being told in the Mayaguez affair. The regrets, which were short of an apology,

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were accepted, although the Thai Premier Kukrit PRAMOJ still wants to renegotiate all of the treaties with the United States.

SALT Talks

CHANCELLOR: Secretary of State Henry KISSINGER and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei GROMYKO sat down today together in Vienna for two days of talks devoted to detente, strategic nuclear weapons, the Middle East and other matters effecting both super powers. KISSINGER told reporters, I think we'll make some progress here. The atmosphere was friendly and as Richard Valeriani reports from Vienna, this meeting is one in which atmosphere may be as important as substance.

RICHARD VALERIANI: GROMYKO arrived today and went to KISSINGER's hotel for a later afternoon meeting and a working dinner. They had an extra long handshake for the benefit of photographers before going inside to begin talking about American-Soviet negotiations on limiting offensive nuclear weapons. The negotiations are apparently stalled on the problem of counting multiple warhead missiles once they're deployed. But the American side is confident the problem of verification and other technical difficulties will be worked out in time for a FORD-BREZHNEV summit this fall. Today's agenda also included a discussion of the long dragged out European Security Conference which is likely to end with an East-West summit meeting of 35 heads of government sometime this summer. KISSINGER and GROMYKO came to Vienna this time rather than going to Geneva, their usual meeting place, because Geneva is too closely identified with the Middle East peace conference, something which the Russians are pushing but which the Americans are still trying to finesse. The two men will have a chance to renew their disagreement over the Middle East during tomorrow's talks. Nothing concrete is expected to result from these meetings, at least not immediately. But in light of the recent setbacks to American foreign policy around the world, the atmospherics here will probably be as important as the substance. Richard Valeriani, NBC News, in Vienna.

Ban On Turkey Lifted Seen Possible

CHANCELLOR: Back in Washington the Senate voted today to end its three month old ban on military aid to Turkey. The bill went to the House where its prospects are seen as uncertain. Catherine Mackin has the story on today's Senate action.

CATHERINE MACKIN: The purpose of the White House in asking for a vote now on this controversial issue was to strengthen the hands of President FORD and Henry KISSINGER in their meetings later this month with the leaders of Greece and Turkey. Those opposed to this aid say the Senate vote this close without a majority in favor cannot be counted as the moral victory the White House wanted. The administration has pressed hard to have the aid restored, some say the lobbying has been intense.

MAN: Now they're running all through the halls of the Senate, as they run saying, win this for Henry. Henry's had a tough way to go in Vietnam he may have to give back his peace prize. He's had difficulty in his shuttle diplomacy in the Middle East. He needs a victory, win this for Henry. Well that's a lot of hokum.

MAN: I don't think anybody's out to win this for Henry KISSINGER, I think that the question is what's in the national interest. And I think this is the way Secretary KISSINGER views things. So that is the essential and fundamental reason why I think we should vote for this bill.

MACKIN: Aid to Turkey is given virtually no chance of passing in the House unless Turkey relents and provides some humanitarian relief to the people of Cyprus. So the White House is not pressing for a vote this week in the House, because if it did it would fail. Catherine Mackin, NBC News, Washington.

News From Vietnam

CHANCELLOR: ...these reports today out of South Vietnam and Saigon. The people of Saigon celebrated the 85th birthday of Ho Chi MINH, the hero of North Vietnam. Vietcong officials executed a criminal in public but spared two other accused men when a court asked that they be released. Two ships docked in Saigon today, one carried hundreds of political prisoners held by the old government on Con Son island, the other was a Navy vessel carrying sailors who fled when the old regime fell and who are returning voluntarily.

Refugee News

CHANCELLOR: President FORD named a 17 member committee today to advise the government on refugee resettlement. The committee will be headed by John

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EISENHOWER, son of the late President. And the Pentagon today announced plans to open a fourth refugee resettlement center at Indiantown Gap, Pennsylvania. Some of the South Vietnamese refugees already have been resettled with the help of sponsors. Tonight Kenley Jones reports on the kind of help one South Vietnamese refugee family got from a group of earlier refugees from another country.

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CBS EVENING NEWS CBS TV
7:00 PM MAY 19

Mayaguez Aftermath; Casualties

ROGER MUDD: Good evening. Five days after the American invasion of Tang island to rescue the freighter Mayaguez the United States still does not know how many men it lost. The Pentagon said today it will have a preliminary final count by tomorrow, the White House promises it will not hide any bad news. Ike Pappas brings us up to date now on the Pentagon's latest casualty figures.

IKE PAPPAS: The Pentagon has revised downward to 49 the number of wounded in the Mayaguez recovery. There has been confusion over the number of casualties. Immediately after the battle the Pentagon listed one dead and eight wounded. The next day 13 missing were added and the wounded figure went to 22. Yesterday Defense Secretary SCHLESINGER revealed five were killed, 16 missing and between 70 and 80 wounded. Today the Pentagon cut the wounded figure back to 49, explaining SCHLESINGER was counting even slight injuries such as sprained ankles. Of the 16 missing 13 are believed to have been aboard a helicopter that crashed at sea. The Pentagon does not hold out much hope that they're alive. Three of the five confirmed dead were identified today. They are Air Force 2nd Lt. Richard VANDEGEER of Bucklin, Mass.; Air Force Staff Sergeant Elwood RUMBAUG of Delton, Alabama; and Marine Lance Corporal Ashton LONEY of Albany, N.Y. President FORD and others have been concerned over the Pentagon's slowness regarding the number of casualties. Charges have been raised that the Pentagon was attempting to make the operation appear better than it really was in terms of losses. Spokesman Joseph LAITIN denied the charges.

SECRETARY LAITIN: Statement same as Quinn report on NBC Nightly News.

PAPPAS: LAITIN confirmed none of the bodies of the five dead Americans has been recovered, the body of at least one Marine killed-in-action was left behind on Tang island because of heavy enemy gunfire during the nighttime withdrawal. It was the second time in the past month that American Marines have failed to return with their dead. The two American Marines killed in the attack on Tansonnhut Airport in the final hours just before the American evacuation of Saigon were also left behind. The State Department is attempting to recover American dead from Saigon and from Tang island. Ike Pappas, CBS News, the Pentagon.

MUDD: At Subic Bay, the U.S. Naval base in the Philippines, the commander of the Marine assault force on Tang island recounted today what happened. Keith Kay reports.

KEITH KAY: The press conference was limited in scope, only the direct involvement of the Marine Corps was discussed. On hand was the commanding officer of the Marine security force, who described the battle on Koh-Tang island.

LT. COLONEL AUSTIN: Every helicopter that came in received heavy small arms and machine gun fire. And the troops that -- the enemy troops that -- had moved in very close to ours and our perimeter were bringing a very high volume of fire on our troops. It was being returned and their was a considerable exchange of hand grenades along the line at that period of time.

KAY: In all about 210 Marines were involved in the operation on Koh-Tang island. Two of the wounded Marines were at the press conference. They never made it to the island, their helicopter was shot down just yards from the beach as they flew in on the initial assault.

MARINE: When the helicopter caught flames there was just a big ball of fire. The pilot managed to put the bird down. Anyway after I made my way out through the window I could see most of the bodies -- not bodies but most of the Marines -- already swimming out towards the sea. We got so spread out to a point that for awhile I thought I was the only one out there. I understand myself and others were in the sea swimming for about three and a half hours when we made our way up to the destroyer. Afterward we learned that there were 13 Marines altogether that got picked up and were safely onboard.

LT. COL. AUSTIN (?): These young Marines were just -- you know their training and they want to get out and do their job. At the risk of sounding like

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warmonger, I think it has an elixer on the morale.

KAY: After the press conference the commanding general of the 3rd Marine Division, Maj. General Kenneth J. HORTON, pinned Purple Hearts on the two wounded enlisted men. Keith Kay, CBS News, Subic Bay, Philippines.

MUDD: As Ike PAPPAS reported, one of those killed in the U.S. invasion was 27 year old Air Force Lt. Richard VANDEGEER. Reporter Paul Hayes of Hartford station WFSB talked today with the airman's father.

PAUL HAYES: High in the Berchires along the Mohawk trail is a home Lt. VANDEGEER has never seen. His father is there though, where he remembers his 27 year old son as a professional but very much an individual.

MR. VANDEGEER: Well he was always a A student in high school, graduated with honors -- which, of course, when he went to college --Ohio State by the way -- he thought he knew it all. So after two years he went into the Army and he became a Warrant officer, helicopter pilot. And he's always been very good at school, in school, and very bright.

HAYES: What was your reaction when you heard this?

MR. VANDEGEER: Well my reaction at first of all of course as a father I didn't believe it because Richard not only went through very stringent training and exacting training -- and by the way he was also a champion type swimmer -- so the first thing I heard when he went into the water, I thought well there's no problem some 16 year old Khmer Rouge probably has him under gunpoint by now. But that was not so.

MUDD: In response to Thailand's demand for an apology over the use of a Thai base in the Mayaguez rescue the United States instead today sent its regrets. It was an unsigned note which expressed regret for any misunderstandings and promised future respect of Thailand's sovereignty and independence. Thailand said it considers this an apology and a Thai official declared the case is closed.

Pentagon and Refugees

MUDD: The Pentagon said today it plans to open a fourth Vietnamese refugee center, this one at Indiantown Gap, Pennsylvania. Meanwhile President FORD named a special committee, serving without pay, to give advice on resettling refugees.

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SALT Talks

MUDD: In Vienna today Secretary of State KISSINGER and Soviet Foreign Minister GROMYKO began two days of talks on nuclear arms negotiations and the Middle East. More on the story from Marvin Kalb.

MARVIN KALB: KISSINGER had just taken his wife Nancy to one of those famous Viennese luncheons topped by chocolate cake and whipped cream when he came upon an example of middle America in middle Europe, a Yankee tourist bellowing out his pride at the way the U.S. used its power to recover the merchant ship Mayaguez. But even as KISSINGER, sitting in dark shadow, watched a performance of the high strutting horses of the Spanish Riding School he seemed preoccupied by Indochina, by the obvious problems of Soviet-American relations. Clearly the bloom is off detente. After a courtesy call on Austrian Chancellor KREISKY a reporter asked: Are your expectations high for this GROMYKO meeting? No, began KISSINGER's cautious response.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: No, we have a number of problems to review and I hope to make some progress.

KALB: The usual handshakes preceded this meeting, their first since the American debacle in Vietnam. But their smiles were thin. Tonight they focus for the most part on the strategic arms negotiations now deadlocked over the issue of verification. KISSINGER wants to break the deadlock, apparently GROMYKO does too, both sides looking towards final agreement if possible by the time Soviet leader BREZHNEV visits President FORD this fall. More important perhaps than any one issue, KISSINGER wants to disabuse the Russians of one dangerous notion, that because of recent American setbacks in Indochina the U.S. has become a kind of paper tiger. Overall, therefore KISSINGER is stressing a reasonably hard line in policy, backed up by that show last week of American military strength during the Mayaguez episode. Marvin Kalb, CBS News, Vienna.

Senate Votes To Lift Ban on Turkey

MUDD: By a margin of one vote, 41-to-40, the Senate today approved a bill lifting the ban on U.S. military aid to Turkey, a move aimed at freeing Secretary KISSINGER's hands in dealing with the problem of Cyprus. The measure now goes to the House.

House Debates Military Weapons Bill

MUDD: The House tonight is debating

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a $32 billion military weapons bill aimed toward a final vote tomorrow. Several amendments have been proposed to cut the measure some more which already is about $3 billion below the Pentagon's request.

ABC EVENING NEWS ABC TV
7:00 PM MAY 19

Kissinger-Gromyko Talks

HARRY REASONER: There's a lot of information available today about what Henry and Nancy KISSINGER had for lunch and who led who into the room for the first Vienna sessions between Secretary KISSINGER and Soviet Foreign Minister GROMYKO. That's what reporters send back to the home folks when they haven't got much substantive to report. While not much yet to report, there's considerable weight to the meeting. From Vienna Ted Koppel talks about that.

TED KOPPEL: There is a limited choice of neutral countries in Europe. KISSINGER wanted to avoid Switzerland this time around because it calls to mind the Geneva Conference on the Middle East which the United States still hopes to bypass. So the choice was Vienna, KISSINGER arriving last night, GROMYKO this morning. The scheduled agenda focuses on the European Security Conference, the effort to get a new strategic arms limitation agreement and the smoldering powder keg in the Middle East. For most of today, however, KISSINGER was a visible study in nonchalance, visiting Vienna's famous Spanish Riding School in the morning and then escorting his wife Nancy to lunch at one of the more renowned restaurants in town. The animated chatter that preceded this afternoon's first meeting masked an ominous undercurrent to these talks. This is the first high level Soviet-American meeting since the fall of Cambodia and South Vietnam and KISSINGER is determined to leave no doubt whatsoever in GROMYKO's mind about the continuing forcefullness of American intentions. The overriding atmosphere of caution gives little promise of spectacular diplomacy. And so over tea and cookies at the Imperial Hotel, KISSINGER and GROMYKO launched a discussion the results of which won't become visible for weeks to come. Neither side is expecting a breakthrough in either the SALT talks or in the agonizingly slow process towards peace in the Middle East. But these talks are essential nevertheless to restore momentum to the SALT negotiations which stalled a couple of weeks ago in Geneva and to the Middle East peace talks which are now a necessity looking for a forum. This is Ted Koppel, ABC News, Vienna.

Report On Egyptian Forces

HOWARD K. SMITH: The most visible evidence that Egypt expects peace with Israel is the reopened Suez Canal and the return of Egyptian civilians to live there. But Egypt is also prepared if things turn out differently. ABC's Bill Zimmerman has details.

BILL ZIMMERMAN: The reopening of the Suez Canal and the resettlement of the Canal cities is a high stakes gamble by Egypt's President Anwar SADAT, a gamble on peace and failing that on Egyptian soldiers and pilots, a gamble that the Egyptian Air Force has learned the lessons of 1967 when Egypt was caught by surprise and lost most of its planes on the ground. Now Egypt's bases are well camouflaged, the MIG-21s are concealed in concrete shelters. Many of the pilots have combat experience and those who have shot down U.S. made Phantoms of the Israeli Air Force are highly regarded. As it did with Egypt as a whole, the 1973 war restored much of the confidence and self esteem of the Egyptian Air Force. On the Sinai SADAT is gambling on the army which sits on gains made in 1973 when it crossed the canal and overran the Bar Elav line. Most of the Sinai remains in front of the Egyptian soldiers but the canal, vitally important militarily and economically, is behind. The morale of the army was greatly improved by the advances made in '73 but there remains a general acceptance that the job is not finished.

PRESIDENT ANWAR SADAT: We have a mission to defend the canal -- I mean to defend our people in the main cities in the canal and to secure the unification in the canal and we'll do it. And also we have another mission, to liberate our land and we will do it, sooner or later, by peace or by war.

ZIMMERMAN: It is here that SADAT's gamble will be decided and his future and that of Egypt will be determined. SADAT has cast his lot for peace by his decision to reopen the canal and to resettle the canal cities. But at the same time he has made it clear that if his land is not returned to him peacefully there will be sooner or later another Middle East war. Bill Zimmerman, ABC News, on the Sinai.

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Mayaguez Casualties

SMITH: The Marine Major General who commanded the assault on Cambodia's Tang island in the Mayaguez incident hailed the operation today as a success inspite of heavy casualties. At the risk of sounding like a warmonger, said Maj. Gen. Kenneth HORTON, I would describe it as an elixer for morale. The Pentagon today released the names of three of the Americans killed-in-action in the Mayaguez fight. Those listed were: Air Force 2nd Lt. Richard VANDGEER of Bucklin Mass.; Air Force Staff Sergeant Elwood RUMBAU of Dauphin, Alabama; and Lance Corporal Ashton LONEY of Albany, N.Y. Today the Pentagon said its toll from the incident for the time being, in its words, is five dead, 16 missing and 49 wounded. But it will have what was called a preliminary final count tomorrow. Meanwhile the White House indicated that President FORD is not happy with the way the Pentagon has been handling those casualty figures. ABC White House correspondent Tom Jarriel reports.

TOM JARRIEL: The Commander-in-Chief is said to be frustrated, a military that can fire from a speeding jet fighter with precision 15 feet in front of a moving Cambodian patrol boat can't seem to account for its troops. The President like the press is asking for the final casualty figures, but not getting anything more than revised tentative, incomplete ones. The delay prompted questions from reporters about a possible coverup. White House news secretary Ron Nessen says they aren't trying to hide the casualties or attempting to conceal the bad news. Nessen also continues to defend the heavy use of military strikes ordered by the President, described among advisers as equivalency plus. It was overkill to bomb the Cambodian oil facilities after the ship and its crew were released, according to the President's spokesman, because the Cambodian ships and planes might have used that fuel in a counterattack. As far as Marines landing on the wrong island, the President's spokesman says, hindsight is always 20-20. After spurring the military to complete their casualty count the President today turned to another problem, the resettling of the tens of thousands of Vietnamese refugees. He signed an order establishing a 17 member advisory commission to work toward integrating the Vietnamese into American life. Tom Jarriel, ABC News, at the White House.

REASONER: The United States today sent a note to Thailand expressing regret over the use of Thailand based Marines in the Mayaguez rescue. The note was taken as a formal apology by Thailand, thus easing the diplomatic crisis between Washington and Thailand.

U.S. AID In Laos

REASONER: In Savannakhet, Laos about a dozen Americans, mostly AID officials and their dependents, remain,under a kind of limited house arrest. The student demonstrators holding the Americans say they will let them go if some provincial officials are ousted and if U.S. AID programs are stopped. Lou Cioffi has a report on American assistance to Laos and the people who administer it.

LOU CIOFFI: Vientiane's modern childrens' clinic is only one example of American aid that's been given to Laos through its various programs, and this year alone another $30 million in economic help is slated for this country. But against the background of what happened in Cambodia and Vietnam, this kind of help is being forgotten. For the Communists the AID program is a symbol of American presence in the area. There are 1,200 Americans here right now, of this number 715 are government employees and their dependents. In the housing areas outside of Vientiane there's no sign of any crisis or panic, life there just could not seem more normal.

WOMAN: In circumstances like this where people aren't sure what's going on we get nervous. But in fact we have had reassurances from the Prime Minister, from (unintelligible) that there is no reason for us to panic, so we're not panicking.

CIOFFI: While there's no evacuation as such, the United States has started to cut down on the number of USAID and other government employees here. The Pathet Lao, which has just about taken over the country, says it will accept American aid but without American supervision on how it's spent. American officials here doubt that Congress back home would ever agree to simply sending a check to Laos. And so the American AID program and the Americans who run it are going to stay here in Laos for the time being simply because no one has asked them to leave. This is Lou Cioffi, ABC News, Vientiane.

Senate Votes On Turkey Aid Ban Lift

SMITH: Here in Washington the Senate voted a narrow 41-to-40 today to lift the embargo on U.S. military aid to Turkey. Since the House is not expected to follow

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up the vote is considered mainly a gesture of support to Secretary of State KISSINGER's Cyprus diplomacy when he visits Turkey later this week.

Comment: Howard K. Smith

SMITH: The Mayaguez incident was remarkable, but not as remarkable as the reaction or overreaction to it since it ended. It's a little out of proportion for the administration to jubilate about victory over a not quite fifth rate power. But criticism of the administration for what it did is downright ridiculous. A page of letters to the editor in the Washington Post today slams the U.S. for bullying a small nation. And Mr. Anthony LEWIS, in a column in the New York Times, makes the same charge. Well the operation, it seems to me, was simple matter-of-fact necessity. The Cambodians seized a merchant ship in normal shipping lanes on the high seas. They did not answer our demand that the ship be released. Both to save the crew and to sustain the principle of freedom of the seas we had to act with very little information and quickly, before the crew could be dispersed to confinement and rescue would be impossible. Mr. LEWIS said we should have waited for diplomacy to work. Well in the Pueblo case we did and condemned its crew to 11 months of unendurable physical torture. Some have suspected the ship of having an intelligence mission. That has proved wrong, but what if it did, such operations are normal. Russian trawlers hover constantly three miles off our shores checking ship movements and radar. When they occasionally -- which is rather often -- stray in close the normal procedure is not to seize them but to conduct them back out. What the Cambodians did was 100 percent wrong, what the U.S. did was right, but it was only right not great.

CBS MORNING NEWS CBS TV
7:00 AM MAY 19

Mayaguez Incident

BRUCE MORTON: Freeing the Mayaguez cost more than we thought at first. Secretary of Defense James SCHLESINGER said on ABC's Issues and Answers that five U.S. servicemen were killed during the rescue effort, 16 others are still missing and 70 or 80 more were wounded, many of them only slightly. The Secretary said it took a long time to get the casualty figures because, "there had been a number of choppers that had been down, we were running a muster onboard the ships in order to assess the damage, we attempted to get out the results as they became clear." SCHLESINGER said that even these new casualty figures are not final.

Betty FORD told UPI that the casualties were what bothered the President. He was upset about the casualties, Mrs. FORD said, he had hoped that they could pull it off without any casualties but it was the fact that they had to save those men who were on the ship. They just felt the only thing they could do was go in.

Interview With Macomber

HUGHES RUDD: The current U.S. Ambassador to Turkey is William MACOMBER and Toki Roberts had a talk with him about Turkish and U.S. relations the other day.

AMBASSADOR WILLIAM MACOMBER: They feel that they've been our friends for many years, back to the days of Korea and before they've stood with us and they've depended heavily on us and they've served us well. And they've depended heavily on us in the sense that they've got all of their military equipment from us. And they think this hand of friendship that they have been extended to each other -- suddenly our hand's at their throat and we're suffocating their military strength. Now if you look where Turkey sits vis a vis the Soviet Union they just can't stand that.

ROBERTS: Is this process reversible, this damage to our bilateral relations?

AMBASSADOR MACOMBER: Yeah, that's -- you bet it is. This is a time of great danger out here and it's a great mistake to get into what is really sort of a family fight. The Turks and the Greeks who always do better when they have good relations. Their interests are advanced when they have good relations and history shows that and their interests are undermined when they don't.

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Due to insufficient space items of relevance to DOD from the Today show NBC TV have not been included.

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CURRENT NEWS

PART I - EARLY BIRD EDITION - 0730

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FRIDAY, MAY 16, 1975

GENERAL NEWS SUMMARY

FROM THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MAY 16, 1975

World-Wide

U.S. FORCES left Cambodian territory after freeing a seized ship and its crew.

Navy and Air Force helicopters, operating under cover of darkness and a barrage from U.S. planes and destroyers, plucked about 200 Marines from Koh Tang island off Cambodia 14 hours after they went in to retrieve a vessel the Cambodians seized Monday. Although the ship and all 39 of its American crewmen were rescued, at least one U.S. servicemen died in the military effort and many were wounded.

The operation was widely hailed as a success that strengthened America's world image following the Vietnam debacle, as well as lifting military morale and aiding President Ford politically.

Reaction to the operation in most Western capitals was favorable, although it was criticized by some French, Lebanese and Danish newspapers. The Soviet news agency Tass reported it without comment, while China, which the U.S. had hoped would intercede with the Cambodians on American behalf, called the sinking of three Cambodian gunboats an act of piracy.

The U.S. bombed an airfield on the Cambodian mainland just about the time the 39 crewmen were delivered to a U.S. destroyer by a small fishing boat flying white flags. The raid was ordered to prevent Cambodia from reinforcing the troops it had on Koh Tang while the Marines were there.

The seized merchant ship, the Mayaguez, left the Gulf of Thailand early yesterday under its own power, heading for Singapore. Its crew may be flown back to the U.S.

Thousands of Thai demonstrators burned an effigy of President Ford, and Premier Kukrit Pramoj said his government is reviewing its relations with the U.S., although they won't be broken. The hostility stems from the Pentagon's flying 1,100 Marines into a U.S. base Wednesday without notifying the Thais. The U.S. is removing the last of those Marines to an aircraft carrier.

* * *

South Vietnam's new government said it's willing to establish diplomatic ties with the U.S. but wants Algeria to handle its affairs in Washington for now. In Hanoi, North Vietnamese officials acknowledged at a victory celebration that their troops had fought in the south.

Laotian students who seized three American aid officials at Savannakhet Wednesday reportedly freed them but held a U.S. building, demanding the dismissal of certain Laotian officials.

* * *

A bill to create a consumer agency was passed by the Senate, 61-28, two days after a

(See NEWS SUMMARY, Pg. 2)

BALTIMORE SUN 16 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Marines lifted from island; casualties of siege unknown

By CHARLES W CORDDRY
Washington Bureau of the Sun

Washington—Approximately 200 marines were lifted off Tang Island early yesterday in helicopters, under protection of aircraft and naval gunfire, as United States forces successfully ended a 14-hour operation to rescue an American merchant ship and its crew that were seized by the Cambodian Communists Monday

At a late hour yesterday the Pentagon still was unable to provide complete information on casualties in the Thailand Gulf operation, which President Ford set in motion Wednesday after diplomacy failed to regain the ship and 39-man crew

Officials said, on the basis of fragmentary reports from the several ships and bases involved, that one marine was known to have been killed and one Air Force man might have died

The Pentagon denied reports that 14 men were listed as missing It said they had been in a downed helicopter but had been rescued

A relatively large number of the marines who landed apparently were wounded and were being treated aboard ships after being rescued by helicopter Five Air Force helicopters were destroyed or damaged by Cambodian small arms fire in taking marines into the island

There were no reports of combat plane losses either in attacks on the island or in strikes on Ream Airfield near the Cambodian port of Kompong Som.

The merchant ship Mayaguez, boarded by 48 marines at 8.30 A.M Wednesday, was under way with its full crew aboard by 4.40 A.M yesterday, en route to Singapore

There still was some mystery about the whereabouts of the ship's crew during its captivity and the manner in which

(See MARINES, Pg. 2)

NEW YORK TIMES
16 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

EVACUATION ENDS RESCUE MISSION

Schlesinger Asserts It Affirmed Freedom of the High Seas

By JOHN W. FINNEY
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 15 — Under the cover of aerial and naval gunfire, 200 marines were lifted by helicopters today off an island in the Gulf of Siam, completing the military rescue of an American merchant ship and crew that had been seized by Cambodian forces.

There was no immediate information from the Defense Department on casualties suffered in the 14-hour operation. Pentagon officials said they appeared to be light despite the sometimes stiff resistance encountered on Tang Island.

Pentagon sources said one marine and one Air Force man had been killed and eight marines and six Air Force helicopter crewmen were missing. But a Defense Department spokesman said that thus far there had been only one verified casualty—a marine killed by small-arms fire on the island.

Support in Congress

In addition, an unspecified number of wounded were being treated aboard Navy ships.

President Ford's use of military power to rescue the merchant ship Mayaguez and its 39-man crew, which had been seized by Cambodian patrol

(See RESCUE, Pg. 2)

BALTIMORE SUN
16 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Ford, staff relieved at ship success

By PETER J. KUMPA
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—The White House yesterday reflected President Ford's satisfaction that the difficult military operation to rescue the Mayaguez and its crew from Cambodian captivity had gone well.

The mood was one of a sense of relief The crisis atmosphere of three days faded quickly with the arrival of the shah of Iran, and Mr Ford plunged into the diplomatic problems of another part of the world.

Ronald H. Nessen, the presidential press secretary, issued figures showing that the flow of telephone calls and telegrams was in heavy support of Mr Ford's decision to use force to rescue the American merchant vessel.

In a 2½-day period from the time of the capture of the Mayaguez to the release of its crew, the White House received 4,171 telegrams and letters backing strong action by President Ford. About 520 messages opposed tough action.

Telephone calls indicated even greater support for the President. There were 1,978 backing Mr Ford's actions and only 157 against them. Another 4,000 telegrams were stacked up and had not been sorted.

With heavy congressional backing, the President was emerging from the incident as a leader who had succeeded in making very difficult choices But a White House spokesman brushed aside any questions on whether the Cambodian inci-

(See FORD, Pg. 2)

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FORD -- CONTINUED

dent had elevated Mr Ford's political status. With final casualty tolls still to come, this seemed an inappropriate line of questioning.

If the White House was reluctant to discuss politics at such a time, Hugh Scott (R., Pa.), the Senate minority leader, was willing to say bluntly that the Ford prestige had been greatly enhanced.

Senator Scott told a news conference that he was reaffirming his support of a 1976 ticket of President Ford and Vice President Rockefeller.

"This can only elevate him," the senator said about Mr Ford.

Asked if taking military action might hurt the President against such a possible primary challenger as Ronald Reagan, the former California governor, Mr Scott argued that, "on the contrary, it shows we have the man we need. It can only enhance his standing."

But even with the military operation over, there remained some blank areas and some critical unanswered questions.

According to Mr Nessen, the White House was never certain whether the Cambodians received its demand for the quick release of the ship and its crew. He said there was simply "no response" and denied that the call amounted to a 24-hour ultimatum.

Mr Nessen said he could not be certain that the diplomats of the People's Republic of China had even passed along Mr Ford's demands. State Department sources indicated otherwise.

A question remained whether quicker communications might have averted some of the military action. A Cambodian broadcast that began at 7:07 P.M. (Washington time) Wednesday and ended at 7:26 P.M. was not summarized and translated into English until 8:06 P.M. It offered to surrender the ship, though it did not mention the crew.

At 8:15 P.M., the message reached the White House. It was another 14 minutes before the Secretary of State, Henry A. Kissinger, could pass the word to Mr Ford.

The problem was that the Cambodian message was on the domestic service. Was it purely a local advisory to the Cambodian people or an advisory to the Americans?

Back came a quick reply by President Ford through news channels and broadcasts that the ship had already been seized but welcoming the development.

The problem was that the marines were engaged almost at the start of the broadcast. Still, the final air strikes against the airfield at Ream did not come until 10:57 P.M., 16 minutes before operations were called off.

RESCUE -- CONTINUED

craft on Monday, drew general praise from members of Congress. There was some criticism that Mr. Ford should have consulted more with Congress before ordering the operation.

Acting in compliance with a provision of the War Powers Resolution that requires the President to report to the Congress within 48 hours of the initial commitment of troops to hostilities, Mr. Ford sent a letter to representatives of Carl Albert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and James O. Eastland, president pro tempore of the Senate, at about 2:30 A.M. today. Congressional leaders had received White House briefings earlier.

Schlesinger Lauds Move

Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger, at an early-morning news conference at the Pentagon, described the rescue as "an eminently successful operation incorporating the judicious and effective use of American force for purposes that were necessary for the well-being of this society."

In a statement, Mr. Schlesinger said the operation "represents a much needed and timely reaffirmation of the freedom of the seas."

"Moreover, it represents a firm and measured response to the high-handed and crude use of force," he added. "To countenance such an act would mean the weakening of international order and civilized communication."

Privately, key Administration officials described the operation as a warning to North Korea and other Communist nations that the United States, in the wake of the Vietnam war, still stood ready to meet force with force to protect its interests.

The operation which included a strike by 25 Navy carrier planes against the Ream air base near Sihanoukville, was ordered by President Ford at about 5:30 P.M. yesterday after he had concluded that diplomatic efforts were futile.

The 200 marines were lifted by helicopter from the U Taphao anr base in Thailand to secure Tang Island before boarding of the Mayagüez, anchored a mile offshore. When a platoon of marines an hour later boarded the ship from the destroyer Harold E. Holt, they found the ship deserted.

Crew Returns to Ship

The Defense Department had assumed that some of the crew members might be held on the island. But all 39 seamen appeared last night in a small boat manned by five Thai fishermen who had come from the port of Sihanoukville, 30 miles away.

The crew members were taken aboard by the destroyer Henry B. Wilson and then transferred to their ship.

The Mayagüez, under its own power, set sail at 7:30 A.M., eastern daylight time for Singapore. Charles T. Miller, captain of the ship, sent a message to Mr. Ford that said:

"Dear Mr. President, the captain and officers and crew of the S.S. Mayagüez thank you and all the brave military forces who are fighting and dying to save our lives."

The marines ran into unexpectedly stiff opposition in its helicopter assault on Tang Island. Initial intelligence, according to military officials, was that only about 20 persons, mostly old, were on the island.

Instead, the marines encountered a Cambodian force estimated at 150 men. The presumption of Pentagon officials was that the Cambodian Government had moved in the forces in anticipation of an American military assault.

Recovery is Swift

The original plan had been to send in additional marines to occupy the entire island, which is three miles long and two miles wide. When the Mayagüez was recovered more quickly than expected, the 200 marines, who had advanced a few hundred yards into the island, stopped their advance and consolidated into a beachhead.

The withdrawal of the marines, which was completed at 9:10 A.M. Eastern daylight time, was delayed for several hours as the Cambodians drove off the helicopters trying to make their way to the island. Finally two Navy destroyers laid down protective fire and Navy attack planes conducted straffing runs to hold down the Cambodian troops.

The marines were flown to the carrier Coral Sea, lying 10 miles off the island, and then transferred by helicopter to U Taphao air base to rejoin 900 marines being held in reserve. Because of Thai objections, the Pentagon plans called for the entire Marine force, flown in Monday from Okinawa, to be removed from Thailand.

In the initial assault on Tang Island, three Air Force helicopters were shot down and two others were damaged, but managed to make their way back to Thailand.

The loss or disabling of the five helicopters provided a serious handicap in the withdrawal. The Air Force had started with only 11 helicopters to support the operation. For the withdrawal it was left with six helicopters, each capable of carrying about 25 marines on the four-hour round trip to U Taphad.

Early in the morning, a debate went on in the Pentagon over whether to use the six helicopters to withdraw the marines in two stages. This would have meant that after the first flight, 100 marines would have been left on the island for four hours, facing a Cambodian force of 150 men.

It was decided to wait four hours until the Coral Sea, with three additional helicopters, reached the area. In addition, this meant that the marines could be quickly shuttled out to the carrier.

The vulnerability of the helicopter force was also cited by Pentagon officials as one reason for ordering the air strike against the Ream base, which had a few American-built T-28 jet trainers. Officials feared that the T-28's might be used to try to shoot down some of the helicopters.

In the air attack, planes from the Coral Sea destroyed 17 aircraft, bombed the runway, and destroyed a hangar, Pentagon officials reported.

Mr Ford's reasons for ordering these strikes were simple.

He was quoted as saying that "I would never have forgiven myself" if an estimated 2,400 Cambodian troops in Sihanoukville had been able to take to available amphibian craft and attack the marines on the island 30 miles from shore.

The risk for such an attack may not have been great, but Mr Nessen explained that it was an anguished decision by the President and one that he felt could not be avoided. The press spokesman said that Mr. Ford felt it was "too great a risk not to have this supportive action on the mainland."

Still, it was not totally clear whether, had communications been swifter, the military action might have ended sooner.

The communications gap may have been too narrow in this case. But there was still no complete explanation why the Mayaguez had not been told that a Swedish and a Korean ship had been fired upon recently in the same area, while four other ships had also been stopped by the new Cambodian Communist authorities.

WASHINGTON POST
16 MAY 1975 Pg. 13

Admiral, Ex-POW, Plans to Retire

NORFOLK, Va., May 15 (AP)—Rear Adm. Jeremiah Denton, who led the return of U.S. prisoners of war from Hanoi two years ago, announced today he is retiring from the Navy.

Denton told friends earlier that he began thinking about leaving the Navy when the South Vietnamese government began to fall. In a speech today at the Armed Forces Staff College, where he is commandant, Denton avoided mention of South Vietnam.

Denton, 50, spent 7½ years as a prisoner of the North Vietnamese and was awarded the Navy Cross for enduring extreme torture during his imprisonment.

After his release, he made a brief speech ending with "God Bless America" after stepping from a U.S. plane at Clark Air Force Base in the Philippines.

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MARINES ... CONT'D

he Cambodians released the 39 men It appeared from statements of Pentagon officials that the crewmen were taken from the Mayaguez and kept for a day on Tang Island, 60 miles from the Cambodian shore.

They then were taken to Kompong Som, possibly aboard a gunboat that was spared in attacks by American planes Wednesday that sank three others From the port they were moved, it was reported, to a small island just off the coast, where they were when the U S. military operation was launched last night

The Cambodians put them aboard a fishing vessel manned by five Thais and sent them toward U.S Navy ships, with white flags displayed, when the American attacks started

The destroyer Wilson picked up the crew just after 10.45 P M., just 24 minutes before aircraft, already airborne, struck the Cambodian mainland itself

If controversy grows out of the military operation, it seems likely to center on whether the air strikes should or could have been called off at that late moment They were launched from the carrier Coral Sea in a move described by the White House and Pentagon as designed to cripple Cambodian planes that might have menaced the helicopter or other operations.

Informed sources described them also as a major part of the overall American design to demonstrate national will in the face of a challenge to freedom of the seas.

President Ford, elated by the operation's success, went on television at about 12.30 A.M yesterday to announce the freeing of the ship and crew, and express appreciation to the military participants for their "valor and sacrifice."

The rescue operation, involving marines and Air Force men based in Thailand and at least six warships, was premised on the possibility that the Mayaguez's crew members might be scattered—on Tang Island, the ship itself and the Cambodian mainland.

Attacks were mounted in sequence At 7 20 P M Wednesday, the first wave of Air Force helicopters from Thailand took 135 marines into Tang Island Three helicopters were destroyed, one was damaged but delivered its marines and another was damaged and returned with its marines to U Tapao base in Thailand.

Of 25 marines aboard one of the destroyed helicopters, the Pentagon said, "many" were reported wounded. They were rescued by another helicopter

At 8 30 P M a boarding party of marines from the destroyer Holt seized the Mayaguez, finding no one aboard it.

The marines on Tang Island, meanwhile, were encountering stiff opposition. An hour and a quarter after the Mayaguez was recaptured, the crew appeared alongside the Wilson in the Thai fishing vessel and word reached the Pentagon at 10.53 P M

Four minutes later, the air strikes hit the Cambodian base With the ship and crew retrieved, the effort to take the island was called off By then however, the Air Force had just six helicopters left to ferry marines back to Thailand, a 180-mile trip. It was decided that it would be safer to await the arrival of the Coral Sea —about 10 miles off the island —and take the marines to that ship.

This occasioned about a five-hour wait, during which the marines dug in and defended themselves until they could be lifted out of the island—an operation completed at 9.10 A.M yesterday

At a predawn press conference, James R Schlesinger, the Defense Secretary, said the Cambodians freed the crew in his opinion, "in order to terminate the combat actions directed primarily at the mainland"

The American operation, he said, was "eminently successful," involving judicious use of force "For purposes that were necessary for the well-being of this society," Mr Ford was carrying out his responsibility 'to protect the lives of Americans as well as ships at sea," Mr Schlesinger said.

"What criticism there is, is likely to be captious, he added."

Cambodia assails U.S.

Bangkok Thailand (AP) —Cambodia called the American recapture of the United States merchant vessel Mayaguez a "savage, ferocious, insane and flagrant act of aggression," while North Vietnam pledged its "full support to the Cambodian people in their fight to preserve the integrity of their land, sea and air"

A Cambodian government spokesman, Hu Nim, in a radio broadcast monitored here, said the Khmer Rouge had returned all American crew members of the Mayaguez yesterday "at a time when U S aircraft were carrying out savage bombing and strafing raids"

Mr Hu Nim said three to six U.S F-105 fighter-bombers carried out raids against the Cambodian naval base at Ream and struck at the airport, oil refinery and other installations of the deepwater port of Kompong Som

NEW YORK TIMES
16 MAY 1975 Pg. 15

U. S. Move Backed In Europe but Some Call it Overreaction

By ALVIN SHUSTER
Special to The New York Times

LONDON, May 15—The freeing of the American vessel Mayagüez was generally approved in Western Europe today but viewed as an effort by Washington to compensate for the recent defeats in Indochina.

Some critics charged that President Ford overreacted to a relatively minor incident and suggested that the Americans should have allowed more time before sending in the marines. And some newspaper editorials, particularly in France, were critical, describing the exercise as an example of unnecessary "gunboat politics."

Many of those interviewed by correspondents of The New York Times, however, reflected understanding of the American action and said that Washington appeared to have no other choice.

While governments withheld any formal comment, several officials said privately that they were relieved that the rescue operation had proved successful and that the United States had demonstrated, in even a limited way, that it was not a helpless giant in the aftermath of the loss of Indochina.

The British, of course, engaged in similar acts in the days when they ruled the waves. They call it the "Nelson touch" after the exploits of their favorite sailor, Admiral Lord Nelson.

"The reaction of the United States appears on present evidence to have been both right and effectively executed," said The Times of London. It said the rescue operation demonstrated that the United States had not lost the will to fight or the ability to mount a quick and effective operation far from its shores.

Some political analysts said that whatever the arguments over the issue of "overreaction," the swift action would serve to reassure those in Europe worried over whether the Americans would become gun-shy in view of the Indochina defeats.

NEW YORK TIMES
16 MAY 1975 Pg. 3

Israel Force Said to Raid Southern Lebanon Again

BEIRUT, Lebanon, May 14 (Reuters)—Israeli troops struck into southern Lebanon again today and the Lebanese Government said it would complain to the United Nations Security Council.

A military spokesman said Lebanese and Israeli forces had exchanged artillery fire as Israeli troops searched two houses in the border village of Aita ash-Shaab before dawn.

TEL AVIV, May 14 (Reuters) —The second of five Lebanese seized by Israeli troops in a raid three days ago was returned today, an army spokesman announced. The Lebanese, Dr. Amed Bordah, was handed over to the Lebanese authorities at the Rosh Hanikra border point, the spokesman said.

NEWS SUMMARY ... CONTINUED

[illegible] against it was halted. Before approving the money, Senators voted to bar it from intervening in Agriculture Department matters directly affecting farmers. The measure also exempts defense policy, labor disputes pending before the NLRB and the FCC's broadcast license decisions.

* * *

The State Department condemned illegal activities such as bribes to politicians, by U.S. companies abroad. But the department also suggested that foreign governments clarify their rules on political contributions, finder's fees and other payments that may not be illegal.

* * *

Exxon has made political gifts in Canada and Italy, J. K. Jamieson, chairman, said at the annual meeting. Officials described the contributions as legal and made openly. Shareholders defeated a resolution requiring Exxon to make public the details of any contributions made in 1971.

* * *

The Social Security system's short-term financing problems can be solved by small increases in the payroll tax rate and in the amount of wages subject to the levy, HEW Secretary Caspar Weinberger said. For the long term, the Ford administration hopes to cut outlays by tying benefits only to a retiree's earnings rather than to both wages and prices as at present.

* * *

A financial scandal in Japan came to light with the arrest of three former executives of Tokyo Tokei Seizo Kaisha Ltd., a clock maker, on suspicion of rigging corporate financial statements to disguise a loss as a profit.

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Lebanese Premier Rashid Solh resigned after defections by several rightist members of his cabinet. They protested Solh's failure to use the army to stop clashes last month between Palestinian guerrillas and right-wing Phalangist militiamen. Solh blamed the Phalangists for the fighting, which took about 150 lives.

* * *

Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlevi of Iran began a four-day visit to the U.S. with a 90-minute meeting with Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger.

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Puerto Rico seeks from the U.S. the maximum degree of self-government consistent with its commonwealth status, Gov. Rafael Hernandez Colon said. But he added that neither pro-statehood nor pro-independence sentiment is growing on the island.

* * *

A university to train doctors for the armed services should be scrapped because the cost of producing one physician in it could reach $200,000, the Defense Manpower Commission told Congress and the President. Congress has approved the new university, which the Pentagon never sought.

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A Massachusetts trial judge refused to overturn the Feb. 15 abortion-manslaughter conviction of a Boston obstetrician, Dr. Kenneth Edelin.

* * *

Art thieves in Italy overpowered guards at the Milan Museum of Modern Art and took 36 Impressionist paintings, some stolen three months ago and only recently recovered, possibly through ransom. The paintings are valued at over $3 million. About 11,000 art works were stolen in Italy last year.

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Two passenger trains in Sweden collided killing nine persons. It was the second major train crash in Sweden this year.

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FRIDAY MORNING, 16 MAY 1975

NEW YORK TIMES - 16 MAY 1975 Pg. 16

Owners Deny Seized Freighter Had Any Secret Mission

By WALTER H. WAGGONER
Special to The New York Times

MENLO PARK, N.J., May 16 —The owners of the American merchant ship Mayagüez said categorically today that the vessel, seized by Cambodian gunboats on Monday and freed last night by American marines, contained "no arms, no ammunition, no hazardous or secret cargo of any type."

Michael R. McEvoy, chairman of the board of Sea-Land Service, Inc., which owns the Mayagüez, insisted repeatedly during a news conference at the company's headquarters here, that neither the ship nor its crew was involved in anything other than the "peaceful mission of trading with friendly nations."

He described as "ludicrous" allegations that the Mayaguez was a "spy ship" and speculation that the company was under charter to or in some way working for the Central Intelligence Agency."

He said that the Mayagüez would be "opened to the world" when it arrives in Singapore on Saturday.

"The world will see this ship, its cargo and its men," Mr. McEvoy declared. "They will see that Sea-land and its employes were not involved in any spying activities."

Asked at least twice whether he could "state categorically" that the Mayagüez was not involved in "some Government mission," spying or otherwise, Mr. McEvoy replied:

"The mission of the ship was purely peaceful. The extension of trade with friendly nations was its only mission."

The ship's contents, insured for about $5-million, Mr. McEvoy said, consisted of 107 containers of routine commercial cargo, 77 containers of military cargo and 90 empty containers.

The commercial goods ranged from aspirin tablets to food, he said, while the military cargo was broken down as follows: two containers of mail; 26 of machine parts, supplies and replacement equipment; three of subsistence supplies, including refrigerated cargo; eight of additional commissary supplies, and 38 of liquor, beer, soft drinks and other post-exchange items.

Mr. McEvoy said the company was "very dismayed and discouraged" by charges that the ship was engaged in espionage.

"It was a very peaceful ship," he declared repeatedly.

Mr. McEvoy also said at the news conference, conducted at the company's offices of the Executive Plaza Building here, that the Mayagüez was now enroute to Singapore.

Exchange of Messages

A message received here this morning from Capt. Charles T. Miller, the Mayagüez's commanding officer, described the crew as "alive and well" and estimated that the vessel would arive in Singapore at 3 P.M. Saturday, local time, after a journey of 46 hours.

Company officers immediately radioed back:

"Your conduct and that of the crew is in the highest tradition of the American merchant marine."

The crew was also told that Sea-Land and R. J. Reynolds Industries, Inc., the parent company, would fly home any members that wanted to join their families after their ordeal.

Mr. McEvoy said that the company had not entered the Government's policy-making process during the ship's captivity and had not put pressure on Washington to take steps on behalf of the captured Mayagüez.

R. J. Reynolds officials nevertheless applauded President Ford's action in dispatching United States marines to recover the ship.

In a telegram to President Ford, Colin Stokes, board chairman of R. J. Reynolds Industries, and J. Paul Sticht, president, said:

"We are very grateful for your action in recovering the crew of our ship, Mayagüez, and we mourn the loss of our men in our armed forces who sacrificed their lives in this operation. We are seeking the names of those families. We are also attempting through the Defense Department to fly a new crew at our expense to the ship and return the ship's crew to their families as soon as possible. For the personnel of our Sea-Land subsidiary and ourselves, we are very grateful to you and our Government."

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR - 16 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Pentagon: 'sea, air power more essential now'

By Guy Halverson

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

The successful recovery of the Mayaguez underscores the value of quick-strike, carrier-based U.S. sea power — and long-distance strike aircraft.

This is the view of senior Pentagon analysts, particularly at a time when the United States may soon be forced out of its present forward bases in Thailand and face troop or base pullbacks from other regions in the next few years.

Although the recovery combined both the U.S. Air Force and Navy (the Air Force flew marines from Thailand to the destroyer Holt, for example) it was the close-in presence of the Navy vessels that enabled the operation to be successfully completed.

It is also noted here that it was the large Navy presence in the South China Sea that enabled the evacuations from Cambodia and South Vietnam to be successfully carried out.

Yet, Navy officials say, the Navy's "quick-strike" potential has been severely slashed by budget-minded congresses in recent years.

- The overall size of the U.S. Navy fleet now is at its lowest level since pre-World War II, despite a heavy Soviet build-up of its sea power.
- By the end of fiscal 1976, the Navy will have only 13 aircraft carriers (of which one will be a training vessel) compared with the present fleet of 15 carriers. Some Navy officials say they are "hard pressed" to maintain current fleet operations.

Of the current carrier force, seven are in the Atlantic Fleet (two are in the Mediterranean, five on the U.S. East Coast), five are in the Pacific Fleet (one is at Pearl Harbor, four on the U.S. West Coast), and three are in the Western Pacific off Vietnam (expected to be reduced as the size of the carrier fleet is cut back).

- The Navy has so for been frustrated by Congress in its efforts to develop a new mobile "strike cruiser" and a swift moving sea-control ship.

"When we lost South Vietnam, we frankly lost a lot of our military flexibility in the Western Pacific," says one Defense official. "That's why this whole question of sea power is so important."

"The need for extra reliance on U.S. sea power is even more important now than perhaps at any point during the past decade," says a Navy official. "By relying on carriers such as in the Persian Gulf region you don't have to depend on the national political sensitivities you have with military land bases. We're free to operate when and where we want."

The "second stage" of the retrieval operation — involving landing of marines on Koh Tang Island, off Cambodia — took place over some 14 hours. Marines from Thailand were flown to the destroyer Holt. Several hundred marines were sent ashore on the island itself.

(Monitor correspondent Godfrey Sperling Jr. Reports from Washington that the President resisted advice from the joint chiefs that would have entailed more force.

(Wider options presented which included more indiscriminate bombing of the mainland — beyond just the military bases. Saturation bombing was a suggested option.

(The President resisted, keeping in mind the primary objectives (1) the security and safe release of the crew (2) and the security and safety of those involved in the rescue.

(The President determined to use just the amount of force necessary — and no more.)

WALL STREET JOURNAL
16 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

FORD BECOMES BOLDER on foreign policy—and not just in Cambodian affair.

He aims to reassert U.S. influence after Vietnam. The President, wanting to show strength in the world's eyes, opted for quick, strong military action to free the Mayaguez and its crew. Next: He'll assume a bigger role in seeking Mideast peace—meeting with Egypt's Sadat, Israel's Rabin. The U.S. hopes for another Sinai disengagement. Putting Ford's prestige on the line may help.

The President, on his impending trip to Europe, will seek to reestablish the U.S. position as leader of NATO and the West. Later Ford expects to attend an all-European summit in Helsinki, along with Brezhnev. He hosts a stream of foreign dignitaries meantime: the Shah of Iran arrived at the White House yesterday.

It may all be Kissinger's doing: The chief diplomat is eager to restore presidential power and prestige in foreign affairs.

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WASHINGTON POST 16 MAY 1975, Pg 20

Thailand to Protest Use Of Base by U.S. for Raid

By H. D. S. Greenway
Washington Post Foreign Service

BANGKOK, May 16 (Friday) —Thai Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj scheduled a Cabinet meeting for today to consider diplomatic moves against the United States, following Tes-

The Thais consider use of their bases in that operation to have been a clear violation of sovereignty.

It was an unfriendly act by a friendly country," the prime minister was quoted as saying on return from a day in a nearby province Thursday eve-nin.

Kukrit ruled out severing diplomatic relations. But other options, such as the temporary recall of the Thai ambassador to Washington and taken out in the 25,000 U.S. servicemen in Thailand may be discussed.

The Foreign office spokesman said that this incident "could cause public opinion in Thailand to push us towards quickening the pace of American withdrawal."

It was necessary to establish a future understanding with the United States to prevent this sort of thing from happening again, he said.

Unofficial American sources have said that all the 1,400 Marines are now out of Thailand.

A protest rally was held here last night and drew several thousand people, most of them students, and an effigy of President Ford was burned. The students said more demonstrations were planned.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman yesterday described the American use of Thai bases as "a breach of faith" and said it was an act that went against the expressed wish of the head of the Thai government."

He said he doubted that anything as drastic as a break in diplomatic relations would follow, but added: "Perhaps this incident could cause public opinion in Thailand to move toward quickening the pace of American withdrawal."

He said it is necessary to establish an understanding with the United States to prevent this sort of thing from happening again, adding that a decision on what diplomatic move to make might be announced Friday.

On Tuesday and Wednesday Kukrit stated publicly—and privately to U.S. charge d'affaires Edward Masters—that the United States could not use Thai soil as a springboard for military action against the new Cambodian government. He told Masters that the Marines that had been flown here against the wishes of the Thai government should be removed "immediately."

It appears that the United States ignored the wishes of the Thai government on every count. The Marines who were flown in here Tuesday and Wednesday were used in the Mayaguez rescue, the Thai spokesman said, as were American planes flying from Thai bases north of here.

The Thai military authorities assured him, the spokesman said, that American planes flying from Thai bases had not been directly involved in the sinking of Cambodian gunboats on Wednesday; but he said he had no assurances about the bombing of Sattahip on Thursday.

The U.S. began withdrawing the Marines Thursday, but as of mid-afternoon, the spokesman said, he had no word from the Americans that the remaining Marines had left Thailand. Masters had promised to call him as soon as all the Marines were gone, he said.

[Asked about this apparent violation of the Thai demand that the Marines be withdrawn "immediately," spokesman said, "To quote Ron Nessen, 'immediate is immediate.'" AP reported. He was referring to a remark by President Ford's press secretary about the American demand that Cambodia return the Mayaguez "immediately."]

Masters had told the premier that the U.S. embassy had not been informed that the Marines were being sent to Thailand, the spokesman said, adding: "And I would like to believe it."

Although the Americans may now be congratulating themselves on the success of the Mayaguez adventure, the operations has severely strained relations with Thailand, America's only remaining ally on the mainland of Southeast Asia.

The Thai government has little wish to make a big issue of this, officials said privately, but the violation of sovereignty had been so flagrant that Thailand has to make some gesture.

Thailand has been in a state of shock since Cambodia and Vietnam fell to the Communists. With Laos going the same way, albeit peacefully, Thailand is trying to adjust diplomatically to the new realities in Southeast Asia.

It is not easy Thailand shares long borders with Laos and Cambodia. The Cambodians have become belligerent about the border demarcation, the new South Vietnamese government has criticized Thailand for letting the Americans get away with so many of the planes flown here by fleeing South Vietnamese pilots, and Hanoi has criticized Thailand for allowing riots against Vietnamese settlers in the north.

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations is holding a foreign ministers' conference in Kuala Lumpur and, as the Foreign Ministry spokesman pointed out, the timing of this humiliation at the hands of the Americans comes at a particularly embarrassing time since the Thai foreign minister is "discussing peace and neutrality" in the region.

The American move has further widened the split between left and right in this country and, as one government man said, "This has made it very hard for any of us with pro-American sympathies to be heard. We would simply be shouted down."

WASHINGTON STAR 15 MAY 1975, Pg 7 (16)

Soviets Declare End of Rights In East Berlin

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. (AP) — The Soviet Union declared yesterday that the United States, Britain and France have "no rights whatsoever" in East Berlin remaining from World War II.

A Soviet note to Secretary General Kurt Waldheim rejected a joint declaration to Waldheim last month that the three Western powers continue to have rights and responsibilities in East as well as West berlin.

"Normal and businesslike cooperation on a broad international basis" would be served if all parties would "take into consideration the political and territorial situation which actually exists in that area (Berlin) as a result of events in the postwar period and as now recognized and accepted by the immense majority of states," the Soviet note declared.

It accused the United States, Britain and France of taking a position "clearly contrary to legal and factual realities."

The situation, the note declared, is that East Berlin is the capital of East Germany and "an integral part of that country, from which it is inseparable (with) exactly the same legal status as any other part of the territory of the (East) German Democratic Republic ..."

WASHINGTON POST 16 MAY 1975, Pg 9

Hill Members Protest More Military Trims

House backers of a $32 billion weapons procurement bill argued yesterday against more cuts in the Pentagon's request, saying the recovery of the SS Mayaguez, which was seized by Cambodia Monday in the Gulf of Siam, proved the value of a strong U.S. military force.

The Mayaguez incident was raised as the House finished general debate on the authorization measure. Voting on 20 or more proposed amendments is to start Monday.

The House Armed Services Committee had cut $3.7 billion from the $35.7 billion sought for the 15-month period ending Sept. 30, 1976. Liberal Democrats said they will strive to trim at least another $2.8 billion.

Rep. Ronald V. Dellums (D-Calif.) will try to insert a mandate to reduce the 511,000 U.S. troops stationed around the world by 70,000, leaving it to the Pentagon to decide where the cuts would be made.

Other critics want to eliminate $948.5 million from a program to develop the B-1 bomber.

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FRIDAY MORNING, 16 MAY 1975

NEW YORK TIMES 16 MAY 1975, Pg 1

TIMING OF ATTACK RAISES QUESTIONS

By R. W. APPLE Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 15—The American attack in the Gulf of Siam was already in progress, according to official accounts, when President Ford received word that the Cambodian Government was willing to release the American merchant vessel Mayagüez and its crew of 39.

But there remains considerable confusion as to the reasons why air strikes were carried out on the Cambodian mainland at almost the moment the crew members were approaching an American destroyer in a small fishing boat.

The sequence of events that unfolded last night and early this morning over and off the coast of Cambodia, and at the White House and Pentagon, was still not completely clear late today.

But a careful reconstruction, based on interviews with American officials, as well public briefings, yielded the following picture:

Since the capture Monday of the Mayagüez, a containership, by Cambodian forces, diplomatic initiatives had evoked no response. Indeed, the White House press secretary, Ron Nessen, said this morning, Mr. Ford not only had no idea what had motivated the Cambodians, he also had no idea whether they ever received the messages he had sent them, mainly through the Chinese.

According to Representative Thomas P. O'Neill of Massachusetts, the House Democratic leader, the final communication constituted a 24-hour ultimatum demanding the ship's release.

Ford's Preliminary Moves

Mr. Ford then took three steps before authorizing the final land-sea-air assault.

He ordered an attack on Cambodian patrol boats to try to prevent the removal of the American crewmen to the mainland, an attack in which three of the boats were sunk. He consulted once more, yesterday afternoon, with the National Security Council. He arranged to meet with bipartisan Congressional leaders to tell them his plans.

At 7:07 P.M., Wednesday, Washington time (6:07 A.M. Thursday, Cambodian time), while the meeting with the Congressmen was going on and while American forces were moving into position for the assault, the Phnom Penh radio broadcast a statement offering to free the ship and the crew. It was the Communist Government's first public comment on the affair.

The Word Is Received

An account of the broadcast, making it clear that the Cambodians were ready to accede to American demands, appeared on news agency wires here at 8:19 P.M. A less complete, somewhat garbled version—passed from an American monitoring station to Maj. Gen. Brent Scowcroft of the National Security Council to Secretary of State Kissinger to Mr. Ford—reached the President no more than three or four minutes earlier.

By then, according to logs maintained at the Pentagon and the White House, the operation was under way. At the direction of Mr. Ford, who was in the State Dining Room for a party for the Premier Joop M. den Uyl, of the Netherlands, Mr. Nessen issued a statement calling upon Phnom Penh to release the crew members unconditionally. It was also broadcast by short wave. He issued the statement at a 9:15 briefing.

In Indochina, meanwhile, a fleet of 11 CK-53 helicopters had set out from U Taphao Air Base in Thailand for the hour-and-45-minute flight to the area where the Mayagüez was held. Three copters feeled off and lowered a platoon of 48 Marines by sling to the destroyer escort Harold E. Holt.

Marines Land and Dig In

The rest off the copters flew on to Tang Island, a C-shaped patch of jungle foliage with good sandy beaches. Encountering heavy fire from dug-in Cambodians, the helicopters put down a force of 100 marines at island's eastern end and the men dug into a semicircular perimeter undear fire.

One helicopter went down in the surf and two went down on the beach. Two others managed to limp back to Thailand, together with the six that were undamaged. It was 7:20 P.M., Washington time.

Though the original plan called for a sweep across the island, that never happened, even after a second contingent of 100 marines arrived. The men remained on the beach, taking heavy but sporadic small-arms fire, for more than 12 hours while the Mayagüez and her crew were freed. Capturing the island was unnecessary, Defense officials explained, because the American crewmen were not there.

Navy Ships More In

The scene now shifts to the ships and planes of the Navy.

In the flotilla assembled off the coast, in addition to the destroyer escort Holt, were the carrier Coral Sea, the guided missile destroyer Henry B. Wilson, the destroyer Baussell, the guided missile frigate Gridley, the destroyer escort Lang and the store ship Vega. The senior officer was Rear Adm. R. P. Coogan, aboard the Coral Sea.

While planes from the Coral Sea and the guns of the Wilson supported the marines on the beach, the Holt came alongside the Mayaguez, lying dead in the water. In Washington it was 8:20 P.M., about the time news of the Phnom Penh broadcast reached Mr. Ford.

Ten minutes later, marines clambered aboard the container ship—and found no one. In the mess, plates with warm food were found, indicating a hurried departure.

At about 9 P.M., word was passed to Washington that the ship was empty—which may account for the American statement. 15 minutes later, demanding the release of the crew members, which the Cambodian radio had already promised.

Communications between Washington and the task force were almost instantaneous, with radio reception uninterrupted.

At 10:15 P.M. here, the Coral Sea began launching A-7 and F-4 fighter-bombers for a strike on the airfield at Ream, on the mainland near the port of Sihanoukville, called Kompong Som by the fallen Cambodian Cambodian Government.

But there were other events in train near the Wilson, which was closer to Tang Island. At 10:45, a small fishing boat, manned by five Thais who had been captured with their craft several days ago, was sighted, white flags flying, by sailors on the Wilson. Eight minutes later the destroyer flashed word to the Pentagon that 30 or more Caucasians appeared to be in the boat—it later developed that all 39 of the Mayagüez crewmen were aboard.

Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger did not pass that word to the President, however, until 11:14 P.M., a lapse of 21 minutes. During that 21 minutes, the Navy planes began their strike at Ream—either at 10:57 or at 11:09, depending which of two Pentagon briefings was accurate.

The Pentagon said later that 17 enemy planes had been destroyed on the ground, a hangar had been smashed and the runways had been cratered.

Momentum Is Cited

But since both the container ship and the crew had been recovered before the first wave went in, why was the strike not stopped? Some military officials argued that it was necessary to protect the Marines still on Tang Island; a civilian source said that the momentum of the operation was too great to reverse quickly.

But if the need was to protect the marines and their helicopters against attack by Cambodian T-28's, why were the raids not carried out at the onset of the assault? Or why didn't the American fighters simply orbit the airbase, waiting to pounce on any Cambodian plane that prepared to take off?

Further confusion arose from Mr. Schlesinger's statement, at his news conference today, that the crewmen "arrived at the Wilson as a result of what is presumed to be the decision of the Cambodians to deliver them up in order to terminate combat activities directed primarily at the mainland."

It is presumed that the crewmen were taken from the Mayaguez to Tang Island and then to Sihanoukville, from which they set out by boat for the Wilson. They must have left shore long before the first American "combat activity" on the mainland—the air strikes.

How, then, could the air strikes have motivated the Cambodians to put the crewmen in the boat and send them out?

Ship Heads for Singapore

In any event, all 39—for a time, it was thought that the number was 40, but that was revised—were in good shape, according to a message from the Mayagüez capain. At 7:30 P.M., her boilers fired, the ship set sail for Singapore, and is due there Saturday.

On Tang Island, there was trouble. The helicopter force, reduced by losses, was driven back by Cambodian ground fire as it attempted to land to extract the marines.

So the Coral Sea, at her top speed of 30 knots, pulled closer to the island to reduce the flight time, and aircraft and naval guns were used to lay down a barrage of fire on the Cambodians defending the six-square-mile islet.

At 7:13, just as the Mayagüez was getting ready to weigh anchor—and more than six hours after President Ford had promised, in a nationally televised statement, that the marines still under hostile fire were "preparing to disengage" —the first of those on the beach were lifted safely off.

Not until 9:10 A.M. today, Washington time — well after dusk in the Gulf of Siam—did the last helicopter leave the island, the site of the first American ground combat since 1973. It arrived on the Coral Sea's flight deck at 9:20

Even then, the casualty toll was not known. One death—a marine killed on the beach—was confirmed, and there were reports of perhaps 14 missing and others wounded

WASHINGTON POST
16 MAY 1975, Pg 8

ASEAN Meeting

KUALA LUMPUR — The foreign ministers of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) concluded their meeting amid signs they may recommend against the holding of an ASEAN summit scheduled for Jakarta in June.

Some officials privately expressed apprehension that such a meeting might be interpreted by the Communist governments in Cambodia and North and South Vietnam as an attempt to "gang up" on them. The ASEAN countries have taken steps since the fall of the pro-American governments in Cambodia and South Vietnam to woo the new Communist states as well as North Vietnam.

The communique isued at the conclusion of the three-day meeting welcomed the end of fighting in Cambodia and South Vietnam. The ASEAN States are Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines, Indonesia and Singapore.

WASH POST 16 MAY 75

• A U.S. Air Force Fighter crashed into a factory in Pusan, South Korea, killing five persons and injuring 10 others, Korean news reports said. The U.S. command did not announce the crash and it was unclear whether the crew survived.

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NEW YORK TIMES - 16 MAY 1975 Pg. 15

Members of Congress Generally Endorse the Military Action Against Cambodians

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 15 — Along with the general mood of euphoria in Congress over the success of the operation in the Gulf of Siam, there was mild criticism from some Senators and Representatives that President Ford should have complied more explicitly with the law requiring him to "consult with Congress" in advance of military operations.

The law, called the War Powers Resolution, was enacted in 1973 over a veto by President Richard M. Nixon. It resulted from a Congressional deside to have a more influential voice in the conduct of war.

Consultation Provided

The measure was designed to give the President the power to strike quickly when the circumstances demanded, but to allow Congress the right to be consulted and to end military operations if they were not seen as warranted.

Under the law, "the President, in very possible instance, shall consult with Congress before introducing United States armed forces into hostilities or situations where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated by the circumstances, and after every such introduction shall consult regularly with the Congress until United States armed forces are no longer engated in hostilities or have been removed from such situations."

Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington said today that he gave Mr. Ford "high marks for the way he handled" the incident. Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona agreed that the President was "right to act the way he did.

Both Mr. Jackson and Mr. Udall are announced candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Praise From Goldwater

Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, representing the conservative wing of the Republican party, said the President did "the only thing he could have done."

Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, the Democratic leader of the Senate, and Senator Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, the assistant leader, said they were grateful that the operation had been successful.

Leaders of the House of Representatives were equally generous with their praise.

Two liberal Democratic Senators questioned whether Mr. Ford had made the right decision.

Senator George McGovern of South Dakota declared that the strike had been "precipitous in view of efforts to try some diplomatic relief." Senator Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin asked, "What vital national interest was at stake?" He said that the incident was a matter "for negotiation, not force."

A Republican, Senator Edward W. Brooke of Massachusetts, did not criticize the operation directly, but sent a series of questions to Secretary of State Kissinger about the circumstances of the ship's capture and the rescue operation.

The War Powers Resolution requires the President to report to the Speaker of the House and the president pro tempore of the Senate within 48 hours of the initial commitment of troops to hostilities.

Mr. Ford complied with the requirement today. At about 2:30 A.M., White House officials arrived at the suburban homes of Michael Reed and Bill Simpson with a two-page letter from Mr. Ford to Carl Albert, the Speaker, and James O. Eastland, president pro tempore of the Senate.

Mr. Reed is Mr. Albert's legislative assistant, and Mr. Simpson is on Senator Eastland's staff.

The White House said that the notification period did not actually expire until 6:20 this morning, 48 hours after American planes fired across the bow of the Mayagüez, the captured merchant ship, to prevent the ship from being moved into a mainland port.

The letter of notification raised the question of whether Mr. Ford had complied with the consultation section of the law.

It was nearly 7 o'clock Tuesday evening, more than 12 hours after the first shots were fired, before Congressional leaders were informed of the hostilities.

Between 6:55 and 8:30 P.M., White House officials telephoned more than a dozen leaders in the Senate and House to inform them of the situation.

By all accounts, the calls amounted to a notification of the action rather than a consultation.

"I was not consulted," Mr. Mnasfield said. "I was notified after the fact about what the Administration had already decided to do."

William T. Kendall, a Congressional liaison officer for etahe White House, acknowledged that he had been given a prepared statement to read to the Senators on what amounted to a fait accompli.

However, Mr. Kendall declared, "if anyone had said, 'I think this action is inadvisable,' I would have written that down and put it in my memo and it would have been seen by the President."

None of the leaders, objected to the military action, Mr. Kendall said.

There was no dissent in Congress from the President's contention that he had the Constitutional authority and obligation to intercede with force under his powers as commander in chief.

Some Members Critical

Nor was there any objection to the President's having acted despite several laws prohibiting the use of troops in combat in Indochina.

The view was that the President's Constitutional prerogative prevailed over those laws and that, besides, the laws had been enacted specifically to keep the United States from becoming involved in combat in support of a regime in Southeast Asia.

But Senator Thomas E. Eagleton, Democrat of Missouri, who was one of the principal authors of the War Powers Resolution, declared that the President was required to consult with members of Congress before the fact, if possible, and "at least hear out their advice."

Senator Byrd said that he told Mr. Ford at a leadership meeting at the White House last night that the President "might have been in a lot better position, had this operation not been successful" if he had actually sought advice from Congress.

Representative John B. Anderson of Illinois, the third-ranking Republican in the House, said he was disappointed that Mr. Ford had done no more than "calling up and saying here's what we've decided."

"That doesn't really fit the new era of divided responsibility," Mr. Anderson said.

NEW YORK TIMES
16 MAY 1975 Pg. 28

SCHANBERG GETTING SPECIAL POLK AWARD

The journalism department of Long Island University announced yesterday it was giving a special George Polk Memorial award to Sydney H. Schanberg, the Correspondent of The New York Times who remained in Cambodia to report on the fall of Phnom Penh to the Khmer Rouge.

Prof. Jacob H. Jaffe, the curator of the Polk awards, said that the citation of Mr. Schanberg marked the first time since 1949 that a newsman was being added to the group of regular Polk winners after formal announcement of the awards, two weeks ago, and that it was the first time anyone was being given a Polk for an achievement within a current year.

The citation to Mr. Schanberg, reads in part: "Sydney H. Schanberg was heroic, brilliant and tireless, incisively probing and explaining every feature and angle of the Cambodian experience. He has set an example for newsmen to remember and be inspired by. He has served readers as no historian ever could. In world journalism he is one of the giants."

The Polk awards, awarded by the university for journalistic achievement, are named after a CBS-TV correspondent who lost his life while attempting to interview guerilla leaders during fighting in Greece. Mr. Schanberg won the regular Polk award for international reporting in 1972 for his coverage of the India-Pakistan War.

NEW YORK TIMES
16 MAY 1975 Pg. 15

SOVIET WITHHOLDS COMMENT ON RAID

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, May 15—The Soviet Union withheld comment today on the American military operation that freed the freighter Mayagüez and 39 crewmen seized by the Cambodians.

The incident was noted this afternoon by Tass, the official press agency and the Government newspaper Izvestia. The reports were factual, without criticism of the operation.

The Moscow radio limited itself to a reading of a Tass dispatch from Washington. The evening television news program made no mention of the incident, reporting instead preparations in Houston for the Soviet-American space flight in July.

While the Kremlin often waits a while to comment on world events, the initial silence suggested that Moscow was concerned about saying anything that could jeopardize the accommodation with Washington at a time when relations have been put under some strain by the Communist victories in Indochina.

Moscow has problems of its own with the new government in Phnom Penh. The Russians are understood to be upset by the treatment given their caretaker staff at the Soviet Embassy in Phnom Penh, who were transported out of Cambodia along with other foreigners by the new Communist Government.

It was considered a measure of the progress of détente that the Soviet press refrained from polemical reaction to the American military action.

The Tass dispatch reported complaints by Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts; Senate majority leader Mike Mansfield of Montana; Representative Bella S. Abzug, Democrat of New York, and others in Congress. Tass also noted without comment a demand by Thailand that American marines be withdrawn from the country immediately and quoted "the American press" as having reported that the operation had caused "protests in many countries."

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SEA-LAND 5-16
WITH VESSEL
MENLO PARK, N.J. (UPI) -- THE FIRM THAT OWNS THE MERCHANT SHIP SS MAYAGUEZ SAYS ANY CREW MEMBER WHO WANTS TO RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES WILL BE ALLOWED TO DO SO WHEN THE VESSEL DOCKS SATURDAY IN SINGAPORE WHERE IT WILL BE OPENED TO PUBLIC INSPECTION.
NONE OF THE 39 CREWMEMBERS WERE HARMED IN CAPTIVITY SINCE THE SHIP WAS SEIZED MONDAY BY CAMBODIA.
A SPOKESMAN FOR SEA-LAND SERVICES INC. SAID THURSDAY THAT ONCE A NEW CREW IS ASSEMBLED, THE SHIP WILL RESUME ITS REGULARLY SCHEDULED CARGO VOYAGES BETWEEN SINGAPORE AND SATTAHIP, THAILAND, WHERE THE SHIP WAS ENROUTE AT THE TIME OF ITS CAPTURE.
MICHAEL R. MCEVOY, BOARD CHAIRMAN OF SEA-LAND, SAID THE PUBLIC WOULD BE INVITED TO INSPECT THE CONTAINER SHIP TO DISPROVE CAMBODIAN ALLEGATIONS THE MAYAGUEZ WAS A SPY SHIP.
MCEVOY SAID THERE WAS "NO HAZARDOUS OR SECRET EQUIPMENT ABOARD THE SHIP -- NO ARMS, NO AMMUNITION. WHEN IT GETS TO SINGAPORE, THE WORLD WILL BE INVITED TO SEE WHAT IT CARRIES AND TO SEE THESE MEN."
ON BOARD THE SHIP WERE 107 TRUCKLOADS OF COMMERCIAL CARGO, 90 EMPTY CONTAINERS AND 77 LOADS OF MILITARY CARGO.
THE MILITARY CARGO INCLUDED TWO LOADS OF MAIL; THREE LOADS OF COMMISSARY SUPPLIES, SUCH AS SHAVING CREAM AND SOAP; THREE LOADS OF SUBSISTENCE SUPPLIES TO AMERICAN MILITARY FORCES, SUCH AS REFRIGERATED MEAT; 26 LOADS OF PARTS AND REPLACEMENT EQUIPMENT; 38 LOADS OF LIQUOR, BEER, SODA POP AND OTHER PX ITEMS.
UPI 05-16 04:29 AED

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GAYLER 5-16
WITH VESSEL
BY KAY LYNCH
HONOLULU (UPI) -- ADM. NOEL GAYLER SAID THURSDAY THAT AMERICA'S AGGRESSIVE ACTION TO FREE THE MAYAGUEZ WOULD CONVINCE CAMBODIA'S KHMER ROUGE REGIME TO REFRAIN FROM COMMITTING "ANOTHER OUTRAGE" ON THE HIGH SEAS.
GAYLER, THE PACIFIC FORCES COMMANDER, SAID THE CAPTURE OF THE MERCHANTMAN WAS ONLY ONE OF A HALF DOZEN SUCH INCIDENTS IN RECENT DAYS.
THE AMERICAN RETALIATION, HE ADDED, WOULD PROTECT NOT ONLY THE UNITED STATES BUT OTHER NATIONS FROM "SUCH HIGH-HANDED INTERFERENCE WITH PASSAGE OF THOSE WHOSE INTENT IS PEACEFUL USE OF THE SEA."
ADMIRAL GAYLER SAID AT LEAST TWO VESSELS, ONE SWEDISH AND ONE KOREAN, HAD BEEN FIRED UPON AND FOUR OTHERS HAD BEEN INTERCEPTED IN RECENT WEEKS.
HE SAID CAMBODIAN AIRCRAFT AND GUNBOATS WERE ORDERED DESTROYED AND SUNK TO DO AWAY WITH ANY INTERFERENCE WITH THE MAYAGUEZ RESCUE AND "TO INHIBIT THEIR CAPACITY TO PULL ANOTHER OUTRAGE LIKE THIS ON THE HIGH SEAS.
"ANYWAY, THE 17 PLANES DESTROYED AT REAM WERE REALLY AMERICAN AIRCRAFT WHICH HAD FALLEN INTO CAMBODIAN HANDS."
HE ADDED THE UNITED STATES HAD APPLIED "MEASURED FORCE" IN ACHIEVING ITS OBJECTIVE, THE SAFE RETURN OF THE MAYAGUEZ AND HER CREW.
RESPONDING TO QUESTIONING ON A PEKING CHARGE THAT AMERICANS HAD COMMITTED "AN ACT OF PIRACY" IN RETAKING THE MAYAGUEZ, GAYLER SAID THERE WAS "NO QUESTION SHE WAS AN INNOCENT MERCHANT SHIP ON AN INNOCENT CHARTER, STOPPED IN VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. THE KHMER ROUGE SPECIALIZE IN THE BIG LIE AND THEY HAVE ATTEMPTED IT AGAIN IN THIS INSTANCE."
GAYLER SAID HE WAS CERTAIN FORCE WAS NECESSARY BECAUSE "WE HAD DIRECT EVIDENCE THE RELEASE OF THE CREW WAS RELATED TO THE CAMBODIAN AWARENESS OF FIRM ACTIONS WE HAD PLANNED."
GAYLER SAID RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THAILAND MAY HAVE BEEN STRAINED BY THE INCIDENT BUT HE BELIEVED THE UNITED STATES "HAS HAD A LONGSTANDING HISTORY OF RELATIONS WITH THE THAIS BASED ON FRIENDSHIP AND MUTUALITY" AND SAID HE WAS CERTAIN THIS RELATIONSHIP WOULD RESUME IN DUE TIME.
NAVY SPOKESMEN TOLD UPI THAT FIVE MERCHANT VESSELS HAD BEEN INTERCEPTED IN INTERNATIONAL WATERS OFF CAMBODIA BY THE KHMER ROUGE IN THE PAST TWO WEEKS. TWO GROUPS OF THAI AND SOUTH VIETNAMESE BOATS HAVE ALSO BEEN CAPTURED, THEY SAID.
UPI 05-16 04:36 AED

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CURRENT NEWS

PART II - MAIN EDITION - 1130

THIS SUPPLEMENTS PART I-EARLY BIRD EDITION

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THURSDAY, MAY 15, 1975

WASHINGTON POST - 15 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

U.S. Marines Recapture Seized Merchant Ship

By Michael Getler and Carroll Kilpatrick
Washington Post Staff Writers

U.S. armed forces recaptured an American merchant ship and recovered all its 40 crew members last night as Marines fought their way onto tiny Tang Island against opposition from Cambodian forces.

President Ford announced the successful recovery to the nation shortly before 12:30 a.m. today. He praised the "valor and sacrifice" of the troops that carried out the operation.

The Pentagon said early this morning that no total of U.S. casualties was available, but it was reliably reported that at least four of the 12 Air Force helicopters went down during the initial landings on Tang Island and the destroyer escort USS Holt.

Shortly after 10:30 p.m. Washington time, the U.S. destroyer Wilson reported sighting a small boat flying white flags. At 11:15 p.m., Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger called Mr. Ford with the news that the small boat held about 30 of the 40 crewmen and that they were safely boarding the Wilson.

It was still not clear early this morning whether the crewmen were released by Cambodian forces or were rescued.

Later it was learned that all the crew members were safe, presumably all of them found aboard the small boat, and that five Thai citizens had also been recovered. They were presumed to be the crew of a Thai fishing boat captured several days ago by the Cambodians.

At 11:09 p.m., U.S. fighter-bombers from the aircraft carrier Coral Sea launched air strikes against the airfield at Ream near the Cambodian port of Kompong Som. Mr. Ford said air strikes were made against "nearby military installations."

Presidential press spokesman Ron Nessen acknowledged that there were "some casualties" among the U.S. Marines and other forces. One helicopter crashed on Tang Island and two at sea. A fourth went down on the coast of Thailand and a fifth, according to informed sources, landed safely in Thailand but was badly damaged by gunfire.

In announcing the safe recovery of the Mayaguez and its crew early this morning, President Ford said: "The forces that have successfully accomplished this mission are still under hostile fire and are preparing to disengage."

Sources indicated that U.S. air strikes against the Cambodian mainland had been halted.

Mr. Ford said: "I wish to express my deep appreciation and that of the entire nation to the units and the men who participated in these operations for their valor and for their sacrifice."

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BALTIMORE SUN - 15 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Angry Thailand calls ship sinkings 'piracy'

Bangkok, Thailand (AP) —Long-time allies Thailand and the United States faced off yesterday over the sinking of three Cambodian gunboats by the U.S. and the 1,100 American marines flown here as part of efforts to free a merchant ship captured by Cambodia.

An angry Foreign Ministry official, learning that the Cambodian boats had been sunk by U.S. planes flown from Thai bases, said it was "piracy" and "madness—an action taken with no thought for the consequences to Thailand."

And Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj demanded that the marines be removed by this morning, without citing an hour. Otherwise, he threatened "drastic action."

"What if Cambodia decides to retaliate?" asked the ministry official. "It cannot retaliate against the Americans; they are too far away. But it can retaliate against Thailand, which is right next door.

"The United States must pay for whatever consequences follow from this."

The Thai military command, which clears all international military flights in and out of the country, apparently was notified in advance of the arrival of the marines. But a communication gap has existed between the government and the military since the military dictatorship was overthrown in October, 1973.

Prime Minister Kukrit de-

See SHIP, Pg. 3

NEW YORK TIMES
15 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

VIOLENCE IN LAOS

By DAVID A. ANDELMAN
Special to The New York Times

VIENTIANE, Laos, May 14—Anti-American demonstrators ransacked United States mission buildings in the cities of Luang Prabang and Savannakhet today, and embassy officials here said that as a result, the evacuation of Americans scheduled to leave later in the year would begin at once.

At Savannakhet, in central Laos, three American employes of the United States Agency for International Development were reportedly seized during the demonstrations and held in the home of the provincial governor.

Here in Vientiane, the American chargé d'affaires, Christian A. Chapman, filed a formal protest with the Laotian Government headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma and demanded police protection for Americans and American installations.

Pathet Lao's Gains

The Communist-led Pathet Lao, which shares the coalition Government with Vientiane rightists but has been growing substantially in power in recent weeks, has for some time been calling for the removal of Americans from provincial

See LAOS, Pg. 3

JAMES KILLINGBECK, CHIEF, CURRENT NEWS BRANCH, OX 78765 HELEN YOUNG, ASSISTANT CHIEF
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U. S. MARINES ... CONTINUED

The President reached the decision on final plans for the military operation during a lengthy mid-afternoon meeting with the National Security Council.

Nessen said the "military operations were well under way before" the United States received the first Cambodian government statement on the incident since the Mayaguez was seized Monday—an offer to return the ship.

But the two-pronged assault had already successfully recaptured the Mayaguez with Marines who were helicoptered to the destroyer escort USS Holt and then stormed over the rail when the Holt drew alongside the freighter.

Other Marines, flying in helicopters from bases in Thailand, landed on three-mile-long Tang Island under fire from Cambodians.

Jet fighter-bombers from the U.S. aircraft carrier Coral Sea also attacked the island in support of the Marines.

The first Cambodian announcement came in the form of a communique read over radio by Information Minister Hu Nim at 7:07 p.m. Washington time in the 19-minute broadcast, he said, according to an unofficial translation.

"Based on the position that we are unwilling to provoke any dispute, and as a peace-loving people, we will release that ship . . . but we will not allow the U.S. imperialists to violate or spy in our territorial waters. We will not allow them to threaten us to release the ship at any specific time."

The U.S. Marine operation against the island had begun about 6:30 p.m. Washington time.

The White House announced it had sent the following urgent message to Cambodian authorities after the Marine operation was under way and after Washington had received the Cambodian offer to return the Mayaguez.

"We have heard a radio broadcast that you are prepared to release the SS Mayaguez. We welcome this development if true.

"As you know, we have seized the ship. As soon as you issue a statement that you are prepared to release the crew members that you hold, unconditionally and immediately, we will promptly cease military operations."

A White House spokesman gave no indication how the message was sent to the Cambodian government with which the United States has no relations and which has kept itself sealed off from the outside world since conquering Phnom Penh April 17.

The official confirmation that the United States had retaken the Mayaguez and landed Marines on Tang Island came from the White House at 9:15 last night, Washington time.

White House press secretary Ron Nessen made the dramatic announcement as President Ford, described as weary from a long two days of crisis meetings, was having dinner with the Prime Minister of the Netherlands, Johannes Den Uyl.

The Marine operation came hours after U.S. Air Force warplanes destroyed three Cambodian patrol boats.

American A-7 jets and AC-130 gunships operating from bases in Thailand strafed the patrol boats after there were "indications that the Cambodians appeared to be attempting to move captive American crewmen from the ship and the island to the mainland," the Pentagon said.

The Mayaguez crewmen are known to have been taken off their ship to the island soon after their capture and the Marines were seeking to rescue any still on the island.

Despite the attempts to move crew members to the Cambodian mainland, 34 miles away, Defense Department sources said late yesterday, as the Marine attack was getting underway, that they "thought" most of the crewmen were still on the island, but they were not certain.

Defense Department spokesman Joseph Laitin acknowledged that one of the roughly seven or eight Cambodian patrol boats in the area succeeded in getting to Kompong Som on the mainland. Senior officials also said this boat appeared to carry about 40 passengers and that U.S. pilots thought they saw some "Caucasian faces" aboard and may have chosen not to fire on that boat when those faces were sighted.

Though officials concede that from a military standpoint there are very few significant targets in a rural country like Cambodia—even more so after the new Communist rulers have dispersed the urban population into the countryside—plans for either bombing of airfields or mining of ports have been considered, it was learned.

In moving the Marines directly from Thailand onto the USS Holt and the island, the United States may well have complied with a demand by the nervous government of Thailand to get the Marines out of the country fast. On the other hand, by moving the Marines virtually into direct combat from those bases, the United States appeared to be disregarding a Thai demand that it not use Marines from its bases to take back the captured ship by force.

A Thai Foreign Ministry official called the earlier sinking of gunboats an act of "madness—taken with no thought for the consequences to Thailand," the Associated Press reported.

Meanwhile, the United States, which had virtually no forces except airplanes in the vicinity of the Cambodian coast when the incident took place last Monday, is now building up a sizable force.

Aside from the Coral Sea, destroyers and some 1,100 Marines, another attack carrier, the Hancock, was steaming toward the area and a helicopter carrier, the Okinawa, with more Marines aboard, was also heading for the Gulf of Siam. The Okinawa and the Hancock were thought to still be about a day's sailing time away.

In addition, there were indications that Air Force tankers for mid-air refueling were being moved from their regular bases and that some other warplanes at bases in Japan and on Guam were at least being placed in a higher state of readiness.

In describing the attack on the patrol boats, the Pentagon first said that in addition to the three boats reportedly destroyed, four others were damaged and immobilized. Later, however, Laitin said there wasn't enough information to verify that four had been damaged.

The entire outbreak of firing at the patrol boats—which began late Tuesday night Washington time, Wednesday morning Cambodian time, is still somewhat confusing. Pentagon sources say apparently some of the vessels were coming out from Kompong Som, others were heading into the port, and one or two others may have been hiding in coves.

Laitin said that U.S. planes, prior to their attack on the boats, had been receiving small-arms fire from the Cambodian boats. Laitin said that after giving warning (presumably by shots across the bow) the U.S. planes attacked in an effort to block the movement of the captive crewmen to the mainland.

Yet, the vessel which may have had crewmen aboard wasn't stopped. Some Pentagon sources said they were confident that there were no Americans on the ships that were destroyed. Others said they were not completely confident.

The Cambodian statement, monitored in Bangkok, said, according to United Press International

"On May 12, at 2 p.m., our patrol ship spotted a large ship headed towards our territorial waters.

"The ship continued on its way deeper into Khmer territorial waters, passing Poulo Wai Island, about four or five kilometers to the east. Our patrol ship then intercepted the ship to investigate and report to higher authority. While investigating them, two F-105S circled over the ship the entire day. Since dawn of May 13, four to six F-105 and F-111 continued to fly over Poulo Wai Island, Tang Island and in the area of the port of Sihanoukville (Kompong Som)."

Hu Nim said the Mayaguez deliberately entered the territorial waters of Cambodia.

"We are sure that it was not by error in navigation because the American ship has electronic radar and modern, scientific equipment," he said. "It was a violation of our territorial waters—spying, in order to cheat world opinion and to accuse Cambodia of provoking a dispute."

"The Ford administration must be responsible, before Cambodia and her people, before the people of the world, as well as before the American people and their politicians, for their acts of spying and violations of Cambodian territorial integrity."

The broadcast was apparently made by Hu Nim when the Khmer Rouge thought they were still in control of the ship.

". . . for the Mayaguez, we have no intention of keeping it indefinitely or to provoke any dispute," Hu Nim said. "What we want to find out is what the ship's intention was and we want to warn them not to violate our territorial waters in the future.

"It is for this reason that our patrol ships intercepted the Mayaguez. To investigate their intention and report to higher authorities for a decision to allow it to leave Cambodian territorial waters, and to warn them not to spy and provoke disputes, as we did with another ship, flying the Panamanian flag, which was released by us on May 9."

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 15 May 1975
NEW YORK TIMES - 15 MAY 1975 Pg. 3

Gromyko Chides Kissinger on Large Defense Budget

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, May 14—Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko today rebuked Secretary of State Kissinger for having defended an increased American military budget while at the same time advocating the relaxation of tension between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Mr. Gromyko, who is scheduled to meet Mr. Kissinger in Vienna Monday, asserted in an apparent departure from a prepared text that the two positions, laid out by Mr. Kissinger in a speech at St. Louis this week, "do not quite jibe."

The Soviet minister said Mr. Kissinger's speech Monday contained "a number of correct statements"—that détente with the Soviet Union should be pursued and that President Ford should seek to lessen the danger of nuclear war.

But he said the Secretary had also criticized Americans who opposed inflated military budgets.

"Those two things—a sympathetic attitude toward détente and an increase in military budgets—do not quite jibe, to put it mildly," Mr. Gromyko declared.

The Soviet Foreign Minister also criticized Mr. Kissinger's step-by-step approach toward a Middle East solution, contending that it was a step back rather than forward.

In what appeared to be a hardening of the Soviet line toward Israel, Mr. Gromyko contended that Israel could obtain a "sufficient guarantee" of its interests provided she recognized the right of the Palestinians to create their own state and withdrew from occupied Arab territory.

Mr. Gromyko leveled the criticism in a speech delivered today on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Warsaw pact, the military alliance of the Soviet bloc.

Western diplomats were puzzled why the traditionally cautious Foreign Minister chose to fault Mr. Kissinger publicly five days before their meeting, making their expected discussion of arms reduction and other issues more difficult.

It was suggested that Mr. Gromyko may have been articulating indirectly some of the Kremlin's dissatisfaction with the reported deadlock last week at Geneva in working out a satisfactory new Soviet-American strategic arms limitation agreement before the visit that Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Soviet leader, plans to make to Washington this year.

It was also possible that the Foreign Minister may have learned of the American sinking of three Cambodian gunboats and was venting his emotions. The remarks taking Mr. Kissinger to task were not included in the official text of the speech circulated by the official press agency Tass.

Mr. Gromyko was more conciliatory toward Israel only three weeks ago when he told the visiting Syrian Foreign Minister, added Abdel Halim Khaddam, that Moscow was preoffer the "Strictest guarantees" of Israel's existence as an independent state.

The edge in Mr. Gromyko's remarks on the Middle East possibly reflected Soviet uneasiness about President Anwar el-Sadat's willingness to leave the way open to partial measures outside the peace conference on the Middle East that the Soviet Union is trying to convene at Geneva.

It also indicated Moscow's frustrations with both Israeli attitudes and continuing Arab disunity at a time when Moscow has been pressing to prepare a conference that will have some hope of success.

Mr. Gromyko said the Soviet Union was ready to do its part to advance detente with the United States. He singled out Mr. Brezhnev's expected visit to the United States as "an exceptionally important and major undertaking" that has significance "for Soviet-american relations and for the world in general."

However, the Soviet minister contended that Moscow would advance its relationship with Washington "on an equal, equal and only equal basis."

LAOS ... CONTINUED

areas. But the leftist s have stopped short of demanding a full pullout of the American aid program, which has amounted to $27-million a year. A.I.D. administers American foreign aid abroad.

According to United States Embassy officials here and to witnesses in the two Laotian cities, the ransacking was done by crowds of students.

In the royal capital of Luang Prabang, north-central Laos, students entered the Agency for International Development compound and broke windows, smashed desks and threw typewriters out of the building.

Savannakhet Contact Is Lost

In Savannakhet, students marched on that city's A.I.D. compound. As they reached the walls, the mission's radio transmitter failed, cutting off the compound from the outside world. Communications remained cut through the night.

American embassy officials in Vientiane said it was believed that no one had been injured in either attack.

It was not known here whether the three Americans held in Savannakhet were hostages, were free to leave or were simply remaining as evidence of what one embassy official characterized as "good faith." Laotian Government officials immediately sent a joint Pathet Lao-Vientiane rightist negotiating team to the city.

American embassy officials said that while some Americans were leaving because of the anti-American actions, a full-scale evacuation had not yet begun.

Evacuations of Americans from provincial areas to Vientiane have, however, begun. By nightfall all but two American officials and one American private citizen had left Luang Prabang. Two A.I.D. officials reportedly remained in the royal capital, but were said not to have been in the compound at the time of the attack.

American officials here said that predictions of such a demonstration had been persistent in Luang Prabang since the weekend, and that evacuations to Vientiane were ordered on Monday. The last Americans reportedly left about noon today, or four hours after the attack began.

Identities Are Withheld

There had been no indications in Savannakhet that any demonstrations were in prospect, and no evacuations were reported. The identities of the three Americans being held there were withheld by the embassy here. Beside those Americans, there are 13 more in Savannakhet, two with official status. Most of the rest are dependents.

British sources said that their embassy here was believed to be considering ways of evacuating British subjects from Luang Prabang.

As the demonstrations were going on, so was a meeting of the Laotian Cabinet, at which the vacancies created last Friday by the resignations of four rightist ministers and a rightist deputy minister were reportedly considered and replacements named.

Those resignations were prompted largely by a demonstration of students and teachers Friday in Vientiane against rising prices and foreign economic influences. Some of the demonstrators stoned the United States Embassy and briefly invaded the embassy compound, attempting to haul down the American flag. They weer dispersed by Government policemen.

Half an hour before today's cabinet meeting was to begin, Mr. Chapman, the American chargé, met with Premier Souvanna Phouma, and later an American official said Mr Chapman had "reminded" the Government of its assurances of protection for Americans.

SHIP ..... CONTINUED

livered a formal protest note to U.S. charge d'affaires, Edward E. Masters, demanding the removal of the marines from the territory of America's only remaining ally on the Southeast Asian mainland. He told newsmen the incident violated Thailand's sovereignty.

The State Department in Washington said the U.S. Embassy in Bangkok was in "diplomatic contact" with Thai officials about the protest, but spokesman Robert Funseth refused to disclose the content of the discussions.

The United States has 25,000 troops regularly stationed in Thailand, which the neutralist-leaning Bangkok government wants out within a year. The United States has committed itself to reducing the force by 28 per cent in the next two months.

Charles S. Whitehouse, the new U.S. ambassador to Thailand, also uninformed about the dispatch of the marines, flew into Bangkok to take up his post and was met by 40 or 50 students yelling: "American go home" and carrying signs such as: "Bastard Ford, Get Your Troops Out."

Mr Whitehouse walked, nodding and smiling, between the ranks of the students and issued a prepared statement saying that he hopes to further "friendship and co-operation between our two peoples in the months ahead."

Mr. Kukrit summoned Mr Masters yesterday and handed him a note saying that the marine incident "is not consistent with the goodwill existing between Thailand and the United States."

"Unless these forces which have entered against the wishes of Thailand are withdrawn immediately, the good relations and co-operation existing between Thailand and the United States would be exposed to serious and damaging consequences," the note added.

Meanwhile, Hanoi Radio said the new government of South Vietnam had dispatched a diplomatic mission to Thailand, the first known diplomatic mission it has sent to a non-Communist country since the Viet Cong captured Saigon. It said the delegation, headed by Nguyen Minh Phuong, would take over the old regime's Bangkok embassy and "retrieve" aircraft and ships taken to Thailand by Vietnamese refugees.

A week ago, the U.S., with Thai military acquiescence, removed more than 100 of the best aircraft that Vietnamese refugees had used to flee Saigon, but it halted the removal and left an undetermined number here after the Thai government protested.

The planes were supplied by the United States, but the new revolutionary government in Saigon claims the planes and says America has no right to them because all U.S. war equipment was supposed to have been removed from Vietnam under the 1973 Paris peace agreement.

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NEW YORK TIMES - 15 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Washington Silent on the Thai Protest

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 14— The United States Government maintained silence today about a Thai protest against the dispatch of 1,100 marines to Thailand for possible use in rescuing an American merchant ship seized by Cambodians.

The State Department and the White House refused to comment on the note demanding an immediate withdrawal of the marines. All that was said officially was that discussions were going on in Bangkok to resolve the matter.

But privately, State Department officials said that if the Pentagon's plans for deploying the marines aboard the carrier Coral Sea went as schéduled they should be out of Thailand soon, perhaps tomorrow.

American officials said the marines had to be sent to Thailand to get them from Okinawa quickly to the Gulf of Siam where the American container ship Mayagüez had been seized. Presumably with the Coral Sea now entering the area they can be ferried by helicopter to the carrier.

There was sympathey for the problem Thailand faced because of the entry of the marines. In recent months Bangkok has sought to adopt a more neutral attitude in Southeast Asia.

Premier Kukrit Pramoj, in a note delivered to the American Embassy, said the dispatch of the marines was "not consistent with the good will existing between Thailand and the United States."

The note said unless they were pulled out immediately, the good relations and cooperation "would be exposed to serious and damaging consequences."

State Department officials said Mr. Kukrit had no alternative but to make a protest in view of his efforts to seek better relations with China and North Vietnam and to avoid antagonizing the new Cambodian Government.

But some officials said they believed that the protests coming from Thailand would soon be forgotten because the Thais also did not want to sever their relations with Washington, their major ally for the last 20 years.

The Thais said they had not received any advance warning of the dispatch of the marines to the American-operated, but Thai-owned air base at U Taphao.

American officals would not confirm this, and one official said "Obviously Kukrit would have preferred that there would be no publicity about this."

The United States and Thailand are allies under the 1954 accord that established the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization, a now moribnd organization. Under the treaty, the United States was obligated to "Act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes" if Thailand or any other of the treaty area states was a victim of aggression. The other members were Australia, Britain, France, New Zealand and the Philippines.

In 1962, the United States affirmed its obligation to Thailand in a communiqué signed by Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Foreign Minister Thanat Khomin.

Six Air Bases Used

Beginning in 1964, the United States began to upgrade air base facilities with Thailand's permission, and by the time the Vietnam cease-fire accords were signed, Americans were using six Thai air bases.

In 1973 there were about 46,000 Americans stationed in Thailand. Now the figure is closer to 25,000, with extensive cuts planned for the next few months as part of the Thai Government's efforts to reduce the American presence.

The dispatch of any American forces has to be cleared formally with the Thai Government under the base accords, and the Thais were supposed to approve the targets of air strikes mounted from Thailand.

Thus, the Thai Government was supposed to have approved the dispatch of the marines to Thailand yesterday.

The Thais have always been sensitive to suggestions that they are not masters of their own fate. They have not sought publicity about the bases, and it has been difficult for American newsmen to visit the bases.

This sensitivity was strengthened with the overthrow of the military-led government last year and the rise to power of a civilian regime. The Government, now led by Premier Kukpit, seeks the left-wing parties that have sought the complete withdrawal of Americans.

Mr. Kukrit's moderate Social Action party ran fifth among the 22 parties represented in last January's elections. He himself was a newspaper publisher and columnist, who played the role of an Asian Premier in the movie "The Ugly American" in real life, he became Premier on platform calling for teh withdrawal of American forces in a year.

The Thais contend that their security now lies in making friends with China and alleviating concern in North Vietnam about their policies. At the same time, the Thais want to continue receiving Amercian aid.

Some American officials said a strong stand by the United States in the Cambodian seizure might actually reassure the Thais even though protests would be made.

BALTIMORE SUN - 15 MAY 1975 Pg. 4

Soviet assails Kissinger on detente

Moscow Bureau of The Sun

Moscow—Andrei A. Gromyko, the Soviet foreign minister, attacked Henry A. Kissinger, the United States Secretary of State, for his policy of a "tougher detente" in a hard-hitting speech here yesterday.

The Soviet minister also criticized sharply Mr. Kissinger's efforts to mediate a Middle East settlement, calling his step-by-step approach "a step-by-step movement away from a settlement," and he warned against any resumption of the mediation effort.

Mr Gromyko said that the Soviet Union is ready and anxious for a further improvement of relations with the U.S., particularly a new agreement limiting strategic arms.

But he stressed that Moscow will not compromise its principles for "passing, temporary interests" and will remain loyal to its Warsaw Pact allies and its commitments in the Middle East, Indochina and Latin America.

Mr Gromyko spoke at a meeting marking the 20th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact, the Soviet-led military and political alliance of six other East European countries.

He departed from his prepared text to answer directly Mr. Kissinger's recent foreign policy speeches in which the American secretary of state outlined a tougher, more hard-headed approach to relations with the Soviet Union and China following American setbacks in Southeast Asia.

Referring specifically to Secretary Kissinger's speech Monday in St. Louis, Mr. Gromyko attacked Mr. Kissinger's criticism of those calling for reductions in military spending, particularly new weapons.

"To put it mildly, those two things—a sympathetic attitude toward detente and an increase in military budgets—just do not go together," Mr. Gromyko said.

The Soviet foreign minister expressed Moscow's concern that Washington is trying now to revive its efforts to mediate a Middle East settlement or new troop disengagement.

A return to the step-by-step approach, he warned, would be "a serious mistake," and he added that any support it gets from Arabs, chiefly Egypt, is due to "a plain misunderstanding" of where it will lead.

In an apparent reference to American congressional efforts to force the Soviet Union to increase Jewish emigration, Mr. Gromyko declared, "equally, equally and only equally are we ready to continue our business with the United States in the interests of people of both countries as well as in the interest of strengthening peace."

The Soviet Union, he said, "will never sacrifice the sovereignty and dignity of our state, the principles of our socialist foreign policy, the interests of our allies in the Warsaw Pact to passing, temporary interests."

Mr. Gromyko is due to hold two days of talks with Mr. Kissinger in Vienna next week, and his remarks yesterday inevitably will color those negotiations on strategic arms limitation, the Middle East and the European Security Conference.

WASHINGTON POST - 15 MAY 1975 Pg. 14

Ford: 'Entire Crew Has Been Rescued'

President Ford, early today made a brief statement to announce the rescue of the U.S. merchant ship Mayaguez and its crew members:

At my direction, United States forces tonight boarded the American merchant ship SS Mayaguez and landed at the island of Koh Tang for the purpose of rescuing the crew and the ship, which had been illegally seized by Cambodian forces. They also conducted supporting strikes against near-by military operations, or military installations.

I have now received information that the vessel has been recovered intact and the entire crew has been rescued.

The forces that have successfully accomplished this mission are still under hostile fire and are preparing to disengage.

I wish to express my deep appreciation and that of the entire nation to the units and the men who participated in these operations for their valor and for their sacrifice.

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EDITORIALS

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
15 MAY 1975

If Thailand doesn't want us—

Until the sinking of several Cambodian gunboats by American planes Wednesday, the loudest sounds coming from that area were Thailand's protests at being involved in American efforts to get the freighter Mayaguez and its crew back from the Cambodians who had pirated it on the high seas.

Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj on Wednesday demanded the withdrawal of United States Marines sent to American bases in Thailand. Earlier he had warned that, if the Marines were sent there, "we cannot be friends with the United States any more. . . . We will not allow the American troops to use our soil for any war. We have enough trouble with our Asian neighbors as it is. . . . I have made myself absolutely clear."

He certainly has. Of course it is possible that he turned up the volume on his protest for the benefit of his Communist neighbors and that he was willing to cooperate with the United States when his hand was over the microphone. But as matters stand, we must assume that he was sincere.

If so, we cannot quarrel with Thailand's right to make its own decisions. But the prime minister and his people should understand that the decision has long range implications, too.

If Thailand does not want to be involved in maintaining international law and order when the rights of Americans are violated by its unruly neighbors, can it continue to count on our help if that unruliness should later be directed against itself? After all, the Communists have long been a threat to Thailand. A rebellion among Vietnamese in the northeastern part of the country is supported by Hanoi; insurgents in the south are supported by Communist China. And relations with the Khmers of Cambodia have never been good.

Perhaps the Thais think that by dissociating themselves from the United States, they can dissipate these threats and survive as a free and independent people. And who knows? They may be right.

But judging from history, the prospects are not encouraging. Laos is the most recent evidence that neutralists are not immune to Communist designs.

So Thailand may find that in making a decision for itself today, it has helped to make a decision for the United States tomorrow, if it chooses to chart its own course, without reference to others, then it will be in a poor position to expect help from the American people and Congress under the SEATO agreement if that course should lead it onto the rocks.

NEW YORK TIMES 15 MAY 1975

Right of Rescue

Once established diplomatic procedures had failed to achieve prompt recovery of the seized American merchant ship Mayagüez and its crew from Cambodian naval forces, President Ford had no alternative but to employ direct military means to protect American lives and property. There will be time and occasion later to examine the many unanswered questions about the whole incident; the immediate point is that no responsible government can tolerate capricious interference with its shipping in international waters. We are assuming, of course, that the Mayagüez is exactly what it appears to be—a merchant vessel on a normal commercial run.

The Ford Administration showed proper restraint in the early aftermath of the ship's seizure, in attempting diplomatic interventions rather than rushing into the immediate reprisal urged by some unthinking United States Senators. Even now, the sole United States purpose should be to retrieve the vessel and crew, not to "punish" or retaliate by a massive show of force against Cambodia.

A quite different set of issues, however, is raised by the Administration's dispatch of Marines to a base in Thailand over the protests of the Thai Government. Here it may be that the United States has infringed upon another nation's sovereign rights; however that legal point is resolved, the Administration's action threatens to shatter whatever was left of American-Thai cooperation in Southeast Asia.

BALTIMORE SUN
15 MAY 1975

Mr. Ford's Own Crisis

The Ford presidency has been bedeviled since its inception with one inherited crisis after another —the legal fate of Richard Nixon, the plunge into recession, the collapse of American power in Indochina Debate has been intense over Mr. Ford's handling of each of these problems, but in every instance criticism has been muted by sympathy for a straight-forward man suddenly burdened by the world's troubles The Mayaguez incident is something quite different Though its roots lie deep in the past, it has explosively sprouted in Mr Ford's own time This crisis is his as surely as the Bay of Pigs was John F Kennedy's, despite Eisenhower administration mistakes in Cuba.

If it is any comfort to Mr Ford, the present confrontation with revolutionary Cambodia could hardly turn out more disastrously than the Cuban adventure—which was initiated by the United States—at least not in terms of prestige damaged. Yet Mr. Kennedy emerged a more respected leader for having admitted his mistakes with a rare and heartening candor As of this writing, Mr Ford does not have to admit anything Nor should he The President is dealing hour to hour with an extraordinarily dangerous situation—one that may well determine whether the American posture in the post-Vietnam era is to be one of distorting outrage toward small tormentors or of cool pursuit of global policies worthy of a great power The stakes are large indeed, not only on the scene in Southeast Asia, but in determining the country's attitude toward Mr. Ford and his quest for a full White House term.

Our initial reaction to the President's sending marines to Thailand without so much as a by-your-leave to the troubled, nervous government in Bangkok was decidedly negative. Only a week ago, this newspaper said the United States should be "exceedingly discreet" in dealing with friendly Asian governments that have reason to fear neighboring Communist regimes. Instead, we were exceedingly indiscreet—so much so that we may have done permanent damage to Thailand's potential as a "neutralist" buffer state among the competing interests of North Vietnam, China, the Soviet Union and the United States in Southeast Asia. But despite our critical view of the affront to Thailand, it is important to keep in mind that Mr. Ford's immediate objective was one all Americans could support: freeing the Mayaguez, a U.S. merchant ship, and its crew.

This was a difficult, complicated task given the logistics of the situation, the uncertain impulses of the Cambodian revolutionaries and the strong tide running in the United States for resolute action after all the humiliations of recent weeks. Obviously there were many factors beyond Mr. Ford's personal control. Yet as President he will be held responsible for the manner and effectiveness with which he applied U.S. power Toughness is tempting, as the direct military action to recover the ship and crew indicates. But in the end Mr. Ford will have be to judged not on gestures but on results, and thus on the way he leads the United States into the post-Vietnam era. As a man seeking the presidency in his own right, he should not want it otherwise.

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WINCHESTER, VA. EVENING STAR 12 MAY 1975 (15)

The Korean Issue

Victory can be a pretty heady thing. North Vietnam, with its arsenal of newly captured U.S. weaponry, suddenly is in the role of the communist spokesman for Eastern Asia.

"Get out of Korea," was the message from North Vietnam to the U.S. early last week. The North Vietnamese used the same tired phrases such as "U.S. imperialist aggressor forces" and promised an even heavier defeat for the "Ford clique" if America does not change its policy and withdraw all troops and weapons from South Korea "at an early date."

They were attacking a statement by Defense Secretary James Schlesinger at a news conference that South Korea was a forward defense area of the U.S. and that American forces will stay even after the South Korean army completes its modernization program.

The action that began June 25, 1950, when North Korea attacked its southern neighbor, is called the Korean Conflict and a United Nations Police Action. But anyone who was there can testify that it was a war, and to a large degree an American one.

Now, nearly a generation after U.S. forces became involved, there are 38,000 to 40,000 American military personnel there. Seldom in more recent years has much been heard about what some call a blackwater area of Asia. But it was far from that when Americans struggled in the shrinking perimeter around Pusan, went ashore from the Yellow Sea at Inchon in an action that cleared the south of the invader, or retreated through the snow from the Yalu River when the communist Chinese intervened.

But the invaders understood power. And after needlessly long negotiations the guns fell silent and a line was drawn. The country remained partitioned.

The whole matter of the partition, as applied in this century, raises some serious questions. Partition has generally not worked well. The main reason for this is that it is meant in most cases to be only an interim solution, to get adversaries to stop shooting and start talking. And yet it seems to be the policy to allow the arrangement to become permanent. And often at some point there is another price to pay, such as lives, treasure, prestige and failure of policy.

Divided Berlin festers, in spite of what wishful thinkers calll detente. Although quiet, it always contains the seeds of miscalculation. It is where the raw nerve ends of East and West touch. We are witnessing the trouble that "two Irelands" has brought. Cyprus could be heading toward a type of partition. And of course Korea remains divided. Most of all, we have just had a nasty lesson on the results of a partition in Indo-China.

Now that the North Vitnamese have brought it up, the U.S. probably should take a look at Korea. But certainly not because they said so. Are we to keep troops there idefinitely? According to Mr. Schlesinger we certainly will for the forseeable future. But at some point there must be a settlement.

The U.S. is going to have to decide quickly where its interests lie in Asia. In doing so it could well consider Korea, but for far different reasons than the North Vietnamese mention.

KANSAS CITY TIMES
28 APRIL 1975 (15 MAY)

For Korea It's a Different Story

Korea is not Vietnam and 1975 is not 1950. Yet here is Kim Il Sung, then as now the leader of North Korea, warning the United States to withdraw all its troops from South Korea and threatening to reunite the country by force.

Kim's remarks were made at a state banquet in Peking. He congratulated the Cambodian Communists on their victory and sought to relate conditions in Cambodia and South Vietnam to those in Korea. It is a comparison that does not stand up under analysis.

For one thing, the United States maintains its defense commitment to South Korea with a considerable military presence. There are 37,000 U.S. troops on the scene. They are there both symbolically and to act as a "trip wire" in case of a North Korean invasion. The 15,000 soldiers of the U.S. 2nd Infantry Division guard the only two important invasion routes to Seoul. The infiltration methods that have worked so well for the North Vietnamese cannot be duplicated in Korea, which is a rather narrow peninsula and does not have jungle vegetation to conceal invading guerrillas.

Moreover, the 600,000 men in South Korea's armed forces are well trained and fairly well equipped. They do not even faintly resemble the South Korean army that was overwhelmed by North Korea's Soviet tanks in the summer of 1950. South Korean divisions were rebuilt and were giving a strong account of themselves when the armistice was signed in the summer of 1953. Communist China had entered the war but only because U.S. forces had smashed through North Korea all the way to the Yalu River bordering Chinese Manchuria.

Peking and Moscow were allies then, but not any longer. The Chinese are much more concerned about their long and nervous border with the Soviet Union than about the expansionist ambitions of the Kim Il Sung regime. The North Koreans have a jet air force now, but so does South Korea, plus the advantage of a 33-million population compared to the 15 million in North Korea.

If Kim Il Sung were to strike again and without the early advantages he enjoyed in his 1950 aggression, he would be biting off more than he can handle. He has been making warlike noises for most of the past 22 years. Apparently the events in Cambodia and Vietnam have inspired his new display of verbal belligerence. But the situation of tough readiness that he faces in South Korea speaks much louder than Kim's threatening words.

WASHINGTON POST 15 MAY 1975

Broadcasting to Closed Societies

RADIO FREE EUROPE, broadcasting to East Europe, and Radio Liberty, broadcasting to the Soviet Union, have successfully weathered a difficult transition from CIA sponsorship to open operation under a public board, and from cold-war programming to a more careful and responsible programming consistent with the changing international scene. Not being the official voices of America, these stations have the independence to offer their large and attentive audiences unvarnished news—especially news of those domestic developments which the local governments customarily censor. The purpose of the stations is simply to satisfy a continued longing, in the closed societies to which they broadcast, for honest communication and facts.

Americans could, of course, join with the local Communist governments in a partnership to suppress the local news. But this would serve no useful or legitimate political purpose and and it would be a crude violation of our own values. There is no contradiction between the existence of detente and the *broadcasting* of news. On the contrary, the real contradiction is between the existence of detente and the *suppression* of news, which is what the Communist authorities try to do by jamming Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe. Americans have exactly the same right to broadcast to the Russians that they have to broadcast to us. No one has to listen who doesn't so choose.

In the last year, and at specific congressional bidding, substantial changes have been made in the organization and operation of the two stations in order to make them more efficient and economical. By informed consensus, they are now better fit than ever to perform their essential service of communication. It remains only for the Congress, as it weighs their budget requests in the current cycle, to provide the small additional sums necessary to let them do their job.

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KANSAS CITY STAR
3 MAY 1975(15)

Historians Will Judge Vietnam Now

The quarreling and hurling of charges over Vietnam simply will not fade away, however much that might be wished in the interest of postwar tranquillity. First the South Vietnamese president, Nguyen Van Thieu, accused the U.S. of bad faith in not keeping a pledge by President Nixon to intervene directly to defend South Vietnam against any North Vietnamese attack. Now one of Thieu's former ministers has released apparently genuine copies of Nixon letters to Thieu that confirm what Thieu has stated.

Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.), who made the same charge himself earlier, is calling for an investigation with testimony by administration officials. That obviously means Secretary Henry Kissinger, with whom Jackson has had differences. If Jackson, one of the most powerful senators, wants such an inquiry, no doubt there will be one.

In that case the fact that Senator Jackson is an active candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination while seeking to investigate a Republican administration cannot be discounted as a motivating factor. Whatever President Nixon and/or Secretary Kissinger may or may not have promised the Thieu government outside the specific terms of the dishonored Paris agreement became immaterial in August of 1973. At that time Congress flatly banned the use of any American military action, directly or indirectly, in Indo-China.

This decision, it is now clear, facilitated the drive of the North Vietnamese to their final victory. Without fear of any retaliatory bombing by the United States, Hanoi could send massive amounts of troops and supplies through the demilitarized zone and along the Ho Chi Minh trail. The Communists could also deploy surface-to-air missiles in South Vietnam in violation of the Paris pact.

As the Communist build-up proceeded to its climax of total conquest, any reassuring words in the past from Richard Nixon or Henry Kissinger might as well have been written on the wind. It is now pointless to speculate whether Congress would have acted as it did in the matter had the Nixon White House not been weakened by the Watergate revelations. No investigation by Congress can enlighten in this connection. We doubt that there is political capital to be made from it either.

Thus the kind of inquiry that Senator Jackson is talking about could not have much more than historical interest. And in due time the professional historians will shape their own judgments of this and all other aspects of the Vietnam catastrophe.

NEW YORK NEWS
15 MAY 1975

Asian Summit Set

Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, May 14 (UPI)—Foreign ministers of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations agreed today to hold a summit conference of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and Singapore in Jakarta in two months, conference sources said.

DETROIT NEWS - 7 MAY 1975(15)

A sensible defense pact

The decision of Canada to renew the North American Air Defense agreement for a further five years was sensible and practical. It is encouraging to note that a parliamentary committee, representative of all political parties, was unanimous in that decision.

There was anxiety over the issue. Hard-core nationalists were fighting for a termination of the cooperation that has existed between the air forces of Canada and the United States for 17 years. Opponents of NORAD said the common air defense affronted Canadian sovereignty and is an unwanted vestige of a cold war that — they say — no longer exists.

Canadians contribute three squadrons of fighter planes to NORAD, plus skilled personnel to man and maintain radar units. The NORAD commander is American, the deputy commander Canadian. One station, at North Bay, is under Canadian command and shortly all radar surveillance in Canada will be carried on by Canadians when a new center is opened in Edmonton.

The United States has been sensitive to Canadian feelings. The NORAD arrangement has been revised so that Canadian squadrons cannot be brought to full alert by an American order. A military alert of Canadian forces remains a Canadian prerogative.

There is an important peripheral consideration in this issue. NORAD is a place where Canadians and Americans meet on a person-to-person basis to work at the solution of a common problem. Those who serve NORAD get along together exceedingly well.

If we are to improve American-Canadian relations, we need more cooperative institutions which bring the people of the two countries together in common cause. Where that is done, Americans and Canadians have a way of coming out of the relationship with mutual admiration and respect. And there is no loss of national identity, either.

DETROIT NEWS - 7 MAY 1975(15)

So Asians turn left

In more ways than one, Uncle Sam is now "the Ugly American" in Asia. Thailand, seeking a new Asian neutralism that can live with communism, has asked the United States to withdraw 7,500 of its 25,000 troops from Thailand by June 1—and the rest within a year. The United States is complying with the request although some U.S. officials think the Thai government is divided on the complete withdrawal.

In interviews with U.S. newsmen, however, the new Thai prime minister, Kukrit Pramoj, said the Thai government now has to avoid any policy that could lead critics to call it a lackey of the United States. So the ouster of the U.S. troops is required although Pramoj said Thailand still wants to be friends with the United States.

By a strange twist of fate, Pramoj himself played the role of a prime minister of a fictitious Southeast Asian country in the movie, "The Ugly American." The warnings he issued to the United States then as an actor now are being repeated by the real life prime minister.

The new demand from Thailand was not unexpected. Even before the fall of Cambodia and South Vietnam to the Communists, the Thais were beginning to read the handwriting on the wall. Kukrit Pramoj himself won a narrow vote of confidence in the Thai parliament in mid-March only after pledging he would have all 25,000 U.S. troops withdrawn in a year.

So while the domino theory may have been discredited, the effects of the Communist victory are showing up in new actions taken by Asian nations against the United States. In the Philippines, Singapore, Malaysia, Korea, Taiwan and even Japan, leaders have expressed concern over the new situation—and many have begun to lean to the left.

So far the U.S. reaction to these moves has been mild.

But now U.S. deeds, not words, will determine whether the world believes the United States or whether it concludes that this country lacks the will even to defend itself adequately in the wake of the Indochina defeat.

As this country reassesses its policies, its former allies in Asia are losing no time in adapting themselves to the new situation. If this country plans to continue to play an effective role in Asia and elsewhere, it will have to make its position known by more than pleasant generalities.

DEFENSE SPACE BUSINESS DAILY - 3 MAY 1975(15)

THE NEED FOR INTELLIGENCE. "Our American public, with its basic good sense, recognizes that it would be dangerous to live without intelligence in a world in which we are thirty minutes away from an armed and cocked nuclear missile" -- CIA director William Colby, May 7, 1975.

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SEA POWER APRIL 1975(15 MAY)

A Modest Proposal

DEFENSE SECRETARY James R. Schlesinger says, in his FY 1976 posture statement, that the United States doesn't have enough sealift.

He doesn't put it quite that way, of course. What he says, specifically, is that "the present amphibious force of 65 ships has sufficient capacity *(if all ships are available)* [emphasis added] to transport simultaneously the assault elements of slightly more than one Marine Amphibious Force (MAF), i.e., one Marine division/wing team and supporting elements."

But, he immediately adds, and this is the kicker, "Our amphibious shipping . . . is about equally divided between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Thus, to conduct a single MAF-size lift and subsequent assault, it would be necessary to shift half of our amphibious shipping from one ocean to the other. Moreover, about 15 percent of the Navy's ships are in overhaul status at any given time and thus are not immediately available."

The SecDef well knows, of course, that any potential adversary in today's fast-moving world isn't going to be waiting around too patiently while the United States leisurely shifts half of its amphibious shipping "from one ocean to another." Which means that, for all practical purposes, the Navy and Marine Corps now have considerably less than half the sealift needed to mount any credible sort of assault from the sea. But, in view of what happened during the Yom Kippur War (when U.S. Army and Air Force units in nearby European countries were virtually landlocked because of the noninvolvement policies of this country's NATO allies), U.S. forces at sea might be the only quick reaction forces available in future crises.

There is help on the way, but it's still way over the horizon, in the skinny string of five (reduced from nine) LHA multipurpose amphibious assault ships now being built. Two quick points here, though: (1) LHA #5, according to Schlesinger's own testimony, won't be delivered until FY 1978, "about 44 months beyond the original delivery date"; and (2) when all five ships finally are operational, the Navy-Marine Corps amphibious assault team will, "for the first time in years," still have, according to Marine Commandant General Robert E. Cushman, Jr., only "the minimum acceptable level of amphibious lift." The key word, we think, with all respect to the Commandant, is "minimum."

One thing more: Schlesinger also points out that "the substantial capability of the LHAs may also permit us to use these ships for occasional forward deployment in place of an aircraft carrier."

Fine idea, in our opinion. We second the motion. We also would like to switch it around a bit, and suggest that our long-range thinkers consider using a couple of aircraft carriers as, first, interim LHAs, and later as additional LHAs.

We would not, let us quickly add, take any of the Navy's dwindling force of first line carriers off the line for such a purpose. But we would note that the Navy has for some time been planning (albeit reluctantly) to retire two HANCOCK-class carriers in FY 1976. We would note further that the HANCOCKs displace some 33,000 tons, and that the long-awaited LHAs, at 39,300 tons, aren't all that much bigger. Finally, putting these various facts together, we would suggest that the Navy, Marine Corps, and Defense Department at least talk over the possibility of keeping the HANCOCKs in active service for a few years longer as somewhat makeshift amphibious assault ships.

There might have to be some reconfiguring and restructuring, we realize. And when all is said and done the retread carriers still could never be as capable as brand new amphibs, "purpose-built" (as the British say) from the keel up.

But the fact still remains that we need sealift, vitally. We don't have enough of it right now, and won't get much more—and then only the "minimum acceptable" amount—for a few more years. But given the present state of the world and current budgetary restrictions, we don't think the country can afford to wait six or seven years for the optimum ships the Corps would really prefer, and we are reasonably sure Congress would not be willing to pay for them in any case.

So what we are suggesting, really, is a quick fix which would use off-the-shelf ships, as it were, to fill a gaping hole in the current U.S. national defense posture. Not the ideal solution, perhaps, but the ideal solution is probably unattainable.

The HANCOCKs are already operational. Before banking their fires, we should determine whether their useful lives might be extended a few more years, in a half-life status, perhaps, with minimum crew and reduced maintenance. We might consider using them as Reserve training ships, even, to take advantage of the many carrier-experienced skills available in the ranks of the USNR. And we might want, carrying the brainstorm one step and one oceanic crossing farther, to ponder the possibility of packing the ships with all the equipment needed by a MAF and "forward-basing" them, one in the Med and one in WestPac—there to be ready, in an emergency, to be married up with Marine reinforcements airlifted from the States.

Those looking for bargains shouldn't be misled into thinking a reconfiguring/reconstruction/retrofit such as that suggested here would be cheap. It wouldn't be. But it would be much less expensive, for short-term purposes, than any other alternative now available.

What happens if the powers that be at the Pentagon take up this modest proposal, refit the HANCOCKs, and then never have to use them?

It could happen, but that's a contingency we can live with quite comfortably. It's much better to have the capability and not use it, than to need it and not have it—which is the fix the Navy and Marine Corps are in right now. ■

NEW YORK TIMES 15 MAY 1975

The Real Victory

French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing's decision to turn France toward the future instead of the past by abandoning further celebrations of the World War II victory over Germany—and commemorating the first tangible step toward post-war European union instead—has aroused angry criticism from political right and left. But history is likely to vindicate him.

It was a mere five years after the anguish of Hitler's war that Jean Monnet's imaginative proposal to pool the coal and steel of West Europe was offered to Bonn by French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman. It initiated a French-German reconciliation after three wars in 70 years that has made another armed conflict between these one-time enemies inconceivable for the forseeable future. And it opened the way to a nine-nation Common Market.

Most Frenchmen and Germans now alive have no first-hand recollection of World War II. And while the Nazi horrors will not and must not be forgotten, annual celebrations of the 1945 victory after the passage of 30 years have become an anachronism in an era when France, Germany and seven neighboring countries have put narrow nationalism and the past aside and pledged themselves to a common future.

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FEATURES COLUMNISTS

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 15 MAY 1975

Where is America's defense perimeter?

Charles W. Yost

Washington

During a visit to one of the United States military service schools last week I was asked where, after America's withdrawal or exclusion from Vietnam, the U.S. defense perimeter in the Western Pacific should be. What commitments will the American Congress and people henceforth support?

The answer depends in part on how one defines the question. What exactly is meant by the term "defense perimeter"? How wide a one do U.S. interests and U.S. capabilities require or permit it to defend?

At one extreme, advocates of "fortress America" might limit their perimeter to the waters adjacent to the 50 states, relying still — as 40 years ago — on the oceans to protect us.

At the other extreme, the U.S. has the Truman Doctrine which declared without reservation that "it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation," and President Kennedy's inaugural pledge that "We shall pay any price, bear any burden, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty."

It is unlikely that either of these extravagant positions would be espoused by many Americans today. Fortress America was sunk at Pearl Harbor. The brief time when the United States presumptuously placed its defense perimeter at the very borders of the Soviet Union and China is also gone with the wind.

The question where the "perimeter" should now lie reflects a natural anxiety by the military to know what, in the post-Vietnam situation, they are expected to be prepared to defend.

It is important to be precise on this score at a time when some at least of America's allies are wondering how reliable its commitments are. On the other hand, the U.S. cannot but recall the trouble Dean Acheson fell into 25 years ago when he defined a perimeter in the Western Pacific and was misinterpreted to have given a hunting license for anything outside it.

One rule of thumb would be that, at this moment of apprehension and reassessment, the U.S. should unequivocally confirm those commitments made by due constitutional process, that is, with the consent of the Senate and the knowledge of the American people. This would apply to the North Atlantic Treaty, to Japan, to South Korea, to the Philippines, to Australia and New Zealand, to the Organization of American States (OAS).

There may be some instances even within this group where America's defense embraces may no longer be entirely welcome. President Marcos of the Philippines says he is reassessing U.S. relationship. Some members of the OAS have been wondering aloud whether their organization would not be more homogeneous and balanced without the disproportionate weight of the United States. Certainly the U.S. should not attempt to maintain a military relationship with any who do not want it.

There are also commitments which are either less formal and far-reaching or have been eroded by time. The Southeast Asian Treaty Organization, whose charter in any case obligated the U.S. only to consult, has become moribund. Though the U.S. has been only an observer in CENTO, it has a separate and categorical defense agreement with Iran.

Israel is a special case. While there is no

(See DEFENSE, Pg. 2-F)

CHICAGO TRIBUNE 15 MAY 1975

Bill Anderson

The White House— at a tense hour

WASHINGTON — In the showdown period for the S. S. Mayaguez, the outside of the White House radiated with the beauty and energy of spring.

But inside the building, the strengths and weaknesses of the President were being tested, along with the vitality of Congress. The problem was how to get the crew of 39 back to safety, along with the ship and its cargo worth $1 million.

Six hours after the Mayaguez radioed a "Mayday" distress signal, the White House took a dramatic stand for boldness in the situation. Thru spokesman Ronald Nessen, President Ford branded the capture "an act of piracy."

Underlying that statement by Ford was a real concern that went far beyond the 39 crewmen. He was worried in the first place about American reaction to the loss of South Viet Nam, and what that war has done to American influence thruout the world.

Now, with a U. S. ship seized, the President and his aides guessed that the American public — even the one-time "doves" — would not sit still for a revolutionary Communist nation to cut away further at our interests. The mood was to do something at the highest levels.

The response of talking tough therefore came swiftly, while information about what had happened remained at bare minimum levels. Example: At first, the White House wasn't positive about the type of Cambodian forces that took the ship.

Some of the later information put out by the administration came also from newspapers — data like the cargo and names of the crewmen.

In hastily called sessions of the National Security Council, the military pointed out the high risks involved in recovering a boarded ship. Diplomatic overtures for the quick release of the crewmen were made thru the Chinese.

At the same time, the overworked 7th Fleet was rerouted where possible and sent steaming toward the scene. [Some ships still carry 12,000 South Vietnamese.] Marines trained in quick strike tactics were alerted.

The sense of emergency was thus placed on a far higher level than in similar situations back in the days when American power was almost unquestioned and in times when the President was politically strong enough to make quick decisions.

By late Tuesday, Ford was acting by now in consultation with leaders of Congress. His staff called them by phone to give classified information that Cambodians appeared to be trying to take the crewmen to the mainland.

Ford received a "strong consensus of support and no objections" to the action he was about to order then at 5:30 p. m. Tuesday, according to the White House. U. S. jets swooped in to destroy three Cambodian patrol craft and immobilize four others.

Wednesday morning the destroyer Holt reached the area as the first of the limited U. S. naval forces available for further use. When the freighter was first seized Monday, there were only bare-bones naval forces even within two days' sailing time.

The American military situation initially was so weak that it took a reconnaissance plane nearly 10 hours just to locate the Mayaguez. The government of Thailand was objecting strongly in public to Marines being airlifted to its soil as elements of the rescue effort.

Spokesmen for the President said after the sinking that he was acting well within his authority to protect American lives and property. The White House even took time to announce the building of a swimming pool for Ford.

Outside, it was still bright and sunny.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 15 May 1975

NEW YORK TIMES 15 MAY 1975

Perdicaris Alive, or...

ESSAY

By William Safire

WASHINGTON, May 14—On the eve of the Republican convention of 1904, a Moroccan bandit named Ahmed Raisuli kidnapped an American citizen, Jon Perdicaris, who had been living near Tangier. American and British warships were rushed to the Moroccan capital, three Marines went ashore to assert our serious intent, and President Theodore Roosevelt demanded that the Sultan force the bandit to release the American.

This demand took the form of a telegram from Secretary of State John Hay which set a standard for succinctness in ultimata: "We want Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead."

Read aloud at the convention nominating Teddy Roosevelt as candidate —he had moved up from the Vice Presidency but had not yet been elected in his own right—the tough telegram was received with roars of patriotic enthusiasm.

And it worked, not just for Perdicaris, who was ransomed by the Sultan and released, but for Roosevelt, who showed the world and the American voter that he was not a leader to be trifled with.

After the election, it turned out that Mr. Perdicaris might not have been an American citizen after all, and that he had probably been released before the dramatic message was delivered, but the diplomatic point was made: The United States would protect its nationals anywhere in the world.

Three generations later, another unelected President faces a somewhat similar challenge in the Mayagüez affair. A cocky new Communist regime has kidnapped 39 Americans and a ship, possibly for barter or some other reasons, and has triggered a military response. But times have changed, and what is in the national interest may not be in the President's political interest.

America's opinion leaders—especially old hawks, like Senator Jackson, who needs some dovish support—are likely to turn on the victim rather than on the pirate. They will ask: What was that merchant ship doing over there in the first place? Can we be sure it wasn't a spy ship? Wasn't it under military charter? Did we provoke the incident to get ourselves re-involved in Southeast Asia or to assuage our injured machismo?

Unless our military action is stunningly successful right away, the central theme of the President's critics will be (a) we were not really consulted, and (b) what harm would it have done to wait and ask everybody else to help?

But the responsibility to protect American lives is the President's and cannot be abdicated, and waiting could have caused great harm. We are not dealing with a superpower, where diplomacy is the only route and hot lines are in place; we are dealing with a minipower whose leaders have no concern for human life and are not susceptible to the normal pressures of politics and economics.

America is no longer a world power whose will to use its strength is undoubted. Not long ago, we could afford to overlook provocations like the Pueblo and the "flying Pueblo" because our resolve was not in doubt. Now, however, with foreign affairs too much in the hands of Congress, the President is forced to assert U.S. strength to dispel the doubt that does exist.

'Not long ago we could afford to overlook provocations like the Pueblo.'

This is not the way it should be. Retreat is dangerous, and the steady retreat of American willpower in the past two years invites the kind of incident we face off the shores of Cambodia now. As a certainly-great power, we could afford to be patient and long-suffering about these incidents before; as a maybe-great power, we have to react lest our inaction invite every nation to strike at our interests everywhere.

"National honor" may be a phrase that invites derision these days, but a reputation for strength has been protecting Americans abroad for some years; hesitation and handwringing in the face of this latest provocation pose the greatest danger. A long delay, presented as caution, is most incautious: It causes other powers to line up pro and con, and could elevate an incident into a searing decision between war and knuckling-under.

President Ford is not thinking of nuking anybody back to Stone Ages, or starting the Southeast Asian involvement all over again. He cannot even threaten Phnom Penh, because nobody is home. Our attack on the Cambodian gunboats is a measured response to piracy; the hostages are in great peril, but if we acquiesce in this technique of international relations, we will encourage the seizure of many other Americans elsewhere in the world.

Decisiveness should not be equated with hot-headedness, nor national honor with jingoism. Perdicaris was released and Raisuli met no harm. This is the first test since an isolationist Congress took charge of America foreign policy, and if the President can hold the country with him in stepping up to it courageously, we can deter others from testing our resolve in much more serious ways.

DEFENSE PERIMETER -- CONTINUED

formal treaty, nor has Israel wanted one, it is clearly understood in both countries that the U.S. will assist Israel to meet threats to its security, and would if necessary join in resisting a threat to its survival.

Another special case of a different kind may be Taiwan, with which the U.S. has a formal defense treaty and yet it recognizes, as both Chinese governments insist, that Taiwan is an integral part of China. The U.S. maintains diplomatic representatives in both Chinese capitals. It is certainly anomalous and awkward to claim that this fragment of another great power constitutes an essential part of the U.S. "defense perimeter."

This survey illustrates the complexity and risk of trying to do what the U.S. military would naturally prefer, that is, be utterly precise about where America's defense perimeter lies all over the world. In some areas, there is not and must not be any ambiguity. In many others, ambiguity is inherent in the situation and is indeed more in the U.S. interest than an iron-bound commitment to unpredictable and uncontrollable regimes.

In gray areas outside those where U.S. defense commitments should remain unequivocal, a valuable conception, suggested by Prof. Lincoln Bloomfield of MIT, is what he calls "spheres of abstention."

These would be areas which the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and perhaps in some cases China, would agree lay outside either their "defense perimeter" or America's, and in which the U.S. would jointly forego any military intrusion or presence.

The whole Indian Ocean area would be a prime candidate for such a sphere of abstention or "zone of peace" — as India and other littoral states have for some years been urging, so far to no avail. So might well be the Persian Gulf.

If such spheres could be gradually expanded, defense perimeters might in time shrink to the borders of the superpowers and their closest allies, to the vast benefit of their own security and that of everyone else.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 21 May 1975

LOS ANGELES TIMES - 14 MAY 1975(15)

Spoils of War: Reds Inherit U.S. Supplies

Huge Stocks of Rice, Fertilizer Will Ease S. Vietnam Transition

BY GEORGE McARTHUR
Times Staff Writer

HONG KONG—The staggering value of the military plunder which Hanoi's forces captured in the south has been publicly if shamefacedly acknowledged. It is less well known that the North Vietnamese seized a nation relatively bulging with economic and agricultural assets—largely provided by the United States.

The implications of this are that only the grossest kind of mismanagement—which appears unlikely—could make the occupation of the south anything but economically benign.

Appearances to the contrary, South Vietnam was no war-ravaged country at the end. The damage that was evident had largely been wrought by the North Vietnamese themselves, often senselessly.

More important, the North Vietnamese soldiers took over warehouses bulging with rice. There was a mass of essential fertilizer on hand.

This means that the political problems of Hanoi in the south have been enormously lessened for probably one full year, allowing plenty of time for the next rice harvest. There will certainly be political unrest and possibly outbreaks of physical opposition here and there. But in a nation where hunger is the most potent of all political problems, there will be none.

The actual records in American office buildings were largely burned and the South Vietnamese government's records were always a mess. That will hardly be a problem to the military occupation which is now inventorying its assets very thoroughly.

The south had just completed one of its most successful rice harvests in years. There was also an estimated 200,000 tons of American AID rice on hand (plus some rice that had been intended for Cambodia and never got there). In fact, some southern economists were thinking of exporting rice this spring. Almost everyone agreed that with proper management exports could be achieved next year.

With the assistance of American AID experts and money, the Saigon government had also begun to build up fertilizer stocks—absolutely essential to the miracle strains that now make up a substantial percentage of delta crops. This fertilizer will go far toward easing any peasant resentment in the delta for at least one year—but by then Hanoi will face a problem.

Another delta problem is petroleum

See SPOILS OF WAR, Pg.4-F

Victor Zorza WASHINGTON POST - 15 MAY 1975

Hanoi's Paeans of Victory

Hanoi has summed up its victory in these words: "The Vietnamese people's strength has crushed the aggressive force of U.S. imperialism, the most powerful imperialist chieftain and the most vicious enemy of mankind, and has upset its counter-revolutionary global strategy, thus making an important contribution to the offensive posture of the (world) revolution."

These words, from the army paper Quan Doi Nhan Dan, are being repeated in dozens of different ways in newspaper articles and radio broadcasts which stress the historic nature of the defeat inflicted on "four successive U.S. presidents." The United States came to believe that material power allowed it "to become an international gendarme," to rally the forces of "international capitalism," and to stop the forces of socialism.

It therefore sought to build in Vietnam a "dike to hold back the red wave that was flooding South East Asia." Thus did Vietnam become the testing ground of U.S. power and prestige. But what the test proved was that U.S. power was "limited," and that its limits had "reached breaking point." Its defeat showed that America would never again be able to act as an international —"or even regional"—gendarme.

Never before had the world situation been "as good as it is today," never had imperialism experienced "such fierce crisis and contradictions." The world revolutionary forces "are, clearly, in the strongest offensive position," while the imperialists' capability to wage war is "increasingly" limited. "Thus, the world revolution now has better conditions under which to develop."

But what will Hanoi do with its victory, now that it has got it? At the end of last year, the Hanoi dailies carried a series of articles by General Nguyen Vo Giap, the defense minister. He insisted on the importance of Marxist-Leninist precepts, but he presented them in a nationalist Vietnamese sauce which neither Moscow nor Peking would find to its taste. In a similar series of articles which he wrote more than 15 years ago to celebrate the victory of Dien Bien Phu, Giap explained why the Vietnamese revolution differed from both Russia's and China's, and had to follow its own path.

Ever since then Hanoi has sought to present its own revolutionary model as more relevant to the needs of the many nations suffering under the "neo-colonial" yoke. This Marxist-nationalist mixture was usually presented discreetly, so long as Hanoi was dependent on Soviet and Chinese arms aid, but the triumphal ending of the war may remove some of the earlier inhibitions.

There is less insistence now on Hanoi's role as the focus of a world revolution that has been betrayed by both Russia and China. But this theme, which once underlay Hanoi's comments on the willingness of Moscow and Peking to open their doors for Nixon's summit visits, revealed an intense distrust of its allies. Hanoi accused the big powers of pursuing their own interests to the detriment of the smaller nations. Whatever gratitude Hanoi may now feel for Soviet and Chinese arms supplies will be tempered by its fear of the new competition between Moscow and Peking for influence in Indochina.

Both Moscow and Peking see Indochina as the route to influence in large areas of Asia. They may be as wrong as Washington was, but the great powers do not learn from each other's mistakes. In competing for influence in Hanoi, they may—as great powers often do—seek a degree of control which the Vietnamese would see as infringing their own independence, as has happened on earlier occasions when Sino Soviet rivalry was focused on Hanoi.

When General Giap wrote of thousands of years of Vietnamese history during which the nation resisted the invasions of Chinese "feudalists," he was revealing something of Hanoi's fears of China's future intentions. The greater distance once made Russia the less dangerous ally, but a demand by Moscow for a naval base at Camranh Bay would bring Soviet power not only to the center of Asia, but also to the strategic tip of Vietnam.

Both the Kremlin and Peking may feel entitled to some reward for their arms aid, but Hanoi may prefer to pay in agricultural produce rather than in strategic facilities and in political influence. To protect itself against too tight an embrace by its Big Brothers, while extracting continued economic aid from them, Hanoi will need allies in the world Communist movement and in the "national liberation movement," where Moscow and Peking are competing for influence. One way to gain such allies is to obtain recognition of Hanoi's own "revolutionary model," and to inspire its emulation if possible.

This is where the intense nationalism of the Vietnamese Communists, which leads them to claim a unique role in developing a model suitable for other nations, could cause them to become a challenge to both Moscow and Peking. In the paeans of victory this theme is muted, while the United States is execrated. But the United States is withdrawing from the area. In the long run Russia and China could present a greater threat to Vietnam, precisely because all three are Communist, and because the two biggest powers have imperial ambitions in the area.

It may seem unthinkable now that Hanoi might welcome the retention of an important U.S. role in South East Asia, and in Asia generally. Yet this is how Peking feels today, although only a few years ago that too would have been unthinkable.

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR - 15 MAY 1975

The cost of defense

By the Associated Press

Washington

Adm. Hyman G. Rickover testified recently that hundreds of millions of dollars in excessive profits have been made on defense contracts.

But, Admiral Rickover told a Senate-House Economic Committee, the Renegotiation Board which is supposed to recover excess profits from such contractors is inept and ineffective.

Admiral Rickover, the Navy's top expert on nuclear-powered ships, said defense firms are constantly filing unjustified claims for extra payments from the Pentagon. He estimated at least 30 percent of such claims are excessive.

The admiral also had some unkind words for workmen in shipyards which build Navy vessels. He said they spend one-third of their time loafing, driving up costs drastically.

He offered a number of suggestions as to how to prevent some of the excess profits:

- Put the Renegotiation Board under control of Congress, taking it away from the President.
- Settle all claims for extra payments strictly on their legal merits, and not on the basis of what might be needed to keep a company with large military business operating.
- Enforce the law against false claims strictly, with prison terms for company officials convicted of making them.

Sen. William Proxmire (D) of Wisconsin, a long-time critic of the Renegotiation Board, endorsed all of Admiral Rickover's criticisms of the agency and added some of his own.

Mr Proxmire noted that the board has been without a chairman since last November and charged that President Ford has "failed to keep his promise to reinvigorate the Renegotiation Board."

"The board has the potential for making a valuable contribution to the management of defense purchasing by reducing its costs and creating incentives for efficient operations," the Senator said.

"Unfortunately the board has fallen far short of this goal." However, Rex M. Mattingly, acting chairman of the board, testified that he understood Mr. Ford would make nominations for the two vacant positions on the agency soon.

Mr Mattingly said great strides had been made in getting the agency "back on the track of carrying out its primary functions of assuring the public that excessive profits on defense and space contracts are in fact being eliminated."

Two accountants employed by the subcommittee, Woodliffe Jenkinson and Bernard Trescavage, testified that three leading defense contractors may have made large profits on which little or no recovery was made by the Renegotiation Board in 1967, 1968, and 1969.

They said their analysis indicated some of the companies made as much as 59 percent on net worth, whereas the industry average was around 15 percent.

The three companies were identified as Mobil Oil Corporation, McDonnell Douglas Corporation, and Northrop Corporation.

SPOILS OF WAR -- CONTINUED

because the tractor, the powered plow and gasoline water pumps and outboard motors are now staples. The old water buffalo frequently went into the cooking pot. But with tight management and a little outside help from the north, the delta can easily be kept running for the next 12 months.

Doubtless the various Communist levels of government and management will take credit for this. The first year, however, will largely be a free gift from the United States and the old Saigon regime.

Hanoi will benefit in other quite visible, even glittering, ways.

Saigon's 15 tons of gold remain in the Central Bank. A good bit has already been written about efforts of President Nguyen Van Thieu to get the gold out of the country.

Evidently several efforts by the generals and others to smuggle at least some of it to Europe failed—the thieves couldn't get everybody paid off properly. The United States Embassy had made plans to get the gold more or less legally flown to American vaults. Again the plan fell through—and one must suspect foot-dragging on the part of officials who still hoped for personal profit—because all the red tape seemed to multiply and time ran out. There is still talk—and nothing more—that Thieu managed to get a few million dollars by ship to Taiwan. So far, Asian gold markets have reflected no confirmation.

In addition to the gold, South Vietnam had about $130 million in foreign exchange holdings scattered around, some at home and some in American, French and Swiss banks. As the conquest of South Vietnam is internationally legalized as it probably will be, much of this money will also doubtless flow back to Hanoi, though the amount is obviously questionable.

In addition South Vietnam had about $50 million in drawing rights with the International Monetary Fund. The experts will have to untangle that.

Then there is a question of consumer goods, always in short supply in Hanoi. This may prove something of an embarrassment.

At the time of its collapse, South Vietnam had been in a severe economic depression for a year, mostly affecting the cities. But consumer goods were abundant, even overabundant. Many merchants had bulging warehouses they were unable to unload during a time of unemployment. The invading North Vietnamese troops have thus inherited more refrigerators, washing machines, radios, television sets, electric fans, hi-fi sets, gas and electric stoves and more than the economically pressed residents of Hanoi ever dreamed of.

In addition there is little doubt that the North Vietnamese military forces, already with an eye out for watches and similar items, will confiscate scooters and other motor vehicles in greater abundance than Hanoi has ever seen.

Undoubtedly the straitlaced economic morality of Communist North Vietnam will be tested to find a solution. Whatever the solution, living standards in the south are generally likely to remain higher than those in the north for some time to come.

The headlines of the last days of the war focused in good measure on the destructive battles starting at Ban Me Thout and ending at Bien Hoa. Measured by past standards, however, the overall destruction was minimal. The Communists were able to get the Hue-Da Nang railroad running almost immediately, not because of repair miracles but because the destruction had really been limited to a few bridges of relatively small size.

The vast destruction wrought by rockets and artillery on Bien Hoa, just outside Saigon, was largely a political demonstration. The south had lost the war and was teetering on surrender. Similarly, Communist rockets at Tan Son Nhut, on virtually the final night of the war, wrought widespread destruction, most notably wrecking a new international airline terminal that had been two years under construction.

The South Vietnamese troops gave way to some destruction in the final days but it was minor. Unlike those days of the French pullout of Hanoi in 1954—when some American "spooks" under Gen. Edward Lansdale had rather juvenile visions of leaving nothing but destruction behind—the Americans in Saigon destroyed very little besides communication equipment (one departing American emptied his .45 into an antenna atop the embassy). About the sneakiest thing the Americans did was to insist that all the safes in the embassy—and there were 50 or more—be emptied and then carefully closed so that the North Vietnamese would have to call in safe crackers to make sure no secrets were left behind.

All this is not to suggest that Hanoi took over a blossoming paradise with hardly a problem on the horizon. The reorganization of the country and the shortage of trained people will doubtless make for severe economic turmoil at some time in the future. But for the immediate future the North Vietnamese are getting something of a free ride—largely due to the United States—and they will certainly use it to make political capital.

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LOS ANGELES TIMES 14 MAY 1975 (15)

Fears of 'Laos Nightmare' Discounted

BY JACQUES LESLIE
Times Staff Writer

VIENTIANE—Laos, it seems, is about to join its Indochina neighbors as a Communist state. But in contrast to South Vietnam and Cambodia, in all likelihood there will be no "Laos nightmare," most observers here believe.

Any forebodings of Americans flying away in helicopters and frightened refugees streaming across the border are probably misleading.

The events of the past week-rightist government ministers resigning and fleeing the country, demonstrators throwing rocks at the U.S. Embassy and Communist control of the nation's armed forces—might conjur up such scenes. But they are held unlikely to happen.

"I think what was going to happen in Laos has already happened," said a Western diplomat Tuesday. "I think the (Communist) Pathet Lao have got what they wanted. They show every sign of wanting to preserve this form of government."

Though few other observers would make such a bold prediction in a place as unpredictable as Laos, most agree with the thrust of the statement. Most expect that Laos' coalition government, which is now dominated by the Communists, will not be replaced soon by a more straightforward form of Pathet Lao rule, even though the Pathet Lao have the power to shape the government virtually as they wish.

One reason is that if the coalition government falls, the United States would probably stop giving economic aid, which is now $32 million a year. As it stands, Laos is probably the only country in the world receiving aid from both the United States and Communist nations such as North Korea and Outer Mongolia. But the United States is by far the largest aid doner to Laos. Given the mountainous kingdom's current vast economic problems, a sudden cut-off would be a major blow.

But while Lao leftists seem to want American aid to continue, they are trying to drive out the U.S. Agency for International Development. The main reason is resentment over use of AID in the past as a cover for U.S. Central Intelligence Agency employes. It seems likely that the United States and the Lao government will strike a compromise reducing AID to a fraction of its present size of 162 officials.

Signficantly, Vientiane radio Tuesday morning rebroadcast an an interview given a month ago by the Lao coalition government's deputy prime minister, Phoumi Vongvichit, who is a Pathet Lao. In the interview, Phoumi said that relations between the United States and Laos were improving, and added, "Laos would be glad to accept United States aid offers, but they must not have strings attached. I hope aid will be provided directly to the (coalition government)" instead of through AID.

American military aid to Laos will undoubtedly end, since control of the rightist Vientiane army, which was the sole recipient of the aid, has passed to the pathet Lao. U.S. military aid was expected to reach almost $30 million in fiscal year 1975.

"No decisions have been taken" on military aid, a U.S. Embassy official said, "but obviously the situation is going to have to be studied."

Beyond a desire to maintain U.S. economic aid, observers doubt the Pathet Lao assumption of power will resemble Communist takeovers in South Vietnam and Cambodia for other reasons.

Most obvious is that the Pathet Lao do not need to assert themselves militarily, since they have taken control of their former adversary, the Vientiane army. Even before this was accomplished, there had been little fighting in Laos since a cease-fire was established more than two years ago. Since then, incidents have occurred on an average of once a week, and casualties have been "what you would expect in traffic accidents," a diplomat said.

Nor has bitterness among Lao been comparable to that in Cambodia and South Vietnam. One reason is that much of the fighting in Laos was done by Americans, Vietnamese, Thais and hill tribesmen such as the CIA-trained Meo. Even Lao who do not approve of the Pathet Lao do not seem to fear them. (See LAOS, Pg 6-F)

WASHINGTON POST 15 MAY 1975

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Laos: A Domino Falls

Laos became the first post-Vietnam domino to fall, some three months earlier than even pessimists in the U.S. government thought possible, with a shove from the now imperial North Vietnamese politburo in Hanoi.

This points to wishful thinking, presently being modified, in high-level Washington. The hope that Laos might drift on in a neutralist never-never land while Communists tightened their hold on the rest of Indochina reflected an underestimation of how deeply the U.S. humiliation has affected Asian governments (and buttressed popular anti-Western jingoism). This misjudgment was compounded by another: A belief Hanoi would pause to digest South Vietnam before consolidating its hegemony over Indochina.

Thus, the widely derided domino theory is fully revived thanks both to the shock effect of the Vietnam debacle and the militancy of Asian Communists. The lightning collapse of Laos speeds and heightens the danger for Thailand. Future dominoes may be Malaysia and Singapore, with the Philippines and Indonesia menaced in the future.

Laos was the inevitable domino, its fate always determined by events elsewhere. Militant revolutionary communism was exported to dreamy, superstitious Laos by the armies of North Vietnam. All that prevented their quick triumph was intervention by Washington in the form of CIA military advisers, military aid and air support.

No Laotian better understood his country's future dependence on external events than its philosophic prime minister, Prince Souvanna Phouma. Recognizing that Hanoi sought the old French imperial role of ruling all Indochina, Souvanna believed that only "the great powers" — that is, the United States — could prevent it by guaranteeing Laotian independence. Thus, in the late 1960's he changed from neutralist to staunch anti-Communist, defending U.S. bombing of the Ho Chi Minh Trail in the panhandle of Laos. As recently as April 1973, when we last interviewed the Prince, he stoutly opposed unilateral withdrawal of CIA advisers and royal Thai army units.

What returned Souvanna to neutralism was the U.S. congressional surge for disengagement from Indochina. If the Americans were going to abandon South Vietnam and Cambodia, he knew Laos was doomed to conquest unless it accommodated to the Communists. The result was the one-sided 1973 peace treaty establishing a coalition government.

There was strong feeling in the State Department and U.S. embassy in Vientiane that the Lao coalition would muddle along idefinitely even after the Communist conquest of Cambodia and South Vietnam. If the nonviolent Laotians had been left to their own devices, perhaps it would have.

Saigon had not even fallen when, according to well-informed specialists here, the North Vietnamese politburo ordered an offensive. Communist Pathet Lao troops attacked Maj. Gen. Vang Pao's royal Lao army units at the crossroads town of Sala Phou Khoun between Vientiane and the royal capital of Luang Prabang.

If the Pathet Lao had run into trouble, there was help in reserve from 30,000 North Vietnamese regulars, supplied with Soviet tanks and heavy artillery, stationed in Laos. These crack troops no longer could be neutralized by U.S. B52 bombing strikes. Nor did Vang Pao's troops any longer benefit from CIA guidance or Thai artillery support. Demoralized, the royal Lao troops retreated.

Vang Pao called on air support from obsolete T28 propeller-driven fighter-bombers piloted by plucky Meo tribesmen, but that only fit into Hanoi's scenario. The Communists listed this as one of many provocations by royal Lao armed forces and demanded the resignation of right-wing ministers and generals.

Old (73), sick and terribly tired, Prince Souvanna Phouma backed this virtual coup to prevent bloodshed. With no possibility of outside help, the domino fell. Rightist cabinet ministers decamped to Thailand along with top officers in Vang Pao's command. Vang Pao himself, leader of the Meo people as well as a royal Lao army general, surrendered his command but stayed with the Meos in their once doughty fortress of Long Tieng to await the grim future. Souvanna and King Savang Vatthana may remain as figureheads, but will be followed by the People's Republic of Laos.

The case of Laos as a domino is unique in inevitablity and speed but not in kind. The same conditions prevail in Thailand. While Bangkok frenetically seeks to cut ties with Washington and accommodate to its Communist neighbors, three separate insurgencies intensify, with help from Peking and Hanoi. The northeast Thai insurgents, with a remarkable record for cutting up government troops, are guided by the Chinese and supplied by the North Vietnamese. The long-range prognosis for preserving Thailand from Communist control: mediocre.

How quickly other dominoes fall cannot be forecast. But Asia today faces confident revolutionary communism with Hanoi, far from immersed in postwar reconstruction, encouraging it everywhere. If that pattern holds, the Laos domino is only the first. Others will fall, more slowly, but with stakes incomparably higher.

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 15 MAY 1975

Joseph C. Harsch

Mr. Lee's common sense

We are indebted to Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore for the most sensible thing said yet about the consequences in the world from the American refusal to save the Saigon government from final defeat at the hands of Hanoi.

While President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger were reassuring every VIP visitor who stopped by (and the list has been a long one) that the United States will keep its commitments, Mr. Lee suggested that it would be helpful for the President and the Congress to speak with one voice.

The statesmen of the world are no dummies. All of them have long since learned something about the way the American Constitution operates. They know without anyone having to tell them that a president in Washington can make valid commitments only by and with the consent of the Congress.

The American creditability about which Dr. Kissinger so worries these days results from the fact that President Nixon made commitments without the knowledge or consent of anyone in the Congress. The text of his letters to former President Thieu of Vietnam belong to an aberrant phase in American history. Mr. Nixon was certainly not the first American President to make private commitments but I know of no case in American history where any other President made such a strong commitment without any assurance of congressional backing.

Those commitments to President Thieu were characteristic of what is now generally called the era of the "imperial presidency." Beginning with the Kennedy administration there was a growing assumption around the White House that a president could commit the United States by his own word.

Any president at any time can commit himself. He can say, quite properly, that under certain circumstances he will try to persuade the Congress to take some special course of action. But he cannot promise that the course of action will be taken. That must depend on the Congress. Mr. Nixon made a specific promise to President Thieu that in the event of a violation of the Paris agreements he would take military action.

That promise had come to seem normal around the White House by 1973. It would not have been normal in the pre-Kennedy period of American history. Eisenhower was extremely careful to operate foreign policy exclusively within the limits of known congressional approval. President Truman was equally scrupulous. In the period just before Pearl Harbor President Roosevelt was widely accused of lagging behind public opinion. He had no intention of making a single warlike step without first being sure he had Congress, and public opinion, behind him.

The willingness of the United States to fulfill its commitments is not in question. But the ability of any president to make a secret commitment on his own responsibility is in tatters.

Prime Minister Lee has put his finger on this point. A presidential policy without the approval of Congress is worthless. It always should have been, and usually was. President Ford cannot regain the confidence of the outside world by merely asserting what will happen. He will regain it (insofar as it may have been lost) by practicing a foreign policy limited strictly to what Congress and public opinion will support.

Perhaps it would be a prudent thing to have a review of all existing American commitments. Let Congress go over the list and decide in each case whether the commitment should be confirmed or repudiated. Perhaps there has been too much in the way of easy commitments. Probably fewer than all the commitments on the books right now would have assured congressional approval if put to the test.

No one can actually know right now what the United States might do under all circumstances. I think we do know that it will sustain the NATO alliance and its members. It is committed to fight for South Korea by contract and by the fact of 38,000 American troops there now. (The U.S. Second Infantry Division is deployed between the frontier and Seoul.) The U.S. is bound both by treaty and by obvious self-interest to fight for Japan. Beyond that? There are some murky places on the map where the extent of the American commitment may well be fuzzy and uncertain.

Such uncertainty can be dangerous. It was fatal in 1950 when the North Koreans thought they could march South without any American intervention. They made a mistake. It is desirable, indeed it is urgently vital, to avoid the danger of someone making a similar mistake in the future. There should be no doubt about what the United States will or won't do.

The way to remove those doubts is for President and Congress to speak with one voice. In effect, that means for the President to be careful to keep always within the limits of congressional support. President Ford is, I submit, operating well within those boundaries.

LAOS -- CONTINUED

Thus, both a large American evacuation and the creation of thousands of refugees seem unlikely prospects. Even if an evacuation were necessary, it would be far simpler than in South Vietnam or Cambodia because only the Mekong River separates Vientiane from the security of Thailand.

To be sure, the events of the last week, particularly last Friday's demonstration, have caused some nervousness among foreigners. "Lots of people were confused and the rumors became way too dire," an American said. "People wouldn't let their kids go swimming at a pool four miles outside of town. People started mailing home things like their jewelry."

U.S. Embassy charge d'affaires Christian A. Chapman held a meeting Monday evening at a movie theater inside Vientiane's AID compound with about 120 American residents. Chapman did not mention evacuation plans and reassured the group that the Laos government still wanted friendly relations with the United States.

"They've told us so many times we're beginning to believe it," said one person who attended the meeting.

Chapman also distributed a circular saying, "I do not believe that there exists at this time any significant danger to American personnel; if I believed that such danger did exist, I would obviously have taken other and appropriate measures to meet the situation."

For foreign Asian residents, the situation is much graver. Many are Chinese and Indian businessmen who do not see a future for themselves under Pathet Lao rule. Many have left Laos, and more will do so.

U.S. Embassy officials say they helped some of their roughly 75 Vietnamese employes in Laos to leave the country. But they left unexplained how the Vietnamese, who hold South Vietnamese passports which the Lao government no longer recognizes, obtained necessary exit visas.

Many observers expect that in the next few days the coalition government will announce new cabinet ministers to replace the rightists who resigned. They undoubtedly will be pliable officials who will bend to the will of the Pathet Lao. The Pathet Lao will probably also move slowly to integrate the national army with its own force.

But neither step should be particularly dramatic. Referring to Premier Souvanna Phouma, who has apparently decided to work with the Pathet Lao to bring about the reunification of Laos, one diplomat said, "The Pathet Lao already make the decisions and put them up to the prime minister, who signs the paper."

AEROSPACE DAILY 12 MAY 1975 (15)

AF SPACE TESTING: Although details are sketchy, the Air Force may have suffered a setback in its program to develop new methods of satellite survivability. The service on April 12 lost a satellite when the modified Atlas F missile launching it from Vandenberg AFB, Calif., had to be destroyed 301 seconds into the mission. The Atlas' engines lost thrust for an as yet unexplained reason. The satellite was one of a series in the AF's Space Test Program, which has been emphasizing perfection of survivability techniques in the face of a potential threat by the Soviet Union to disable U.S. military spacecraft. The April 12 satellite was bound for polar orbit.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 1, May 1975

NEW YORK TIMES - 11 MAY 1975

Detente Always Sounds Good, but Seeing Is Believing

By JERRY GREENE

Washington, May 14 — From the viewpoint of the average American taxpayer, the appearance of two Russian destroyers in Boston harbor this week is about the only evidence of detente to become visible since the French word for relaxed tensions suddenly became popular a few years back.

Of course it is comforting for the public blood pressure to witness the peaceful exchange of warship visits — two American destroyers are at anchor at Leningrad — with crews of both vessels making like carefully chaperoned tourists.

It is helpful for peace of mind, too, to hear of the massed Soviet leadership signing a statement on the anniversary of VE Day hailing the advent of an era of "peace and reason" following an end to the Cold War.

But it is more encouraging to the practical-minded to find Secretary of State Kissinger moving about the U.S dropping large hints to the Russians that detente must be a two-way street if it is to be worth much or last very long.

In his appearance at St. Louis a couple of days ago, Kissinger combined

CAPITOL STUFF

a touch of optimism with a veiled warning to the Russians: "The U.S. is determined to maintain the hopeful new trends in U.S.-Soviet relations on the basis of realism and reciprocity. But it is equally determined to resist pressures or the exploitation of local conflicts."

Kissinger, in what could be called an extension of President Ford's caution earlier about other nations fishing in the world's troubled waters, told his St. Louis audience that Russia's willingness to exploit strategic opportunities "constitutes a heavy mortgage on detente."

That was about as tough as Kissinger has ever been in speaking publicly about Russia and detente, a slightly hardened line of considerable significance coming shortly before his meeting next Monday with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko. The two will confer in Vienna on the stalled strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) and a new Geneva conference on the Middle East.

By odd coincidence, the apparent development of a turn toward realism in detente emerged at the White House and State Department at the time of publication of a new study of the subject by the American Enterprise Institute. The author of the small book, Vladimir Petrov, is a professor of international affairs at George Washington University.

Petrov did not oppose detente, but he said that he was presenting "an argument in favor of maximum realism in appraising our own strengths and weaknesses as well as those of the adversary and of the international environment in general."

The professor held that contrary to a common view in this country, Soviet - American detente does not signify the end of adversary relationships but a rejection of war and threat of war as the ultimate means of resolving their conflicts. Petrov could not find a defined consensus in the U.S., including the government, as to what detente is about except for a general view that it reduces the threat of a nuclear war and promises a reduction in the cost of armaments.

Petrov's research convinced him that the Middle East has been "a most difficult testing ground for detente" for both the U.S. and the Soviets, that Americans may have had "unrealistically high" hopes for cooperation in working out a peaceful settlement.

The author foresaw an inevitable, continuing rivalry between the U.S. and Russia in the Middle East, with neither superpower ever able to fully dominate the region.

SANTA BARBARA NEWS-PRESS
1 MAY 1975(15)

Viet failure and detente

By Henry Huglin

What effects can our great failure in Vietnam have on the tenuous and limited detente between our country and Soviet Russia?

Well, conceivably, it may lead to the Soviets abandoning detente — and the world becoming considerably more dangerous for us and other peoples

Or, whatever detente remains may be an even more onesided affair than it now is — unless we can restore our weakened position in the world effectively and soon.

Though important, detente has really been more illusion than substance.

Since the Soviets' failure over sneaking nuclear missiles into Cuba in 1962, they have talked relatively softly, touted detente, and lulled us and most of the rest of the noncommunist world. Meanwhile, they have markedly built up their military strength to try to attain superiority over us. They have also flooded arms into the Arab nations and stirred the Mideast cauldron. And they have massively armed the North Vietnamese and at least tacitly encouraged them in their gross violations of the Paris accords and pursuit of their military conquest of South Vietnam.

NOW WE MAY be at a crucial turning point in our relations with the Soviets.

Our nation's strengths, will, and dynamism played the major role in what stability, countering of aggression, and peaceful progress there have been in the world for 30 years, and constituted a major reason for the Soviets' willingness to pursue detente.

However, now, as the result of the appearance that we lost our will and let the South Vietnamese down in their greatest crisis, our image abroad is weakened.

As a result, the Soviets may now adopt toughened conditions for detente, in taking even more adamant stances than those they have already taken in the drawn-out and fruitless but important negotiations on European Security and Co-operation and on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions in Europe.

The Soviets may even try to exploit our apparent weakness of will and withdrawal from a resolute superpower role. They may well start putting pressure, subtly or openly, on us and on our allies and the neutral nations to swing things their way, or else; and they step up their encouragement of subversion and violent revolution in weak countries wherever they can.

So, detente may go by the board or become even more illusory than it is now

OH, THE SOVIETS will continue to be willing to negotiate; a tenet of communist doctrine has long been that negotiations are a means to achieve their expansionist aims But they have always been hard negotiators, with the basic attitude which President Kennedy described — when Chairman Khrushchev threatened to blockade Berlin in 1961 — as "What's mine is mine, what's yours is negotiable."

Further, the Soviets reinforced their "what's mine is mine" attitude in the "Brezhnev Doctrine" — after they suppressed the Czechoslovakian liberalization movement in the "Prague Spring" of 1968. This doctrine, in effect, declares that once a nation has a communist government, it will not be allowed to change to another form of government or even to moderate its regime in ways unacceptable to the Kremlin.

This "Brezhnev Doctrine" is complementary to the Soviets' other doctrine of so-called "peaceful coexistence" which, in essence, amounts to a policy of avoiding open war between them and us, but allowing them to continue encouragement and political and military support of subversion or conquest by force of arms of whatever regimes are in charge in noncommunist nations — to install communist ones with links to Moscow.

SO, WE ARE now likely to have a time of testing by the Soviets. After the Bay of Pigs fiasco in 1961, the Kremlin interpreted that bungle as a weakness of will and perceived an opportunity to sneak their nuclear missiles into Cuba — regardless of our overwhelming military superiority at the time. What may the Kremlin be tempted to do to capitalize on our perceived present weakness, when our will power is widely questioned and our military superiority is rapidly fading?

Now, a cause for further concern is that we Americans will not soon be able to reach a renewed consensus as to what the world is like and what our role should be. Our reactions to Vietnam have so warped our normal perspective that we may not be able collectively to think clearly and determine a sound future foreign affairs course — without a grave crisis which would bring our situation into stark perspective.

We need to hope that, whatever crisis jolts us out of our widespread escapist mood of wishful-thinking isolationism, it will not be so crucial as to present us with a ghastly choice of backing down to Soviet power and toughness or risking nuclear war.

We should — but likely won't until we face a severe crisis — realistically focus anew on the world and its dangers and inescapable responsibilities for us, renew our strengths, will, confidence, and unity, and gird ourselves for coming challenges.

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DEFENSE SPACE BUSINESS DAILY 13 MAY 1975(15)

CURRIE URGES RESTRAINT ON TECHNOLOGY EXCHANGE

Sees Danger In Loss Of Technological Initiative

Dr. Malcolm Currie, the Pentagon's director of research and engineering, yesterday was urging restraint in the United States approach to the issue of exporting its technology either to our NATO allies or to the Soviet Union.

Currie, warning that the U. S. technology "is one of the few key assets we have left with which to barter on a world-wide basis," said it should also be recognized that "our military friends are also our industrial competitors."

'Under Guise Of Detente'

The Pentagon research director told an economic gathering in Detroit that the Soviet Union is attempting "under the guise of detente" to eliminate its great deficiency in production technology through the acquisition of complete turn-key plant operations in the critical, high-technology areas.

He said the Soviet technique for acquiring this technology is designed to "appeal to our sometimes naive acceptance" of the vast new markets and the U. S. quest to solve its immediate trade deficit and cash flow problems.

Currie said the sharing of technology with the U. S. allies could produce dividends "under the right circumstances." He said this "complex issue" must be approached with caution and after extensive study and, then, the U. S. should demand two requirements before the technology is sold: 1) a measurable and appropriate long-term quid pro quo; 2) the U. S. must re-invest to keep its advanced technology reservoir full.

Stressing that the Soviet Union has "clearly achieved strategic nuclear parity," while their "staggering" momentum and level of effort continue. Currie pointed out that the Soviets recently declared that technology is "the most important area of competition between the two major world-opposed systems."

He said the Pentagon is urgently in need of the $10 billion R&D program it is requesting of the Congress for FY 1976, not only to pursue developments affecting the strategic and conventional balance of power, but "to begin to revitalize the fundamental base of technology on which continued security rests."

Currie said the new Congressional budget committees offer a bright hope and are a healthy development, because of the need to have a multi-year approach to financial planning as a part of the legislative process. He said, however, the program is still operating in confusion and has not taken the necessary steps to make long term trade-offs among priorities, "to really recognize the implications of current legislation."

Currie expressed hope that these new committees will set up a system where all areas of concern in the national budget are perceived as controllable. He explained that by 1980 at the current rate, "the so-called 'uncontrollable' socio-economic programs" will have an annual growth larger than the entire Defense budget. "We're reaching a point where the whole Defense establishment could be cancelled, and we would only stave off the problems of national spending on socio-economic programs by less than a year."

He said one of the major sources of strength in the U. S. is the close interrelationship between the civil and military technology areas. He said this relationship has paid off well -- "Our national defense requirements have driven technology to a level of excellence which benefits our society as a whole. At the same time, our defense needs have been well served by strong civil industry."

Currie said this is a source of power, "this interlocking strength," lacking in the Soviet system "and their leaders know it." He said their civil technology "is still shabby" and they are striving to catch up. One way is their efforts to acquire turn-key production capabilities in such areas as integrated circuits, computers, computer software, aircraft, jet engines, avionics and specialized instruments.

'Not Optimistic'

He told the Economic Club of Detroit that they understand the "technological initiative," and what it means to have it and to understand what it means when it is gone. He admitted that he was not optimistic about the future of the nation as a whole to understand and dedicate itself to that initiative.

"Without a revived sense of understanding and commitment, I cannot be optimistic about our future. Will we survive to the year 2000 in the form which we cherish -- or are we in a late Roman period? -- Now is not the time to recede by default from the fundamentals of our greatness."

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 15 May 1975

NEW YORK TIMES 15 MAY 1975

Israel's 'Inflexible Stand'

By Amos Kenan

A stubborn war of eighty years between the Arab world and the movement for the return to Zion, today embodied by the State of Israel, is on the brink of ending. It would be a pity and a crime if it took another war to convince the parties involved to come to peaceful resolution.

Israel has always said that the Arab world will not discuss frontiers with her; instead the dialogue is always about her right to exist. Now, however, when the Arab world seems ready at last to accept an independent, Jewish political state in the Middle East the Israelis are not responding positively to this extended hand. Almost all the Arab leaders are ready to grant legitimacy to a Jewish state, given Israeli territorial concessions. Yet the Israeli Government maintains an inflexible stand in not being willing to give up conquered territories.

The spark that will ignite the next war is in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. This is what lies behind the failure of Secretary of State Kissinger's recent mission seeking a new Egyptian-Israeli accord. This is why a Geneva conference may be doomed in advance. This is also the reason for the offensive Israel is now initiating, through the American news media, against the Ford Administration.

An international consensus has developed on the question of Israel's frontiers. The Soviet Union, the United States, Western Europe, and Arab countries in direct confrontation with Israel, are willing to grant legitimacy to a Jewish state and even to guarantee the security of Israel's frontiers, provided that Israel withdraws from the territories conquered in June, 1967.

Even the Palestine Liberation Organization has indicated a willingness to recognize Israel, provided that she withdraws from occupied territories and recognizes the Palestinians. The trouble is that no Government in Israel today appears capable of delivering the necessary goods.

It doesn't matter if Yitzhak Rabin thinks one way or the other; the fact is that neither he nor anyone in a position to take over as Prime Minister could convince the public of the necessity for withdrawal.

Any government that tried to convince the Israeli public would be immediately toppled by an angry public, which would accuse that government of selling out. Within Israeli public opinion the extremists rule; the Government is too weak to force them out. Because of its weakness the Government has not in any way prepared the public to accept withdrawal and concessions.

Mr. Kissinger failed because of the Israelis. The Israelis demanded that the Arab world settle for an Israeli promise of only small-scale, insignificant withdrawal. The Arabs were not born yesterday; they, of course, wanted to know what would come next. This, the Israelis were unwilling to tell. Now, many Israelis feel that if they could force Mr. Kissinger out of office and isolate Mr. Ford they could clear the way for postponing a

(See ISRAEL, Pg. 10-F)

Amos Kenan, an Israeli novelist and playwright, is a political commentator for the Hebrew-language newspaper Yediot Ahronot.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 14 MAY 1975 (15)

The way to Mideast peace

By Charles H. Percy

Washington

In our national preoccupation with the rapid-fire sequence of events in Vietnam, there has been a tendency to overlook a blunt warning of trouble ahead in another quarter. Jordan's King Hussein, on a private visit to Washington recently, told us insistently that a new military confrontation in the Middle East could be only months away.

King Hussein has spoken in this ominous way before. When I visited him in January he described the situation in his tinderbox region as "a false peace that is shrinking by the hour." Whatever the timetable, we ignore Hussein's warning and others like it at our peril. Time indeed is running out on our best opportunity to avoid what he calls "the military option" in the Middle East.

Nor can we be at all confident that any new resort to arms can be localized. Renewed fighting between Arab and Israeli will instantly heighten the danger of confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union, the two superpowers so deeply involved there.

If war comes it will not be because a majority or even a sizable minority on either side wants it. It will come because not enough was done to prevent it.

Seldom in history has a third party labored so diligently — and to some degree successfully — to achieve peace as the U.S. has done and is continuing to do in the Middle East. Yet ultimately only the Arabs and the Israelis themselves can create an accommodation more lasting than the "false peace" we cling to now.

What, then, can the moderate, peace-seeking leadership on both sides do to bring about a settlement that might endure?

To begin with, I believe the Arabs must try to better understand Israel's deep fears for its safety, indeed for its very existence. Such fears are rooted in memories of the holocaust. They were fed by the rhetoric of Nasser, who left Israelis with the impression that he would like to see their young nation pushed into the sea. And currently they are embodied in the "dream" of Arafat — expressed last fall at the United Nations — to create a secular Palestinian state of Muslims, Jews, amd Christians.

To most Israelis, this was a threat to the survival of Israel as a primarily Jewish state. At the very least, the Palestine Liberation Organization's wanton terror raids and its unwillingness to accept Israel's sovereignty can only add to Israel's understandable fears.

Arab leaders could ease those fears by saying publicly and clearly what they have told me and others privately: that they do accept Israel's right to exist. (And while they're at it, they might literally put Israel "on the map" where it rightfully belongs. I have not seen the state of Israel on a single Arab map.)

One step Egypt in particular could take is to allow passage of Israeli-cargo and Israeli-flag ships through the Suez when it is reopened next month. And there are other moves that can come, once it is established that Arab and Israeli intend to coexist in peace: an end to the Arab boycott; the opening of trade and the beginning of cultural and nonmilitary exchanges; the allowing of free migration to Israel of Jews living in the Arab countries, giving them the same rights accorded all other residents.

The Israelis, for their part, must try to dispel the growing impression that they are rigid in negotiations. This does not mean that Israel is expected to take actions contrary to its national security interest; even its enemies would not expect that.

Yet it must understand the unified Arab insistence that there can be no meaningful settlement until a permanent homeland is established for the displaced Palestinians. Who more than the Israelis should be sympathetic to the desire of Palestinians for recognition and a home of their own?

One can understand Israel's reluctance to negotiate with the PLO, given that organization's repugnant record of terrorism and threat. One may also regret that a man who is an acknowledged terrorist chieftain is the chosen spokesman for the Palestinian liberationists — a leader both acknowledged and supported by the entire Arab world. But unhappily in this world we cannot choose our adversaries. If Israel continues to refuse to talk with Arafat and the PLO, there is no possibility of a durable peace.

I also believe there will be no peace for Israel, no security for Israel, until it withdraws from most of the lands it has occupied since the 1967 war. Egypt and Syria are no more likely to passively and permanently forfeit that land than Israel would if the positions were reversed. While adjustments will probably have to be made in the pre-1967 borders, especially along the strategically critical Golan Heights, the return of most of the occupied territory is a prerequisite to any settlement that is to have any chance of success.

At this point, concessions are seen by many in both camps to involve risk. But not to make concessions is to risk more. Those on both sides who hesitate might well recall the admonition of the remarkable former Israeli Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion: "Real peace with our neighbors . . . a settlement they will not reluctantly agree to live with, but will enthusiastically welcome from their hearts as essential for our common future — that is our only true security."

Senator Percy is ranking Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs.

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BALTIMORE NEWS AMERICAN 14 MAY 1975(15)

Saudi Arabian Arms Agent Gets $45-Million Fee

By JOHN HALL
News American
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Pentagon has advised a Saudi Arabian businessman it will rise no objection to his collecting a $45-million commission on a fighter maintenance and training contract being negotiated between his government and the United States.

A spokesman for Adnan M. Khashoggi, an arms salesman who has built a fortune representing American companies selling weapons in the Middle East, said Pentagon officials told him reports that the Defense Dept. was alarmed about the size of his prospective fee were inaccurate.

The spokesman, Ed Moss, said Maj. Gen. Howard M. Fish, chief of the Defense Security Assistance Agency, told him it ws "none of our (the Pentagon's) business" how much Khashoggi gets.

"We are neutral," Fish was quoted as saying.

The $45-million fee represents Khashoggi's standard four-to-five per cent take on a proposed $850 million contract offer by the United States for the Northrop Corporation tomaintain Saudi Arabia's fleet of F 5E aircraft and train its pilots.

It is one of the largest agents' fees ever publicly identified.

The contract was negotiated under the foreign military sales program, under this program, the U.S. government buys goods and services from the manufacturer and sells them at cost plus fees and overhead expenses to the recipient government.

Moss said none of the money was used for bribes or purchasing influence in the Middle East. He noted that in Saudi Arabia, all profits from the sale of oil go directly to the king and he distributes them as he see fit. Consequently, public officals are so rich they cannot be bribed.

A statement from Khasoggi distributed here noted that Triad Marketing, the arms middleman company he heads with his two brothers, "acts as interpreters in a sense. We know our country and how to organize the facilities to do the work there. We explain to our government and its experts the technicalities involved in designing and manufacturing highly sophisticated equipment which only a few nations can make."

He noted that his fees are "often less then recommended by the Pentagon to American companies for their representatives all over the world."

Moss noted that one of Fish's assistants, Joseph Hoening, recently advised American arms exporters that agents fees of five or six per cent — and even as high as 21 per cent for small contracts — were standard in most countries.

Hoening — in the same report which was disclosed last week by the Hearst Newspapers — said bribery of public officials by arms manufacturers, through inflated agents fees, was a common practice, particularly in the Middle East.

A spokesman for the Pentagon said, "our position is that we do not advocate bribery." Defense regulations bar contracts containing fees for agents who seek "to obtain any government contract or contracts for its principals through the use of improper influence or which holds itself out as being able to obtain any government contract or contracts through improper influence."

SAN DIEGO UNION 23 APRIL 1975(15 MAY)

PAUL SCOTT

Moscow To Divert Aid From Vietnam To Arabs

Russia is preparing to divert arms shipments originally destined for North Vietnam to the strategically important Middle East.

Modern military equipment, including tanks, armored cars, heavy artillery, and anti-aircraft guns loaded aboard ships at Soviet Pacific coast ports, is to be rerouted to Iraq, Syria and Egypt. That is the private message sent last week from Moscow by an Iraqi delegation to its government following their meeting with top Russian leaders in the Kremlin.

The highly classified message, intercepted by a U.S. intelligence Communication Center in the Middle East, is considered to be one of the most important documents to fall into the hands of U.S. authorities in recent years.

The hard core of the message is that if and when Hanoi puts the finishing touches on the takeover of South Vietnam, massive amounts of Soviet arms earmarked for that battle area can be shifted to pro-Moscow clients in the Middle East.

Shipments to Iraq from the Soviet's Far East stockpiles are expected to begin immediately, with the flow of arms to Syria and Egypt following as soon as Cairo opens the Suez Canal to international shipping. The opening is set for around June 10.

Only a miraculous defense of the Saigon area by the out-gunned and outmanned South Vietnamese military, and setbacks by the invading North Vietnamese, could upset or alter the Kremlin's timetable for the introduction of massive amounts of military equipment from their Far East stockpiles into the Middle East and Persian Gulf area.

As an integral part of the new Middle East arms deal, Soviet leaders have demanded that the three Arab nations join in the Moscow directed diplomatic campaign to force the U.S. to cut off all military aid to the beleaguered South Vietnamese government.

The Russians bluntly told the visiting Iraqi delegation that the quicker South Vietnam falls the sooner massive arms aid will be available from their bulging Far East stockpiles.

Significantly, Soviet diplomats in the Middle East are stressing that the flow of Soviet arms from their Far East stockpiles can be used to pressure the U.S. into forcing concessions from Israel at the coming Geneva Conference.

The reasoning of the Russians is that the last thing in the world that the Ford Administration should want is a build-up of Soviet arms in the Persian Gulf region from two different directions. All of the Soviet arms now flowing into this region are shipped from Black Sea and East German ports or sent via air through Bulgaria.

The new Russian arms aid strategy for the Middle East has caught U.S. policy-makers off guard and so far they haven't figured out what to do about it.

(ISRAEL...CONT'D.)

settlement and perhaps for a fresh round of fighting.

A withdrawal from the West Bank has only one meaning for most Israelis: the creation of a Palestinian state. Israelis generally are not willing to recognize the Palestinians and, of course, they are not willing to accept a Palestinian state bordering theirs.

Until now, Israelis could claim in their defense that Palestinian ideology and tactics rendered dialogue impossible. A shift, however, has recently occurred. Even the P.L.O. appears to be willing to recognize Israel under certain conditions. Now, many Israelis argue that this new readiness to recognize Israel is only tactical and lacks long-range credibility.

The view of the Middle East by Israeli political leadership and public opinion bears little relationship to the view of much of the rest of the world. This disparity has led to Israeli isolation. Isolation breeds despair and may lead to war.

The October, 1973, war may at least have taught some Israelis the necessity of making concessions to Egypt and Syria. Not many Israelis are as yet prepared to make concessions to the Palestinians. Certain Israelis believe that their state should initiate a new war soon; they believe that Israel would win and would thereby occupy additional Arab territory. According to this reasoning, Israel could thereafter return the newly acquired territory and hold onto the desired West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Another war in the Middle East would be a historical and political catastrophe for all concerned. Even a military victory would in reality be a defeat for Israel. The increased bitterness and calamity of fighting and loss of life would make peaceful negotiation even more difficult. It is a moral obligation of the American public generally and the American-Jewish public most especially to prevent so deadly a gamble by Israel.

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BALTIMORE NEWS-AMERICAN - 13 MAY 1975(15)

APG Admits Killing Test Animals

By EDWARD COLIMORE
Staff Reporter

Helpless animals were maimed and killed by hard rubber balls fired from experimental, "non-lethal" weapons during U.S. Army tests conducted at Aberdeen Proving Grounds from 1973-1974, an Army spokesman said today.

Hank Paulick, the spokesman, said at least 38 baboons and pigs were killed with the newly-developed gun or put to sleep because of serious injuries suffered in the tests.

"More than 443 animals were used by a team of Army researchers in the Land Warfare Dept.," Paulick said.

"After animal experiments were concluded in June, 1974, the group of researchers disbanded.

"The tests were conducted in compliance with guidelines set down by the National Science Foundation and National Research Council."

However, he said, some animals were killed.

"Those that did not die, but were seriously injured were put to sleep. A veterinarian and pathologist were always present."

Paulick said the project, which was federally-funded through the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, was to provide data in the weapon's usefulness in fighting crime.

"This type of weapon would be used by a policeman to arrest a purse snatcher. The crime doesn't warrant shooting the suspect, so the patrolman would stun him with a non-lethal projectile. These bullets are sometimes referred to as 'bean bags.'"

The weapon, designed and manufactured by AAI Inc., a Cockeysville firm, uses a non-explosive device to fire hard rubber balls or other bullets.

Although tests have been concluded, AAI Inc., formerly Aircraft Armaments, Inc., has a government contract which does not expire until September, 1975.

Marvin Cahn, vice president of the company which develops military and non-military electronic equipment, siad his designers built a prototype according to government specifications.

"There was some liason," he said. "We had our people present to observe and instruct the Army in use of the weapon.

"Compared to a conventional gun, the weapon exhibits a low velocity and does not use gun powder to power the projectile."

Cahn said he was not aware of the Army's animal experiments.

"The government contacts us and we make a bid. The lowest bidder gets the job. Then we design and manufacture the product. I did not know the details of the tests until recently."

The Army's experiments have drawn much criticism.

Sen. William V. Roth Jr., R-Del., charged the tests were inhumane.

In a letter to Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger and Atty. Gen. Edward H. Levi, Roth said the project "involves unnecessary cruelty to and barbaric treatment of, animals for extremely dubious purposes."

He said projectiles were shot at heads, faces, kidneys and other areas of the animals' bodies to determine the extent of wounds. Roth said the animals are then killed and autopsies performed to assess damage.

The Delaware senator also charged that the experiments were conducted to test the effectiveness fo the "superballs" for possible use as a crowd control weapon.

"I do not believe it is proper or desirable that the sort of weapons contemplated in this project should be used against crowds of human beings," Roth said.

"All too often new, and supposedly more humane weapons, are being misused and too lightly employed."

The $512,000 project also drew criticism from the Maryland Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

Mrs. Mary D. Wilkes, a spokesman for the group, said the tests were "pitiless."

"We have fought Aberdeen Proving Grounds and Edgewood Arsenal all the way to the Pentagon to have inhumane experiments to animals cancelled," She said.

"It seems bold of us to say we have the Pentagon under surveillance, but we do. We won't tolerate cruelty to animals from any source."

ARMS CONTROL TODAY - APRIL 1975(15 MAY)

WHAT POLICY FOR NERVE GAS?

Matthew Meselson

During World War II Germany produced, but did not use, a new super-toxic class of lethal chemicals, the nerve gases. During the 1950s and 1960s the United States produced thousands of tons of nerve gas and stockpiled nerve gas weapons designed for tactical battlefield use. These are stored mainly in the continental U.S., with a lesser quantity deployed in Europe, in the Federal Republic of Germany. We have no reliable estimate of the size or the composition of the Soviet poison gas stockpile, although the U.S.S.R. and a number of other countries could readily produce nerve gas.

Lethal chemicals are generally considered to be weapons of mass destruction. For example, under not uncommon meteorological conditions a single light bomber could deliver enough nerve gas to cause a high percentage of fatalities over a downwind area of several square miles. But despite the potential of nerve gas and certain other lethal chemicals for inflicting mass casualties, quite effective protection can be provided for combat troops, in the form of modern gas masks, protective clothing, vehicle air conditioners, and other equipment. Although an initial resort to nerve gas would inflict heavy casualties on military units if caught off guard, its subsequent use against troops with modern protective equipment would be much less effective, a fact of potential importance for chemical arms control.

Edging Toward Chemical Arms Control

The principal treaty dealing with chemical weapons is the Geneva Protocol of 1925. All militarily important nations are parties, including the members of NATO, the Warsaw Pact, and the People's Republic of China. After nearly fifty years of alternating controversy and inattention, the United States has finally become a party to the Protocol, following its ratification by President Ford on January 22, 1975, with the undivided support of the Senate. The Protocol is, in effect, a no-first-use agreement. It *does not* prohibit stockpiling of chemical weapons or reprisal in kind against a violator. However, the U.S. and U.S.S.R. as parties to the Biological Weapons Convention of 1972 have undertaken, under Article IX, to negotiate effective measures for prohibiting the development, production and possession of chemical weapons of war. At Moscow, in July, 1974, President Nixon and Secretary Brezhnev declared their agreement to consider a joint initiative at the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD) in Geneva to obtain an international convention eliminating the most lethal chemical weapons. This was reaffirmed by President Ford and Secretary Brezhnev at Vladivostok last November. However, no such initiative has yet been made nor has the United States put forward any proposals of its own.

. . . And Away From It

Meanwhile the Department of Defense has renewed its request, voted down in the House of Representatives last year, for funds to build a facility to produce a new generation of nerve gas weapons, safer to handle and store, called binaries. Only $8.8 million is being sought for the new facility but over the course of several years it would cost approximately $1,000 million to produce binary nerve gas weapons to replace the existing stockpile and perhaps three quarters of a billion more to dispose of the latter. For two years the Defense Department has testified before Congress in favor of binaries, while the Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency has testified against. The case for buying binaries is not that they are more effective on the battlefield—in fact they are not. Rather, the arguments for and against them are largely psychological and political. Advocates consider that their safety features will overcome public opposition to transportation and forward deployment of nerve gas weapons. Critics argue that a major new round of chemical weapons procurement will spoil chances for negotiating a chemical arms control treaty and will stimulate the international proliferation of chemical weapons.

U.S. Policy at a Crossroads

While the dispute over binaries has occupied center stage, the present situaton represents a crossroads of a more fundamental nature. Broadly defined, the choice is between (1) replacement of the existing stockpile with binaries or at

See NERVE GAS, Pg. 12-F

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NEW YORK NEWS - 15 MAY 1975

Unconditional Amnesty Haunts Ford

— By J. F. TERHORST —

Washington — Thinking the unthinkable is an exercise for which Presidents rarely seem to find time. Yet President Ford pondered the unthinkable for his administration the other day — unconditional amnesty for the young Americans who fled the country rather than serve in Vietnam.

He waded only briefly, then moved on to more pressing matters on his agenda. But the thought remains in the back of Gerald Ford's mind, where he has thrust it for now. It is one of those things that will not go away.

The occasion was a staff meeting in the President's office last week. Ford assistants were pleased with the public reaction to his earlier news conference, especially because Ford had looked so "presidential."

But a question had come up. While the President had rightly insisted on the necessity of welcoming thousands of Vietnamese refugees seeking sanctuary here, he had declined to offer this same hand of fellowship to the thousands of American boys who, for reasons of conscience, had refused to fight in Vietnam. The inconsistency of the administration's position already had been noted on the editorial pages of a few major papers. Others, too, would soon note it. What about it, sir?

The point had not escaped Ford. Having adopted the theme that "The war in Vietnam is over" and that recrimination and anger must now give way to healing and unity, the White House could not easily argue that America should deal more generously with the Vietnamese who fled their country than with America's own sons.

The room fell silent while the President reflected, but it was obvious from the impatient stirrings of key aides, including his staff chief, Donald Rumsfeld, and Coundelor Robert Hartmann, that unconditional amnesty was an issue fraught with explosive politics.

An Officer's Scornful Quip

A senior staffer punctured the silence with a scornful quip. Perhaps, he suggested, the draft evaders could be welcomed home and Medals of Honor given them by the President.

Ford sighed and asked Rumsfeld to get on with the rest of the day's schedule.

The amnesty question, nonetheless, is getting more gingery every day, and not only for Ford. The Presidential Clemency Board, expanded from nine to 18 members by executive order, began a three-day session even though the names of the newcomers had not been formally announced by the White House. According to Chairman Charles Goodell, the board couldn't afford to waste a day if it were to complete its review of approximately 20,000 cases of draft evasion and military desertion by the September deadline.

In addition, the White House Office of Management and Budget is looking into the board's mushrooming staff of almost 400 people on temporary assignment from other agencies. They investigate each of the cases and make recommendations for clemency action. Most of these cases involve young men under 20 who have been convicted of military or draft offenses and seek a chance to clear their names by performing alternative-service work for up to 24 months. Because of the legal complexities of each case, Goodell has insisted that two thirds of his staff have legal experience—thus making the clemency program one of the highest-priced temporary projects in the federal government.

New Problems Cropping Up

Meanwhile, new problems crop up in the field. Because of high unemployment, many of the clemency applicants cannot find jobs in which to perform their alternative service. And some who do find approved employment have been forced out of work by hard-liners who contend that such jobs should go to honorably discharged Vietnam veterans. "Unfortunately," the board wrote the mother of one Kansas youth, "some Americans have not found it in themselves to react in the spirit of forgiveness and reconciliation."

Despite his rejection of the idea the other day, the concept of unconditional amnesty continues to tug at Ford.

Determined to cut federal spending, he is keenly aware of the millions of dollars being spend on his limited amnesty program and its uneven results.

Now that the war is over, his lawyer's instincts tell him also that equity is not served by demanding more from the young Americans who fled Vietnam service than from the Vietnamese who fled to save their lives—some of whom reportedly evaded military duty in their own land. As a father of three sons of draft age who did not have to serve, he is conscious, too, that others' sons could not take advantage of draft-law loopholes. And Ford knows that if he could use his moral authority to evacuate so many Vietnamese from Saigon, he has the same authority to welcome home the wayward Americans in Canada and Sweden.

At the moment, the President is dissuaded from so doing by the feeling that those who didn't serve in Vietnam owe a debt to those who did—and by the certain knowledge, abetted by his staff, that the political right would have one more reason to oppose him for the presidency next year.

However unthinkable just now, the thought of undonditional amnesty is on Ford's mind. As he said at his news conference, "There's always a chance in the future if the facts justify it." He will find them.

WASHINGTON POST
15 MAY 1975

U.S. Residence Hit In Buenos Aires

Reuter

BUENOS AIRES, May 14—The residence here of U.S. ambassador Robert Hill was riddled with machine-gun bullets tonight, U.S. embassy sources said.

Police guarding the residence exchanged fire with a group of men who were operating from a car. Police said one guard was wounded and two attackers were arrested.

The embassy sources said Hill witnessed the attack from a window and was not hurt.

NERVE GAS -- CONTINUED

cord the rejection of the current inventory, possibly with some modifications to suit newer types of aircraft and artillery, and (2) renunciation of lethal chemical weapons, either through international agreement or unilaterally, seeking a treaty afterwards.

It is not maintained that chemical weapons are needed to deter war itself. Our conventional and nuclear forces serve that role. Neither do senior officials consider that we would have any important incentive to be the first to attack with gas should major war occur. Stated U.S. policy has long been not to start poison gas warfare, a doctrine further solidified by U.S. ratification of the Geneva Protocol. Rather, it is argued that the prospect of retaliation in kind would contribute importantly to deterring the Soviets from using the nerve gas that they must be assumed to possess and that, if such deterrence fails, our retaliation could enable us to defend Europe without necessitating immediate resort to nuclear weapons. The rationale for these beliefs rests not on the direct casualty-producing capability of nerve gas, which would be minimized by the use of protective equipment, but rather on the reduction in fighting efficiency that results from wearing masks and suits and taking other protective measures. It is contended that the ability to retaliate in kind in the combat zone and in rear support areas would allow us to impose on the Soviets the same protective posture they impose on us, greatly reducing the advantages to them of any protracted use of gas. However, it must be admitted that our retaliatory capability does nothing to reduce the advantage to the Soviets inherent in the initial casualties and confusion that could be inflicted by a surprise gas attack on our forces.

But technical military considerations aside, the case for having nerve gas rests on psychological assumptions that go to the heart of NATO defense doctrine. Would our nerve gas deter Soviet first use or would it instead encourage them to think of a desperate moment that they might use nerve gas to break a battlefield deadlock without provoking a nuclear response? And if NATO is attacked with nerve gas, would our retaliation in kind help to gain time and promote the sanity needed to terminate hostilities? Or would it so complicate the calculations of both sides as to preclude the clarity of analysis and communication needed to stop a war short of all-out nuclear exchange? Indeed, must not nuclear weapons inevitably come rapidly into play in response to any determined Soviet thrust into Europe, thereby completely overshadowing the question of gas warfare?

Setting the Example

It is generally agreed that in addition to the cost in resources, there are other costs of stockpiling nerve gas and having an active nerve gas program. Today no nonnuclear nation is thought to have stockpiled nerve gas weapons. It is very much in our interest to preserve this situation. Our great wealth allows us to expend enormous quantities of conventional munitions in tactical war and to maintain large strategic and tactical nuclear forces. Very few countries even approach this capability. However, nerve gas weapons have the potential of wide area coverage at relatively low cost. Their proliferation would greatly enhance the capability of smaller countries and perhaps even of dissident paramilitary groups for threat, harassment, and destruction. The United States and the Soviet Union set the pace and direction of military developments throughout the world. The more interest we display in nerve gas weapons, the more we pioneer their technology and invest in them, the more lesser military powers are likely to question their case for refraining from acquiring nerve gas weapons of their own.

On a different level of concern, the rapid and accelerating advancement of biochemistry and the biological sciences is inevitably leading to a profound ability to manipulate life processes for good or ill. Over the long run, it may be very important to create an international consensus that such knowledge is not to be exploited for military purposes. The possession of nerve gas weapons maintains institutional commitments to such exploitation. In contrast, if nerve gas can be eliminated we would be free to create an atmosphere in which our increasing knowledge of life processes is directed solely to man's benefit and in which research is conducted under the more or less open public scrutiny that is probably necessary to ensure such beneficial use.

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RADIO - TV DEFENSE DIALOG

RADIO TV REPORTS INC. WASH., D.C., SUMMARIES NOT TO BE QUOTED.

FRIDAY, MAY 16, 1975 (BROADCASTS OF MAY 15, 1975)

SUMMARY OF NETWORK NEWS IN THIS ISSUE

John CHANCELLOR, Charles QUINN, Catherine MACKIN, Carl STERN and Richard VALERIANI, all of NBC News, report on the rescue of the Mayaguez. QUINN reports on the sinking of the gunboats; the securing of the Mayaguez by Marines; the landing on Koh-Tang island; air strikes; the recovery of the crew; and a statement by Secretary SCHLESINGER on freedom of the seas in reference to the military action. He also includes a statement by Secretary LAITIN concerning the removal of U.S. forces from the area. He reports two dead, a dozen wounded and 14 missing. MACKIN reports on statements by Senators GOLDWATER, JACKSON, NELSON and others concerning the U.S. military action in Cambodia. STERN reports on the question of Presidential authority versus the War Powers Act of 1973. Arthur LORD, NBC, reports on the adverse reaction of the Thais to the use of Thailand as a staging area for the attack. CHANCELLOR reports a summary of the Mayaguez rescue; the Cambodian transmission; public support for the action; notification of the Congress; and other nations' reactions to the incident. VALERIANI reports on the current diplomatic relationship with Thailand in the aftermath of the Mayaguez rescue. CHANCELLOR reports that the three AID officials in Laos are still captive and have been threatened with death. CHANCELLOR reports on a statement by Sea-Land Services, Inc., chairman MAKAVOY concerning the mission and the cargo of the Mayaguez.

Bob SCHIEFFER, Ike PAPPAS, Phil JONES, Mike LEE, David DOW and Eric SEVAREID, all of CBS News, report and comment on the Mayaguez rescue and related topics. PAPPAS gives a chronology of the unfolding of events of the military aspect of the rescue operation from beginning to end. JONES reports that the difficulties in the operation were the lack of information on the whereabouts of the crew and the lack of communication between the two governments. He includes a statement by President FORD on the rescue of the crew. LEE reports on a statement by a Sea-Land spokesman thanking the military and the government for the rescue. He also includes a statement by a member of a captured seaman's family and his reaction to the rescue. DOW interviews Lloyd BUCHER on his reaction to the rescue operation and on what would have or have not happened if the U.S. had intervened militarily to rescue the Pueblo. SEVAREID comments on the success of the mission; reviews the underlying assumptions for the rescue mission; discusses the procedure in international law; and probable reasons why the U.S. undertook the military rescue. SCHIEFFER reports on casualties of the operation; telegrams coming into the President and other items.

Harry REASONER, Howard K. SMITH, Frank TOMLINSON and Frank REYNOLDS, all of ABC News, report on the Mayaguez rescue. TOMLINSON reports on the military facits of the operation, the securing of the ship and fighting at Koh-Tang island, and on the smoothness of the operation. REYNOLDS gives a chronology of the unfolding events in the rescue operation, including the communication between the U.S. and Cambodia. REASONER comments on what it means to be a Pacific power now in relation to 40 years ago and on the doubtful usefullness of Thailand as an American ally.

PREPARED BY THE AIR FORCE SAFAA AS EXECUTIVE AGENT FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE TO BRING TO THE ATTENTION OF KEY DOD PERSONNEL MATTERS WITHIN THEIR OFFICIAL RESPONSIBILITIES.

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NBC NIGHTLY NEWS NBC TV
7:00 PM MAY 15

Mayaguez Returned; Reactions

JOHN CHANCELLOR: Good evening. The rescue of the American ship Mayaguez has been successful, its 39 crewmen have been returned safely to their ship and the Marines who landed on Koh-Tang island in the Gulf of Siam to accomplish all this are now off the island and on the carrier Coral Sea. There was heavy fighting. The cost is presently reckoned at one Marine, one Air Force man killed, some wounded -- we don't know how many -- and around 14 missing, eight Marines and six Air Force helicopter crewmen. The crew of the Mayaguez suffered no injuries, they were found afloat in a fishing boat with fishermen from Thailand apparently released by the Cambodians. This is Defense Department film of part of the operation in which a number of helicopters were lost or damaged. There's Koh-Tang island as the Marines headed in toward the beach. It was a tough landing and for a time the helicopters couldn't land because of heavy Cambodian fire. The Cambodian guns were silenced by American planes, but even so, some of the helicopters were hit. Our correspondent Charles Quinn has spent the last few days at the Pentagon covering the Mayaguez story. Here he is now with the story of what happened.

CHARLES QUINN: The first American strike came late Tuesday night, Washington time, off the island of Koh-Tang against the Cambodian gunboats which had seized the Mayaguez. The Americans said they did it to stop planes from moving the captured American seamen to the mainland, three gunboats were destroyed. Twenty-one hours later President FORD ordered the rescue of the Mayaguez and its crew. Marines, flying by helicopter from Thailand, landed on the destroyer Holt, then boarded the Mayaguez. No one was aboard but in the ship's mess the Marines found warm food and hot tea. At the same time more Marines and helicopters invaded the island of Koh-Tang. The first chopper moving in was shot down about 100 feet offshore. Five minutes later a second chopper came in and was hit, it crashlanded on the beach, the Marines got out and took cover. A third helicopter was also knocked down on the beach, more choppers came, the Marines swarmed out, the fight was on. Just before 11 o'clock last night an air strike was ordered from the carrier Coral Sea against Ream airbase on the mainland near the port of Kampong Som. At about the same time the destroyer Wilson, also lying off the island of Koh-Tang reported a small fishing boat approaching from the direction of the mainland under a white flag. Minutes later the crew of the Mayaguez scrambled aboard the destroyer, the Americans were safe. Fighting on Koh-Tang continued, resistance was stiff, at times heavy. Half the helicopter force was now out of action; three destroyed, two disabled, so the Marines decided to wait for the Coral Sea, still more than six hours away by helicopter. While the fighting was still going on Defense Secretary SCHLESINGER explained the reason for the action.

DEFENSE SECRETARY SCHLESINGER: It represents a much needed and timely reaffirmation of the freedom of the seas and of peaceful transit. Moreover, it represents a firm and measured response to the high handed and crude use of force. A countenancing such an act would have meant the weakening of international order and of civilized communication.

QUINN: The Marines were through by chopper and small boats, sometimes under heavy hostile fire. A number of helicopters were driven off. Finally it was over. Pentagon spokesman Joseph LAITIN announced the end.

SECRETARY JOSEPH LAITIN: At 9:10 AM EDT Washington time the last helicopter brought out a number of Marines and helicopter crewmen which it is believed are the last of the security ground force on the island.

QUINN: The number of American casualties is still not clear, reports are conflicting and incomplete. The best estimates now are two dead, about a dozen wounded, 14 missing. Much earlier today SCHLESINGER said the price paid was significant but small, he said, in relation to the contribution to this nation and the civilized world. Charles Quinn, NBC News, Washington.

CHANCELLOR: The White House, in commenting on a Cambodian radio offer to give up the ship, indicated that because of the nature of the transmission it wasn't sure the offer was the real thing and that soon after that the attack in any case was underway. But there was general jubilation at the White House. Tom Brokaw has the story of the President's involvement.

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CHANCELLOR: There is other evidence of public support for the Mayaguez

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operation. A national poll conducted by NBC News this week shows support for military action from about two out of every three people polled.

***(Commercials)

CHANCELLOR: President FORD notified Congress early today in a letter of the military action he had ordered to rescue the Mayaguez and its crew. That was in conformance with the War Powers Act of two years ago which requires the President to make such a report within 48 hours of the time the action is taken. However, in a single sentence at the end of the letter he said he took the action pursuant to the constitutional authority, making no mention of the War Powers Act. Catherine Mackin has more on that and on congressional reaction.

CATHERINE MACKIN: The letter was a brief summary of the Cambodian incident with a concluding paragraph that said the President ordered the operation under his authority as commander in chief. Senate leader Mike MANSFIELD said there was nothing new in it but the President had lived up to the War Powers Act in reporting to Congress. There was more criticism in Congress today than earlier of all the military power President FORD used, although some refused to go on the record with their criticism. But most in Congress strongly supported the President. Here is a sample of opinion on both sides.

SENATOR GOLDWATER: And had he not done what he did every little -- as I say half assed -- nation in the world would be taking shots at us. And I think now they're going to think twice before they try it.

SENATOR JACKSON: And I give him high marks in that he did in the end restrain the use of force in the operation.

SENATOR GAYLORD NELSON: It is they believe that this is the way that a super power has to prove its virility and its credibility, but I think it's more a sign of weakness than strength to respond in this way to an incident which was relatively minor.

CONGRESSMAN: I sense in the Congress and in the administration in recent weeks a great deal of frustration because of the way Vietnam ended. And I think there probably was something of a reflex to want to prove that we were tough, prove that we were willing to act decisively and perhaps take military action.

MAN: You'd think that the Cambodians had landed in San Diego the way the President reacted to this.

MACKIN: The general view in Congress, even before the mail starts coming in, is that the President's conduct in this incident will be overwhelmingly politically popular in the country. When the costs are known both in dollars and in manpower the feeling is this could change somewhat, but in the short term the Cambodian incident stands to be a political plus for Mr. FORD. Catherine Mackin, NBC News, Washington.

CHANCELLOR: Others, however, were raising the question of whether President FORD, in ordering military action to rescue the ship and the men, had complied with the War Powers Act of two years ago in which Congress established its right to be consulted before the President takes any such action. For more on that story here's Carl Stern.

CARL STERN: The White House has once again shown Congress (unintelligible) how American forces are used. There was barely a whimper from Congress, which only two years ago decided overwhelmingly that it should have a voice in such matters. Presidential Counsel Phillip BUCHEN (?) said there wasn't time to consult Congress beforehand, and even if there had been such planning can't be shared with Congress. He said the Senators and Congressmen are not bound by secrecy laws. He said any dissident could thwart the operation just by divulging it. Whaamo, said BUCHEN, all Hell would break loose. On the other hand, Harvard law expert Ronald BERGER (?) called the action unconstitutional and deplorable. He said that President FORD had done great damage to the idea of consulting Congress and that Congress had just caved in. He also criticized the President's action as machismo to show we're still men after Vietnam and he questioned whether the U.S. had exhausted every diplomatic step first as international law seems to require. On Capitol Hill Jacob JAVITS, the author of the 1973 War Powers Bill, said the President's compliance with the bill was not 100 percent, but added that any inquiries into the legality of the action at this point would be nit-picking. Carl Stern, NBC News, Washington.

CHANCELLOR: ...the military action as piracy. Japan said a container ship in open waters must not be seized. Israel expressed gratitude that a dangerous situation has ended. Some newspapers in many countries criticized the American operation, while others applauded it. There was angry reaction from Thailand as Arthur Lord reports.

ARTHUR LORD: The news that U.S. Marines and planes from Thailand were used in the Mayaguez rescue operation sparked a fresh round of anti-American demonstrations in Bangkok. A small group

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of students gathered in front of the American Embassy, yelling anti-American slogans demanding that the U.S. pull all its military forces out of Thailand. The demonstrators presented U.S. officials with a list of their demands which was accepted by a charge d'affairs. Local newspapers scored the United States for the action. One newspaper editorial called it a slap in the face of Thailand. Thai government officials, aware of the mixed feelings of the people and worried about Communist takeovers in Vietnam and Cambodia, seemed embarrassed about the whole operation.

THAI OFFICIAL: (Unintelligible)

CHANCELLOR: The United States has now ordered the last of the 1,100 man Marine rescue force out of Thailand. And the Thai Prime Minister Kukrit PRAMOJ criticized the United States for bringing them in in the first place, for using Thailand as a staging area. The United States is preparing a response, as Richard Valeriani reports.

RICHARD VALERIANI: The Thais are especially angry because they were given no advance word of the American military action. The administration is now considering a formal apology to Thailand for having used that country as a springboard despite its protests. The apology would contend that the United States had no alternatives once it became clear that diplomatic efforts were not working. But Thai diplomats indicate that an apology would be regarded as a minimum response to their protests and they feel something more has to be done to resolve the crisis which they regard as serious. They scoff at the contention of a senior State Department official who maintains that Thailand is saying one thing publicly and another thing privately. However officials here do not foresee a break in relations. Apart from the Thai reaction top administration officials are highly pleased with the results of the operation. They claim they gave diplomacy every chance to achieve results but when they got absolutely no response from the Cambodians they felt they had to act forcefully to preserve American credibility in that part of the world. One top official here said one purpose of the military action was to signal mainland China and North Korea that the United States still considers itself a major Pacific power and will act like one when it has to. Richard Valeriani, NBC News, at the State Department.

AID Officials Hostage in Laos

CHANCELLOR: In Laos three American officials taken hostage by Laotian students yesterday are under house arrest today. The State Department says they're safe, but there are reports that the students have threatened to kill them. Laotian officials are trying to negotiate their release. The three are Sanford STONE of Cleveland, Daniel STARE of Columbus, Indiana, and Charles PERCY of Salem, West Virginia.

Sea-Land Statement

CHANCELLOR: The ship Mayaguez will arrive in Singapore on Saturday. Then, according to Robert MAKAVOY (?) chairman of the Sea-Land service the company which owns the ship, the world will find out that it was not a spy ship and that it carried neither arms nor ammunition. MAKAVOY said this and other things at company headquarters in Menlow Park, N.J. today.

ROBERT MAKAVOY: There were 77 container loads of military cargo; 107 commercial container loads; and 90 empty containers. Now 77 military containers -- 26 of those carried parts and replacement equipment; three containers subsistence supplies for the American military in that part of the world, including three contained foodstuffs, including refrigerator cargo -- that would be meat, produce and so forth -- eight carried additional commissary supplies, shaving soap, all the things that are sold in commassaries and PX; and 38 carried a combination of liquor, beer, soda pop and other PX items on its way to that part of the world. Not one single piece of arms, ammunition and no hazardous cargo of any kind. It was involved in no espionage. When it gets to Singapore -- I was in the process of saying -- the world will be able to see what this ship is all about, they will know all about what cargo it carried, it will see the men who manned the ship and find out that Sea-Land Service and none of its employees are involved in any kind of espionage activity. That is not our business.

CBS EVENING NEWS CBS TV
7:00 PM MAY 15

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BOB SCHIEFFER: Good evening. The captured American merchant ship Mayaguez and its crew are safe and a 14 hour battle between U.S. and Cambodian forces in the Gulf of Thailand is over. At least one American serviceman was killed in the fighting, at least eight were wounded and some may be missing. Ike Pappas at the Pentagon and Phil Jones at the White House have the story.

IKE PAPPAS: A chronology of the rescue of the ship and its crew reveals the story of a precise, professionally executed military operation that had its own touches of irony and moments of high adventure. The chronology goes like this. 5:15 Eastern Time last night, the first helicopters depart Utapao Airbase in Thailand carrying over 200 Marines, 49 of those troops are designated as a boarding party to get to the Mayaguez and to seize her. 7:00 PM, the Mayaguez boarding party reaches the destroyer Holt watching over the merchant vessel. The 49 Marines are lowered to the decks by rope ladders from three choppers hovering overhead. 7:07 PM, the Cambodians broadcast the word that they are ready to release the ship. The broadcast is translated into English and the word is sent to the White House but it is too late to call off the operation, the first helicopters are already only minutes away from Tang island. 7:15 PM, the main body of Marines approaches Tang island. Their job is to land there and to search for crew members believed being held on the island. The first chopper to approach is shot down in the water by Khmer Rouge Communist troops, all 26 aboard make it to the western shore. 7:20 PM, another attempt is made to land on the eastern shore. Again helicopters come under intense fire. The first chopper in actually crash lands but all survived. The Marines have now landed and are engaging the enemy. They are supported by American fighter-bombers from the carrier Coral Sea which has arrived in the area. 8:30 PM, the Holt pulls alongside the Mayaguez close enough to allow the Marines to board and to seize the ship the same way Marines did it 200 years ago, over the rail ship-to-ship. The boarding party finds nothing, only a few bowls of warm rice and hot tea in the mess. The crewmen are not aboard but the Marines raised the American flag. 9:30 PM, the main Marine landing force continues to meet stiff opposition from about 200 Communist troops on the island. They moved inland but the going is slow. There are reports of casualties. 10:23 PM, the destroyer Wilson, also in the area, reports a small boat is approaching it flying white flags. It gets closer. The skipper reports he sees 30 members of the Mayaguez on the small boat. Later it is reported all 39 crew members plus five Thai fishermen also released by the Cambodians were rescued. The President tells the nation the crewmen have been saved. It is later revealed the crewmen were moved three times before being released; from the Mayaguez to Tang island to Sihanoukville on the mainland and then to a tiny unidentified island where they were finally let go. 10:57 PM, American warplanes attacked the Ream airbase on the mainland to knock out any possibility the Cambodians would launch an air attack on the Marines, 17 Cambodian planes on the ground are destroyed. 4:40 this morning, the Mayaguez, its crew now aboard, is underway under its own power heading for Singapore her cargo intact. 7:13 AM, the Marines, attempting to withdraw by helicopter, encounter difficulty, heavy fire from Communist troops make it difficult for the choppers to depart. The Marines are for a time pinned down, but heavy suppressive fire from American planes and warships off the coast quiet the Communist troops and the pull out speeds. 9:10 AM, the last helicopter leaves the island for the Coral Sea, the operation is over. But to this hour this evening the Pentagon will not discuss casualties. One Marine is confirmed killed-in-action, at least eight and probably many, many more wounded. Ike Pappas, CBS News, Washington.

PHIL JONES: The President's problems throughout the crisis were the lack of hard intelligence on the exact location of the Mayaguez crew and the lack of success in making diplomatic contact, direct or indirect, with the Cambodian government. But finally with a military report that Cambodian efforts might be underway to move the Mayaguez crew to land, the President ordered a full military response. Aides say there was lots of discussion on the options, but never disagreement on the scope of the operation, all agreed it had to be a quick and limited stroke. But it was hours later before the President had anything to smile about. It was a relief that the rescue had been completed and the President appeared in public for the first time to report on the crisis.

PRESIDENT FORD: I have now received information that the vessel has been recovered intact and the entire crew has

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been rescued.

JONES: And during the early morning hours this letter arrived on Capitol Hill from the White House, the President complying with the War Powers Act and notifying Congress of the use of American forces in hostilities. So far telephone and telegram reaction received here at the White House has been light but heavily in favor of the President's actions.***

***(other report, commercial)

SCHIEFFER: One of the telegrams received by President FORD today was from Charles MILLER, the commanding officer of the rescued ship. He said, "the captain and officers and crew of the S.S. Mayaguez thank you and all the brave military forces who are fighting and dying to save our lives." Thanks also came today from the company that owns the ship, Mike Lee has that story.

MIKE LEE: Sea-Land Services, Inc., which owns the Mayaguez, has been the largest U.S. commercial shipping firm serving Indochina throughout the Vietnam war. Today Sea-Land praised President FORD for his handling of the crisis and paid tribute to the Marines who rescued the crew.

SEA-LAND SPOKESMAN: We're deeply saddened by the loss of American military men in this action. Our heartfelt sympathy and everlasting gratitude for the sacrifice they made goes out to the families of these fine men. I know that the master of the Mayaguez as well as every mate, engineer, able bodied seaman, oiler, wiper and messman would join with me and all Sea-Land employees in applauding the courageous action taken by their rescuers. Their valor and their willingness to sacrifice their lives to protect American citizens makes us all proud to be Americans.

LEE: CBS News today sampled reaction of family members of the Mayaguez crew, among them Willy PASTRANO, former light heavyweight boxing champion of the world whose father is among the rescued.

WILLY PASTRANO: I think that the U.S. government did the only thing it could do and I'm proud of it, I'm proud to say I'm an American. As I said before, God bless America.

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SCHIEFFER: The Cambodian seizure of the American ship was reminiscent of the Pueblo capture seven years ago. And tonight from San Diego David Dow takes a look back at that incident.

DAVID DOW: When the U.S.S. Pueblo and its crew were captured by North Korea in January 1968 the U.S. did not react with military force. Eighty-two Pueblo crewmen spent 11 months in captivity. One crew member died of injuries suffered in the ship's capture. The Pueblo's skipper, Lloyd BUCHER now retired reacted today in San Diego to the freeing of the Mayaguez.

LLOYD BUCHER: Well my feelings last night as that news began to come in was one of absolute delight. I was so happy that things had turned out as well as they did. I am very happy that we apparently have some real leadership again in Washington and I know that the bulk of America today is very proud of our country and proud of the people that put this whole thing together.

DOW: BUCHER speculated on what might have happened had the Marines gone in after the Pueblo.

BUCHER: The point is that had it been done I doubt if the Mayaguez thing would have ever come to pass to begin with. And perhaps we may have been able to have carried our way a little bit better in the peace conference over Vietnam. Maybe things altogether would have been different, who knows. That's speculation and perhaps they may not have but they could not have been any worse.

DOW: David Dow, CBS News, San Diego.

SCHIEFFER: China called the U.S. military rescue of the Mayaguez and its crew "an outright act of piracy." The Soviet Union reported the incident without comment. In Thailand the official reaction was outrage. The Thai Prime Minister said, it is obvious that U.S.-Thai relations have to be reviewed.***

***(other reports, commercials)

SCHIEFFER: The rescue of the American merchant ship Mayaguez and its subsequent effects on this country are the subject tonight of Eric Sevareid's commentary.

ERIC SEVAREID: Nothing succeeds like success and no success matches a successful gamble. Gratification is enhanced by the sheer relief. Most people in this political capital feel relieved by the recapture of the ship and its crew, the hawkishly inclined feel pure pleasure. But there is little doubt that it was a gamble that might have gone disastrously wrong. Approval of the U.S. Marines use in this affair has to be based on certain assumptions: that the American ship was not in Cambodia's territorial waters, that it was an innocent vessel, that our surveillance aircraft were fired upon first, that the efforts at a solution through diplomacy were genuine and were genuinely rebuffed. So far there appears no reason not to make these assumptions. Cambodia is tiny, the United States is mighty. A calm and confident great power acting consistently with its belief in

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international law would have submitted the case to the world court. The U.S. government at this moment in history is neither confident nor calm. It is nervous, and one of the things it is nervous about is the nervousness of other governments, that of North Korea for one. It was North Korea that got away with the capture of our spy ship the Pueblo some years ago. It is North Korea that has been testing America's resolution since the fall of South Vietnam. This specifically had to be much on the minds of the President and his advisers, as well as a general concern that the U.S. not be perceived anywhere as a wet paper tiger. The President won his gamble and will no doubt stand much higher in public esteem as a result and his authority with the Congress will be enhanced. Had he lost the military gamble he would have also lost another big round in a struggle with Congress because he did not consult with Congress about this action as the new War Powers Resolution quite plainly requires, he informed some congressmen many of whom would now be at his throat had the operation failed. And no doubt many will now persuade themselves that they were all for military action from the outset. As John KENNEDY remarked, success has 100 fathers, failure is an orphan. One casualty of the operation is our relationship with Thailand, a temporary casualty at least but not a very big one. Washington is not beloved in Bangkok these days, but Bangkok is not beloved in Washington either. Bangkok thinks we are discreditable as an ally. Washington thinks Bangkok -- long famous for its eye to the nearest exit in case of fire -- should be the last ally to talk about credibility. Anyway the ship affair is over. Winston Churchill once said, I don't bother about countries like Cambodia and they don't bother me. A good precept for a bad season.

ABC EVENING NEWS ABC TV
7:00 PM MAY 15

Comment: Harry Reasoner

HARRY REASONER: Some of the questions about the way the United States can function in the far Pacific that are now being asked invite comparison with similar questions in a more naive world power in the late 1930's. It seems to me that on a real time basis now or on a comparative basis with then -- it seems to me the answers are not all that depressing. There are three things you might say at the moment as an American advocate in the wake of a final debacle in Indochina and the first test since, the Mayaguez affair. First, don't worry about Thailand. Thailand is the only substantial national entity in SE Asia that has never been a colony. The ruling class in Thailand is rich, fat, corrupt and about as representative of its people as the mafia is of Sicily. Linked by treaty and tradition to Britain and the U.S. in December of 1941, its government found no difficulty in declaring war on both countries in January of 1942 and it had no problem four years later in declaring war on Japan. This ability to accomodate is inate and the way to deal with Thailand is to be as realistic as it is, we don't need it, we don't owe it, we never bled together. Second, the 40 years of technology since the last time we worried about being a Pacific power have changed things, you can be a Pacific power now without a chain of land bases. And third, our lineup of countries sharing our self-interest in the Pacific is different and stronger, Japan for instance. And in a community of interests based on concern about Russia, the Peoples Republic of China. Overall, the conclusions about the recent events need not put us in a panic. We have faced up to decisions in the Pacific and they have been the right ones. And if we lose Thailand's help it is not to worry.

Mayaguez Rescue

HOWARD K. SMITH: What history will call the Mayaguez incident is over. The ship with its 39 American crewmen safe aboard is proceeding under its own power to Singapore. The release followed an attack by U.S. planes and Marines on Cambodian forces on the mainland, on the island called Koh-Tang, on Cambodian patrol craft and a boarding of the Mayaguez itself. For hours after the Cambodians surrendered the ship and its crew the U.S. fought with planes and guns to secure the disengagement of the Marines who had landed on the jungle covered island. We have a report on the fighting from ABC's Pentagon correspondent Frank Tomlinson.

FRANK TOMLINSON: About 200 Marines home based on Okinawa were flown out of Utapao Airbase in Thailand by helicopters. It was more a scene like Vietnam than the Pacific operations of WWII. In full battle gear the Marines headed for Koh-Tang island not knowing what to expect.

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What they found was more resistance than anyone had bargained for. The helicopters landed to barrages of ground fire from Khmer Rouge troops using small arms that peppered the choppers as they landed on the little three mile by one mile island. After storming ashore on the white beaches the Marines ran into what was described as stiff resistance that pinned them down in the tropical jungle most of the day. There were at least three helicopters lost in the operation. One crashed after receiving heavy ground fire, leading to dramatic rescue operations for 26 men trapped on the far side of the island under enemy fire. Many in that helicopter were wounded. Tentative figures show one Marine killed and possibly 30 or more wounded. About 20 men are still unaccounted for. But all present evidence shows no one left on Koh-Tang. Those 20 are believed spread among several ships and at Utapao Airbase. The operation went so smoothly that many of the Marines are already back at their home base on Okinawa and some are still onboard the freighter Mayaguez. But as in all military operations there were casualties and some of the wounded are hospitalized on the carrier Coral Sea and at Utapao. Here in the Pentagon the operation, which went so swiftly it had no code name, is considered a complete success. Secretary SCHLESINGER says in his professorial manner that the lesson of the Mayaguez is salutory. In plain language that means don't mess around with American ships on the high seas. Frank Tomlinson, ABC News, the Pentagon.

REASONER: It's obvious that a great deal has happened since this program was broadcast last night. To help explain exactly what has occurred Frank Reynolds has compiled a chronology of the events.

FRANK REYNOLDS: The ship had been in Cambodian custody slightly more than 48 hours when the decision was made to take it back. Yesterday afternoon at 3:30 the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense and others were summoned to the White House for yet another meeting of the NSC. The acting chairman of the JCS explained the military situation. At this point there had been no satisfactory diplomatic response from the Cambodians. The President made his decision and at 4:45 the orders went out to the military commands. At 6:30, as the task force in the Pacific began to move, congressional leaders were called to the White House. The President informed them of his decision and told them the operation was underway. At seven minutes after seven Washington time Phnom Penh radio in a domestic broadcast announced the ship would be released next Monday, but the English translation of that broadcast was not received at the White House until one hour later. Meantime, the Marines were on their way. At 7:20 the first units stormed ashore at Koh-Tang and came under heavy fire.***

Now at 8:06 the translation of the Phnom Penh broadcast reaches the White House. Brent SCOCROFT, a KISSINGER deputy, relayed the word to the Secretary of State who informed the President. At 8;20, as Mr. FORD chatted with the visiting Prime Minister, the destroyer Holt moved alongside the Mayaguez and Marines boarded the American ship. None of the crew was onboard. At 9:18, with the Mayaguez in custody of the Marines, the U.S. responds to the Cambodian broadcast.

MAN: As you know we have seized the ship. As soon as you issue a statement that you are prepared to release the crew members you hold, unconditionally and immediately, we will promptly cease military operations.

***

Due to insufficient space items of relevance to DOD from the CBS Morning News and the Today Show NBC News of May 15 have not been included.

Radio-TV Programs of Interest

SUNDAY, MAY 18, 1975

Face the Nation, 11:30 am, Ch. 9, WTOP(CBS): Senator Mike Mansfield, (D-Montana).

Meet the Press, 12:30 pm, Ch. 4, WRC(NBC): Shah of Iran, Mohammed Reza Tahlavi.

Issues and Answers, 1:30 pm, Ch. 7, WMAL(ABC): Alan Alda (Men for Equal Rights Amendment) and Joe Ruckelshaus (Director of International Women's Year).

WEDNESDAY, MAY 21, 1975

AM-America, 7:00 am, Ch. 7, WMAL(ABC): Maj Gen Jeanne Holm, Director, Air Force Personnel Council, will be interviewed by Peter Jennings as part of a segment of women in executive positions in the Washington area.

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CURRENT NEWS

PART I - EARLY BIRD EDITION - 0730

PART II - MAIN EDITION - PUBLISHED AT 1130

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THURSDAY, MAY 15, 1975

GENERAL NEWS SUMMARY FROM THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MAY 15, 1975

World-Wide

THE U.S. RETOOK a seized ship and 39 crewmen after sinking Cambodian boats.

The Pentagon said a small Cambodian boat flying a white flag brought about 50 American seamen to a U.S. destroyer in the Gulf of Thailand. There wasn't any immediate word on the other nine crewmen of the U.S. merchant ship Mayaguez, seized by the Cambodians Monday. Shortly before the release of the 39 men, about 200 U.S. Marines recaptured the ship and went ashore on an island where it had been moored, encountering resistance from Cambodian troops there.

The release followed a radio broadcast from Phnom Penh that Cambodia was ready to return the merchant ship, which was accused of spying and violating Cambodian territorial waters.

The U.S. forces lost at least two helicopters in the operation, which also included air strikes against Ream airfield on the Cambodian mainland near Sihanoukville. President Ford ordered the rescue effort nearly 24 hours after sending U.S. planes to sink three Cambodian patrol boats in a bid to block Cambodia from bringing the captured U.S. seamen to the mainland.

The White House said it acted with "a strong consensus of support" from congressional leaders in the attack, which wasn't announced for 11 hours.

Thailand demanded that the U.S. immediately remove 1,100 Marines flown to an American base there early yesterday without prior notification to the Thais. The planes that sank the Cambodian boats also took off from the base in Thailand, U Tapao. The 1,100 Marines were withdrawn to a U.S. aircraft carrier early today.

* * *

LAOTIAN STUDENTS attacked U.S. offices; some Americans were withdrawn.

Several thousand demonstrators ransacked the U.S. Agency for International Development building in the town of Savannakhet, taking three Americans hostage. A similar mob, protesting high food prices as well as the American presence, broke into the AID office in Luang Prabang and carried off rice and supplies. A U.S. protest was lodged with Prince Souvanna Phouma, premier of a coalition government in Laos that has come increasingly under the control of the pro-Communist Pathet Lao.

The State Department confirmed that it's reducing the size of the embassy staff in Vientiane but denied that it plans to close the office.

The rightist commander of the coalition government's joint security force was replaced by a general who is more sympa-

(See NEWS SUMMARY, Pg. 3)

NEW YORK TIMES 15 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Ford's Action Is Supported in Congress

By PHILIP SHABECOFF
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 14—The White House said today that President Ford had consulted with Congressional leaders before ordering an attack on Cambodian patrol boats. At least some of those leaders insisted later, however, that they had not been consulted but merely informed of a Presidential decision already made.

However, members of Congress generally expressed approval of the President's action and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee adopted a strong resolution of support this evening acknowledging the President's constitutional right to order military operations.

Yesterday the White House press secretary, Ron Nessen, told reporters that President Ford would "consult" with Congress before ordering any military action to rescue the seized American freighter Mayagüez, or its crew.

Action Called Constitutional

He quoted the Congressional War Powers Resolution of 1973, which states, in part, that "the President in every possible instance shall consult with Congress before introducing United States armed forces into hostilities or into situations where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated."

Roderick Hills, a counsel to the President, told a questioner that Mr. Ford had acted under his Constitutional war powers to protect the lives and property of Americans. When asked to cite the specific authority within the Constitution, Mr. Hills said that he did not have the exact article in front of him.

But he insisted that the inherent right of the President to use war powers to protect lives and property had not been challenged. The only open question, he said, was the appropriate level of military response.

White House Position

Mr. Hills, an assistant to Philip Buchen, the head of the

(See FORD, Pg. 2)

NEW YORK TIMES 15 MAY 1975 Pg. 18

Ford Waited 11 Hours to Tell American Public of His Action

WASHINGTON, May 14 (UPI)—President Ford waited at least 11 hours before informing the American people today that United States warplanes had attacked Cambodian boats.

A short time later, Mr. Ford called the National Security Council into session at the White House for the third time in 24 hours to continue efforts to gain release of the United States cargo ship commandeered by Cambodian forces in the Gulf of Siam.

The President conferred periodically with Secretary of State Kissinger, and White House officials sought to portray a sense of calm.

During the President's only public appearances, at the start and end of a meeting with Premier Joop M. den Uyl of the Netherlands, Mr. Ford gave no indication that he was under great pressure. At one point, he and Mr. Kissinger exchanged jokes about soccer with the Dutch leader.

Administration sources said that the first United States air strikes against Cambodian patrol boats began by 1 A.M., Eastern Daylight Time, today and that at least five of the craft had been hit within an hour. The first public acknowledgment of the operations came about noon from the Defense Department. There was no official explanation for the delay in announcing the action taken by the American planes.

At that point the White House press secretary, Ron Nessen, said he was unable to provide further details about either the military action or the status of the 39-man crew that was aboard the merchant ship Mayagüez when it was seized Monday.

Asked whether the United States was now at war with Cambodia, Mr. Nessen replied, "Not that I am aware of."

Administration sources said that President Ford decided to order the air strikes late yesterday afternoon after the first

(See WAITED, Pg. 2)

BALTIMORE SUN
15 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Support for Ford is hedged

By ADAM CLYMER
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—The Ford administration sent in the marines and used aircraft against Cambodia just as a day of general political support for Mr. Ford here was beginning to show cracks.

And the actions also were taken just as a report of a decision to release the ship reached the city and appeared to have caught the White House totally by surprise.

While the timetable of the military operations was not made clear immediately, it appeared possible that the marines and the Navy planes engaged the Cambodians after the Phnom Penh radio report had reached Washington.

It probably will not matter as much politically as the success or failure of the efforts to get the 39 crewmen out alive—and there were reports from the Pentagon that 30 of them had been recovered by the marines—but if the appearance of disregarding the offer to free the ship and going ahead military anyway is confirmed, it could deepen any such reaction.

Senators and representatives had just finished meeting with Mr. Ford and had left the White House when the Phnom Penh radio report came over a

(See SUPPORT, Pg. 2)

JAMES KILLINGBECK, CHIEF, CURRENT NEWS BRANCH, OX 78765 HELEN YOUNG, ASSISTANT CHIEF
FOR SPECIAL RESEARCH SERVICES OR DISTRIBUTION CALL HARRY ZUBKOFF, CHIEF, EXECUTIVE AGENCY SERVICE, OX 52884

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SUPPORT -- CONTINUED

United Press International ticker at 8:17 P.M. Ronald H. Nessen, Mr. Ford's press secretary, said the President had not learned of the report from UPI but from some other source. He would not say when Mr. Ford learned, but it was plainly not long before.

And the military moves the President intended to take—actions that the congressmen would not describe—were plainly scheduled to begin soon, perhaps in minutes. They were announced 60 minutes later.

Two of the leaders, Senator Milton R. Young (R., N.D.) and Representative Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., (D., Mass) told reporters that the results would be known by about 10 P.M. Others thought it might take longer.

But accounts of the meeting made it clear that even though the President was applauded when he came in, there was some uncertainty about his course. The congressmen did not challenge his legal authority but they indicated some reservations about the course he chose.

They were not for the most part quarreling about the wisdom of the earlier efforts to prevent gunboats from taking the captive crew to the mainland, efforts that resulted in sinking three Cambodian vessels, with one, where white faces reportedly were seen on deck, apparently allowed to get to shore.

But at least some of the Democrats were edgy both about the degree of consultation the President used before that action and last night's set of moves. And there were reservations expressed at the White House meeting about whether at least one of the steps planned in last night's operations might not needlessly threaten the crewmen's lives.

Mr Nessen had proclaimed at a White House briefing that when the leaders had been read a statement of the President's plans Tuesday afternoon (by the White House's Congressional Liaison Office), "this is considered to be consultation." Despite its likely legal sufficiency, politically the step was plainly not so considered by some of those notified on the Hill Senator Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.), the Senate majority leader, was testy in his account of the phone call he received He said he did not bother to object to what was read to him "becase it was already decided."

His reservations were echoed by his deputy, Senator Robert C. Byrd (D., W. Va.), after the White House meeting. "At least some of the leaders in the two houses should have been called in" to offer their opinions, he said, instead of being "advised after the fact."

And Mr. Byrd, while not identifying the precise American moves that troubled him, said that while he had supported Mr. Ford's actual decisions with some reservations about the degree of restraint employed.

Earlier, Capitol Hill had been producing general approval. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee cheered Mr Ford's use of "his constitutional powers within the framework of the War Powers Resolution."

Although Senators Edward M. Kennedy (D., Mass.) and George McGovern (D., S.D.) were critical of a lack of restraint they saw in American policy, others such as Senator John O. Pastore (D., R.I.) and Representative Lester L. Wolff (D., N.Y.) backed the President up.

Republicans were almost without exception supportive, but one senior GOP legislator, in a conversation between the report of the Cambodian offer and the announcement of the U.S. military moves, said it would "defy logic" not to hold up any armed actions to see if the offer was real. He could not be reached for comment later.

But the Democrats had plainly positioned themselves to attack the President for not consulting them—even last night, they said, they were "told" and not asked—and for a military overreaction that, if the rescue failed, they might say was more interested in saving face than in saving the crewmen's lives.

WASHINGTON POST
15 MAY 1975
Pg. 21

Saigon Diplomacy

France announced its recognition of the new government of South Vietnam and said that the two countries shortly will exchange ambassadors. Elsewhere, the Provisional Revolutionary Government moved to extend control of South Vietnamese embassies abroad.

The North Vietnamese charge d'affaires in London took over custody of the South Vietnamese embassy at the instruction of the PRG in Tokyo, the Cuban government took custody of the South Vietnamese embassy until diplomatic relations are established between Japan and the new Saigon regime, and a PRG delegation arrived in New Delhi to take charge of the embassy there.

On other fronts, Belgium said it was moving to establish relations with the PRG. In Geneva, the World Health Organization's annual assembly approved the membership of North Vietnam, 116 to 0. The United States and seven other countries abstained.

FORD -- CONTINUED

White House legal department, indicated that the President believed that informing Congress of his actions satisfied the requirement of the War Powers Resolution that he consult with Congress before beginning military operations.

The resolution does not require prior approval of military action by Congress, he asserted.

At today's news briefing, Mr. Nessen said that the President, through his Congressional relations staff, "did consult" with Democratic and Republican leaders of the House of Representatives and Senate between 5:30 and 6 P.M. yesterday, "three hours before the fact." A statement issued by the Defense Department today indicated that the attack began shortly after 8:30 P.M., Eastern Daylight Time.

However, Senator Mike Mansfield, Democratic leader of the Senate and one of those listed by Mr. Nessen as having been consulted, said in a telephone interview today:

"I was not consulted. I was notified after the fact about what the Administration had already decided to do."

In a statement released later, Senator Mansfield said: "I did not give my approval or disapproval because the decision had already been made. My reaction at this point is that there are a lot of questions to which I want answers."

Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi and President Pro Tempore of the Senate, and Senator Clifford P. Case, Republican of New Jersey, the ranking Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, also said that they had not been consulted but had been informed. Mr. Eastland said he had been told after the attack.

Both, however, indicated that they strongly supported President Ford's action against the Cambodian boats.

The majority leader of the House of Representatives, Thomas P. O'Neill of Massachusetts, also said he had not been consulted but only informed.

The House minority leader, John J. Rhodes of Arizona, was quoted by The Associated Press as having said that he had not been notified until after the Cambodian vessels were sunk. But a spokesman for Mr. Rhodes told a questioner: "He was notified beforehand. We are calling it a consultation. Mr. Rhodes has no complaint."

A member of the White House Congressional liaison staff told a questioner that leaders of the Senate had been called about the President's planned action, starting with Senator Mansfield at 5:55 P.M., yesterday and concluding with Senator Eastland at 8:20 P.M., or shortly before the attack on the Cambodian vessels began. Memorandums of each call were sent to Max Friedersdorf, head of the Congressional relations staff, who had presumably passed the response along to the President, the staff member added.

This staff member said that about half the Senators had voiced approval of the President's action while the others simply "acknowledged" the information. Earlier today, Mr Nessen said that the response of the Congressional leaders to the "consultation" was "a strong consensus of support and no objections."

The members of Congress were not given any legal basis for the President's order for military intervention when they were contacted by the White House staff. At today's briefings at the White House, Mr. Nessen said that "the President has authority to protect the lives of Americans and the property of Americans under the Constitution."

Although several members of Congress charged that the President had violated the War Powers Resolution by failure to consult Congress, there was little criticism of the military action itself.

The resolution adopted by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, while it will not be voted on by the full Senate, was intended as a vote of Senatorial confidence. It was approved unanimously and said:

"Committee condemns an act of armed aggression on an unarmed U.S. merchant vessel in the course of innocent passage on an established trade route.

"The President has engaged in diplomatic means to secure its release and we support that.

"Third, we support the President in the exercise of his constitutional powers within the framework of the War Powers Resolution to secure the release of the ship and its men.

"We urge the Cambodian Government to release the ship and the men forthwith."

WAITED -- CONTINUED

of the National Security Council meetings.

Mr. Nessen said that Congressional leaders were advised of the decision at about 5:30 P.M. by White House aides, who reported that "there was a strong consensus of support and no objections."

Mr. Ford's next meeting with the Security Council started at about 10:20 P.M., soon after Mr. Kissinger returned from a speaking engagement in Kansas City. The session lasted a little over two hours. Officials said that Mr. Ford then spent a few minutes in the Oval Office and headed for the Presidential quarters, getting to bed at about 1 A.M. for about four hours of sleep. They said that he got no phone calls during the night.

Mr. Ford reached his desk at about 7:40 A.M. and after receiving his regular early-morning intelligence briefing, he met with Mr. Kissinger for about 45 minutes. He saw the Secretary of State three more times during the morning before meeting with the Security Council.

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NEW YORK TIMES - 15 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Thai Tells U.S. to Remove 1,100-Marine Unit Today

Threat to Relations

By The Associated Press

BANGKOK, Thailand, May 14 —Premier Kukrit Pramoj today gave the United States until tomorrow morning to remove 1,100 marines brought to Thailand without his permission and promised "drastic action" if his demand was not met. He did not specify the action.

The Premier told newsmen that Thailand did not intend to be drafted into American preparations to take back the American merchant ship Mayagüez. Cambodian gunboats seized the ship on Monday, and it was last reported lying in the Gulf of Siam 30 miles off the Cambodian coast.

First reports from the Thai Foreign Ministry said 800 marines arrived before dawn at the United States Air Force's U Taphao base on the south coast, but Mr. Kukrit later said that Edward E. Masters, the American chargé d'affaires, had told him that the final total was 1,100.

Panamanian Ship Stopped

A Thai protest note warned of "serious consequences" to relations between the United States and Thailand if the marines were not removed.

Meanwhile, Thai communications sources reported that Cambodia today seized another foreign merchant ship, the Panama - registered Eastern Grand, but released it after nearly two hours. The sources said the ship was intercepted near Panjang Island, 85 miles off the coast.

Mr. Kukrit, who told Mr. Masters yesterday that Thailand did not want her territory used to stage any armed operation related to the Mayagüez, summoned him again today to deliver the ultimatum.

The text of the Thai protest note follows:

"It is recalled that on May 13, 2518 [the year according to the Buddhist calendar] the Prime Minister informed the chargé d'affaires of the American Embassy that Thailand does not wish to become involved in the dispute between the United States and Cambodia over the seizure of the vessel Mayagüez, and that Thailand will not permit her territory to be used in connection with any action that might be taken by the United States against Cambodia.

"On May 14, 2518, the Thai Government learned that the United States Government had sent some elements of its Marine forces into Thailand as part of its reaction against Cambodia.

"The Thai Government considers that this action by the United States Government is not consistent with the goodwill existing between Thailand and the United States. And unless these forces, which have entered against the wishes of the Thai Government, are withdrawn immediately, the good relations and cooperation existing between Thailand and the United States would be exposed to serious and damaging consequences."

The Premier used stronger language to newsmen, charging that the arrival of the marines was "a violation of Thai sovereignty."

Meanwhile, 40 or 50 student protesters, shouting, "American, go home," were at the airport for the arrival of the new Ambassador to Thailand, Charles S. Whitehouse.

Mr. Whitehouse walked nodding and smiling between the ranks of the students and issued a prepared statement saying that he hoped to further "friendship and cooperation between our two peoples in the months ahead."

The National Student Center, which led the uprising that ended the military dictatorship 19 months ago, accused the United States of using the seizure of the freighter Mayagüez as an excuse to intervene again in Indochina.

Mr. Masters first learned from a news report from Washington that the marines were on the way. The Thai military command, which clears all international military flights, apparently was advised in advance. Presumably it did not pass the information on to the Government, a communication gap that has been common since the military dictatorship was overthrown in October, 1973.

Thailand under the military dictatorship was a staunch supporter of the United States war in Indochina and provided the bases from which most American air operations originated in the last years of the war. The present civilian Government is seeking a way to live with its new Communist neighbors and to return to the traditional Thai neutrality that kept the country independent while the rest of Southeast Asia came under European domination in the 19th century.

United States officials threw an unusual screen of secrecy around the crash of a United States military helicopter in northeast Thailand yesterday, raising speculation that it was on a mission in connection with the Mayagüez or the arrival of the marines.

Informed sources said all 23 persons aboard were killed when the aircraft crashed near the Laotian border and about 35 miles west of the United States Air Force base at Nakon Phanom. The sources said the passengers were Air Force men en route to U Taphao.

WASHINGTON POST
15 MAY 1975
Pg. 16

Approach to Sihanouk On Ship Release Fails

By John Burns
Toronto Globe and Mail

PEKING, May 14 -- Attempts by U.S. diplomats here to engage Prince Norodom Sihanouk and the Chinese government in efforts to secure the release of the American container ship Mayaguez reached a standstill Wednesday in the wake of the negative response to the initial representations on Tuesday.

Officials of the U.S. liaison office refused any official comment on the representations but it was learned that Prince Sihanouk and the Peking embassy of the Khmer Rouge government had failed to respond to requests for the ship's immediate release.

The Chinese foreign ministry, asked to intervene with the Phnom Penh authorities on Washington's behalf, was understood to have refused on the ground that the matter was not its concern.

The official Hsinhua News Agency had not reported the seizure more than 48 hours after it occurred and diplomats attached significance to the non-committal stance taken by vice premier Teng Hsiao-Ping, who was questioned about the incident in Paris.

Teng, who has been in effective day-to-day control of the government since Premier Chou En-Lai went into hospital a year ago, was asked what China would do if Washington took military action to get the vessel back.

NEWS SUMMARY -- CONTINUED

thetic to the Pathet Lao.

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An Indochina refugee-aid bill setting a maximum authorization of $507 million, the amount Ford has estimated will be needed, was passed overwhelmingly by the House. It then passed a separate bill to appropriate $405 million. The Senate moved to speed up its consideration of similar legislation.

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Maurice Stans was fined $5,000 for five misdemeanor violations of federal campaign-finance law. The former Commerce Secretary and Nixon fund-raiser pleaded guilty in March to accepting two illegal corporate contributions to the 1972 Nixon drive and failing to report three other cash transactions.

* * *

Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko criticized Secretary of State Kissinger by name for "defending swollen U.S. military budgets," a position Gromyko said conflicted with Kissinger's calls for detente.

* * *

A fiscal 1976 budget with a $68.8 billion deficit was called for by Congress. Both houses adopted guidelines that state expenditures of $367 billion and assume $295.2 billion in receipts. Ford wants the deficit held to $80 billion.

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Ford rejected New York City's request for $1 billion in emergency federal aid. Earlier, the city announced a $280 million offering of short-term notes.

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Proposed land-use legislation survived an early House test as the Interior Committee defeated a move to table it, 22-20.

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A ban on state "fair-trade" laws allowing manufacturers to set minimum product prices was approved by a House Judiciary subcommittee.

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Portugal's government continued its nationalization program by taking over cement, tobacco and paper concerns. Foreign companies and foreign interests in Portuguese firms were exempted. To curb income disparities, the government raised the minimum wage 21%, set a maximum salary and froze those above the equivalent of $480 a month until year-end.

* * *

Egyptian President Sadat said the U.S. holds "90% of the cards" in the Mideast and could bring about a settlement there by putting more pressure on Israel.

* * *

A White House swimming pool will be built with about $61,000 of private donations. It will be outdoors but heated. Ford went ahead with the project against the advice of some aides who said it might be controversial in view of his calls for austerity in government.

* * *

Decriminalization of marijuana was debated at hearings of a Senate subcommittee chaired by Birch Bayh (D., Ind.). The Justice Department opposed a subcommittee bill as poorly drafted but said the agency hasn't adopted a firm position on ending criminal penalties for personal use of the drug.

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Poland got a $240 million loan from a group of Western banks for development of copper deposits for export markets.

* * *

An underground nuclear test, the largest in nearly two years, was carried out in Nevada and could be felt 100 miles away.

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BALTIMORE SUN - 15 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

American jets bomb base, sink 3 boats

By CHARLES W. CORDDRY
Washington Bureau of the Sun

The United States recaptured the merchant ship Mayaguez and retrieved at least 30 of its 39 crew members last night in a series of military actions against Cambodia ordered by President Ford three days after Cambodian gunboats seized the ship in the Gulf of Thailand.

Joseph Laitin, Defense Department spokesman, announced at 11.15 P.M. that a small boat bearing white flags had drawn up to the U.S. Destroyer Wilson, near Koh Tang Island, with the 30 crew members, and the destroyer took them aboard.

Mr. Laitin said the information had been conveyed to President Ford by James R. Schlesinger, Secretary of Defense.

He said the crew members had been sighted about 10.30 P.M. That was about 35 minutes before an air strike was launched from the carrier Coral Sea against Ream Airfield near the Cambodian port of Kompong Som.

Mr. Laitin also reported that in an action related to the recapture of the ship, 135 marines had landed on Koh Tang Island and more were going ashore. The marine landings on the island , it was understood, began about 7.20 P.M. Marines in that operation were brought by Air Force helicopters from Thailand. The marines who seized the ship previously had been moved to the destroyer Holt from Thailand .

Before Ronald H. Nessen, White House press secretary, issued the announcement, press dispatches from Bangkok, Thailand, reported a Phnom Penh broadcast saying the Cambodians were releasing the ship and ordering it on its way.

In response to this, Mr. Nessen said Washington messaged Cambodia: "As you know, we have seized the ship. As soon as you issue a statement that you are prepared to release the crew members you hold, unconditionally and immediately we will promptly cease military operations."

The operations ordered by Mr. Ford were:

- Marines to seize the Mayaguez.
- Additional marines to land on Koh Tang Island, where the ship was anchored, to rescue any crew members there. It was learned from other sources that the landing party was made up of 150 marines flown in by Air Force helicopters from Thailand. It was understood they encountered some opposition, but there were no details.
- Up to 1,200 marines for the operation if needed.
- U.S. aircraft from the carrier Coral Sea to carry out "associated military operations" in the Thailand Gulf to protect the military operations to retrieve the ship and crew.

The latter operations were not spelled out, but were the ones that the congressional source reported included air strikes on shore installations.

Earlier in the day, American warplanes destroyed three Cambodian patrol boats in an attempt to prevent movement of crew members of the Mayaguez to the Cambodian mainland, the Defense Department announced.

The Mayaguez was anchored about 500 yards off the island of Koh Tang, which lies 30 miles from the Cambodian coast. It was taken there after being seized about 60 miles from Cambodia in what President Ford called an act of piracy.

Before the U.S. military action was announced, President Ford called the fourth meeting of the National Security Council in three days to consider how to recover the ship and crew and what actions to take against the Cambodians.

The administration mobilized a fleet in the Thailand Gulf, ordered 1,200 marines into U Tapao Air Base in Thailand and directed Air Force helicopters and crews from several Thai bases to assemble at U Tapao. Authorities said the carrier Hancock left Subic Bay in the Philippines Tuesday and also was steaming to the gulf.

Navy and Air Force aircraft have been flying over the seized ship since it was taken by the Cambodians.

One urgent consideration at yesterday's security council meeting, an informed source said, was the Thai government's demand that the U.S. marines be withdrawn immediately.

Thailand, the government in Bangkok said, "does not wish to become involved in the dispute between the United States and Cambodia over the seizure of the vessel. . . and will not permit its territory to be used in connection with any action which might be taken by the United States against Cambodia."

A question was posed for leaders here, it was said, whether, in order to satisfy Thai demands, to move the marines to U.S. Navy ships before employing them in any action at Koh Tang island or elsewhere. An alternative was to move the marines directly into action with Thai-based U.S. Air Force helicopetrs.

Mr. Laitin announced the attacks on patrol boasts yesterday at midday, giving only sketchy information and refusing to answer questions.

He said it appeared Tuesday evening that the Cambodians were trying to take the Mayaguez crew from the ship and from Koh Tang to the mainland. U.S. aircraft —identified by others as Air Force AC-130 gunships and A-7 attack bombers—undertook to block the move.

Mr Laitin said small-arms fire had been directed at American planes for several hours before this. At first he said three craft were destroyed and "about four others" were crippled. Late in the day, he said he had found there was "not sufficient verification to support" the statement about the crippled craft.

Others suggested that those boats may have raced to the protection of Koh Tang island.

WASHINGTON POST - 15 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Public Reaction Favors Bombings to Free Ship

The White House press office reported that initial reaction to the bombing was running strongly in favor of the President. As of 4:30 p.m. yesterday, the White House had received 668 telephone calls favoring getting the ship out, 34 against and nine calls from people merely commenting on the situation.

The White House also received 250 calls from people favoring bombing the ships, 51 calls against, and 295 telegrams favoring the bombing and 90 against.

A State Department spokesman said only four telegrams had been received there as of 4:45 p.m. yesterday. "They can be characterized as urging a vigorous American response," he said.

WASHINGTON POST
15 MAY 1975 Pg. 21

Martin in Bangkok

MANILA—U.S. embassy sources said Graham Martin, former U.S. ambassador to South Vietnam, left Manila late Tuesday for Bangkok after an eight-day stay. They said they did not know how long he would stay in the Thai capital.

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WASHINGTON POST 15 MAY 1975, Pg 7

Suit Asks Building Halt At Base for Trident Subs

By Timothy S. Robinson

The ability of the nation to survive a nuclear missile attack, a subject normally reserved for closed congressional hearings and Pentagon war rooms, was the underlying issue in a recently completed trial here in an almost-empty federal courtroom.

The trial pitted a group of environmentalists against the military, and attorneys say the decision could have a direct influence on future litigation concerning the applicability of environmental laws to military bases.

Following more than a eek of testimony, U.S. District Court Chief Judge George L. Hart Jr. asked both sides to submit proposed legal and factual findings. His decision is expected by June.

The nuclear weapon at issue is the Trident submarine, praised by Defense Department officials as the country's most important future weapon defense against nuclear attack.

Scheduled for operation in 1978, the submarine will bear more and better nuclear weapons than the current Poseidon submarine and will be larger, quieter, and the most "Survivable" of defense systems in the event of a nuclear attack, Pentagon officials testified.

Trident has a "brickbat O-1" priority, a national defense code that is now held by only two defense systems—the Poseidon and the land-based Minuteman III missile system.

With congressional approval of the system, the Navy is converting an ammunition storage dump near Bangor, Wash., to a base out of which Trident crews will train and the missile-carrying subs will operate. The base, at its peak, will employ more than 30,000 persons, according to plans.

A group of environmentalists, called "Concerned About Trident," is asking that base construction be blocked because it says the Navy has failed to comply with environmental laws.

The environmentalists say:

The Navy never has prepared an environmental impact statement on the $15 billion Trident program.

The Navy's environmental-impact statements prepared on the Bangor site were drawn up after the decision was made to put the missile base there and are therefore a sham.

The Navy has not prepared a new environmental-impact statement on the Bangor site since recent congressional approval of a speeded-up completion date for the base.

Hart already refused to block the construction of the base pending the completion of the trial before him, and has indicated in court that he intends to weigh heavily the national-security aspect of the base in his decision.

The federal government asked that the trial be conducted because of the "public interest in having a controversy of this complexity and importance resolved on a full and complete record."

Environmentalists say building the base will have a detrimental effect on fish and wildlife in and around Hood Canal near Puget Sound, where the base is being built. They also say the Navy has not properly considered the effect on the area of the thousands of people who will arrive to build or operate the base, or the possibilities of nuclear hazards arising from handling weapons.

The Navy says, basically there is a point at which national defense takes priority over environmental concerns. The Navy points that it selected a site that is currently a base and that will take little additional construction, compared with building a base from scratch.

The Navy also says it has prepared the necessary environmental-impact statements and that no decision was made on locating the base in Bangor until after those impact statements were considered. The Navy says it selected Bangor from among 89 sites, which were narrowed to four possible locations.

Those final four sites included three on the Atlantic Coast and one on the Pacific Coast. At that point, the decision was made to put the base on the Pacific Ocean, government officials testified in court.

Three former secretaries of Navy and Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger, have filed affidavits supporting the decision to put the Trident base on the Pacific, and admirals who testified last week said the decision is even more important now than when it was made about two years ago.

With a bluntness reminiscent of the height of Cold War, the admirals discussed the necessity of giving the Soviets "another whole ocean to worry about" when defending against submarine-launched missiles, and of the need to be within easy striking distance of Moscow and Peking.

Vice Adm. R. Y. Kaufman testified that "at the risk of sounding parochial I'd say the Trident is No. 1" in terms of importance on the list of future defense systems.

When attorney David Sive attempted to cross-examine Kaufman on alternatives to Trident that may have been considered by the Navy, including the possibility of no new weapons, Hart interrupted:

"If the world becomes sweet and gentle and no one has any weapons we don't need this weapon. That is perfectly patent to anybody."

Although not claiming that the military is automatically and absolutely exempt from the requirements of the National Environmental Policy Act government attorneys have said in documents filed in the case that "...there are circumstances in which federal activities of a political nature are involved that are beyond the reach of NEPA and ... some of those actions about which the plaintiffs here complain are actions of that political character.

"...At several significant stages in the development of the Trident system, decisions were made, which had as their basis, considerations of national defense, international relations and the security of this nation as its role as a world power. These decisions are beyond the power of this court to review."

Another aspect of the Trident suit is the stand taken in behalf of the government by the Pacific Legal Foundation, a group that has sided with environment a list in the past.

In some-times sarcastic tones PLF attorneys noted that "without the Trident system, it cannot be guaranteed that foreign adversaries will not unleash vastly superior weapons, at which time all of the [plaintiffs] exhortations of naive environmental damage will have become ironically academic."

The nation's delicate Strategic Arms Limitation Talks with the Soviet Union could be undermined by a decision against Trident, the PLF attorneys continued, adding: "What bargaining power do we have in nuclear limitation talks if the Soviets know we are limiting ourselves because of domestic environmental concerns?"

NEW YORK TIMES
15 MAY 1975
Pg 18

PLEA FOR U.N. HELP MADE BY THE U.S.

By KATHLEEN TELTSCH
Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., May 14 — The United States asked Secretary General Waldheim today to do what he could to help obtain the release of the merchant ship and crew seized early Monday off Cambodia.

The seizure was an illegal and unprovoked action that posed a threat to international peace, the United States Representative, John Scali, said in a letter handed to the Secretary General.

Mr. Waldheim responded by offering his good offices to the Governments concerned. He appealed to them to "refrain from further acts of force in order to facilitate the process of peaceful settlement."

Mr. Waldheim sent messages to Prince Norodom Sihanouk, titular head of the new Cambodean government who is in Peking, and to Phom Penh.

Mr. Scali's request was made a few hours after announcement in Washington that American aircraft had been fired on by the Cambodians and that the planes attacked and sank Cambodian gunboats in the vicinity of the seized freighter. The timing prompted some here to complain that the United States turned to the United Nations after—not before — had it resorted to force, when it could have appealed earlier.

American officials offered no explanation, but it was bewell aware that potential United Nations help was limited since there was no direct contact with the new Communist authorities in Phnom Penh. It was also believed that the request to the United Nations was something of an afterthought.

Since the Communist takeover there has been only one communication, on April 30, in which the new Foreign Minister, Sarin Chhak, claimed Cambodia's seat here; the message came via Peking. Mr. Waldheim acknowledged it but received no reply.

"The trouble with offering good offices is that one has to be sure they are welcomed by everyone, and it is difficult in this case to know where to address the offer," a United Nations official said.

The United States' letter said it had initiated "certain steps through diplomatic channels" to obtain the release of vessel and crew. Washington has asked Peking to intervene, but it is not clear how much influence the Chinese have with the new Government even though Prince Norodom Sianhouk, its titular head, is in Peking.

The letter also reserved the right to take measures to protect the lives of the Americans and the property involved, as provided in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, which recognizes the right of self-defense against armed attack without waiting for action by the Security Council.

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BALTIMORE SUN - 15 MAY 1975 Pg. 2

U.S. will 'thin out' personnel in Laos

BY DEAN MILLS
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—The Ford administration, worried about the increasing dangers to Americans in Laos, has urged a "thinning-out" of American officials in that country.

Robert L. Funseth, a State Department spokesman, said in announcing the decision that there are no plans to evacuate all Americans or to close the American Embassy in the Lao capital of Vientiane. He said the Lao government has not requested that the embassy be closed and that the embassy remains in contact with the government.

With the resignation of rightist ministers last week, the Communist-led Pathet Lao are in effective control of the government. But unlike the Communist takeovers in Cambodia and South Vietnam, there has been no change in the structure of the government so far and therefore no technical reason for the United States to break diplomatic relations.

Mr. Funseth said that the American aid program for Laos is "under general review" as a result of anti-American demonstrations and the changes in government in Vientiane. The United States has not suspended aid despite recent developments.

The State Department said student demonstrators in the town of Savannakhet had seized three American officials of the Agency for International Development and were holding them. The American Embassy in Vientiane reported that the officials were not believed harmed.

Mr. Funseth described the "thinning-out" of American personnel in Vientiane as a process that is expected to take place over a period of several weeks beginning this week.

Americans in outlying areas already have been instructed to move the capital, he said. There is no reason, he said, to believe that American troops will be needed to protect the withdrawal process.

There are about 1,000 Americans in Laos now, 150 of them are "unofficial" Americans. The rest are the 320 officials and their dependents.

WASHINGTON STAR - 14 MAY 1975 Pg. 13 (15)

Pentagon to Probe Hunting Trip Reports

By Peter Gruenstein
Capitol Hill News Service

A Civil Service Commission official says the Defense Department will investigate charges that military officers and Pentagon officials used a duck hunting lodge owned by Northrop Corp., in apparent violation of an executive order.

Anthony L. Mondello, CSC's general counsel, said yesterday: "That smells. People shouldn't be doing that."

"Northrop is a recognized defense contractor," Mondello continued. "They should not be in the business of entertaining military and civilian officials. It's as simple as that."

Rep. David Henderson, D-N.C., chairman of a House civil service subcommittee, said he would ask the Defense Department and the Civil Service Commission for a timetable on the investigation. "If we're not satisfied with their investigation and if it's not prompt enough, then I'm sure the subcommittee would want to get into it."

MONDELLO SAID that, under civil service procedures, federal agencies bear primary responsibility for investigating allegations of ethical misconduct.

As previously reported by Capitol Hill News Service, trips to Northrop's hunting lodge by 123 military officers and 21 Pentagon officials between 1971 and 1973 were in apparent violation of an executive order prohibiting the acceptance by federal employes of anything of "monetary value" from a company doing business with the government.

During the time the trips were made, Northrop was competing for a multi-billion dollar contract to build a lightweight air combat fighter, the F17.

The Pentagon yesterday released a strongly worded letter written by Deputy Defense Secretary William Clements on Jan. 15, reminding military officials of the gift prohibition rule.

CLEMENTS cited a Defense Department directive defining gifts as including "any tangible items, intangible benefits, discount, tickets, passes, transportation, and accommodations or hospitality given or extended to or on behalf of the recipient.

"These prohibitions are not a matter of degree. There will be absolutely no relationship with defense contractors which violates or appears to violate the provision . . ."

NEW YORK TIMES - 15 MAY 1975 Pg. 43

Barbarous Piracy

By Anthony Lewis

The diplomacy of violence: That is still, then, to be our trademark. Once again an American Government shows that the only way it knows how to deal with frustration is by force. And the world is presumably meant to be impressed.

The Khmer Rouge were wrong and foolish to seize the American merchant ship Mayaguez, if the facts were as stated in Washington. They violated necessary norms of international behavior. We had reason to be concerned, especially about the fate of the crew.

But using a sledgehammer to crack a nut is self-defeating for nations as for individuals. Violent escalation of the conflict could hardly be expected to achieve the immediate aim of the crew's release; to the contrary, it might heighten the danger. More broadly, the military action showed a lack of that perspective expected of a great power—the perspective, in this case, recent history.

Imagine that in 1775 and for years after an enormously powerful state equipped with futuristic weapons had intervened in our Revolutionary War. From bases in Canada it rained destruction on the thirteen colonies. A million Americans, a third of the population, fled their homes; 300,000 were casualties.

When the war was finally over, how might the victorious Americans have felt about that foreign state? If one of its ships had sailed into what were claimed to be Americans waters, might we have been tempted to board and seize the vessel?

A comparison between America in 1775 and Cambodia in 1975 is not so far-fetched. The peasant society of Cambodia today is hardly more advanced, technologically, than eighteenth-century America. Cambodia was just as defenseless against B-52's as the thirteen colonies would have been.

American planes dropped 250,000 tons of bombs on Cambodia between 1969 and Aug. 15, 1973, when Congress prohibited all U.S. military action in, over or on the waters adjoining Indochina. Between a third and a half of Cambodia's 7.5 million people became refugees. Jon Swain of The London Sunday Times, one of the correspondents recently evacuated, described the physical damage he saw as follows:

"The entire countryside has been churned up by American B-52 bomb craters, whole towns and villages razed. So far, I have not seen one intact pagoda. . . . The war damage here [Kompong Chhnang], as everywhere else we saw, is total. Not a bridge is standing, hardly a house. I am told most villagers spent the war years living semi-permanently underground in earth bunkers to escape the bombing."

With that background, Americans should be slow to point a finger of moral disapproval at the Khmer Rouge. Nor can we rightly take a lofty position on the need to respect law. Washington has not reacted with force when Ecuador seized U.S. fishing boats more distant from shore than the Mayaguez was. And the American bombing of Cambodia was itself of dubious constitutionality.

The United States also bears a heavy responsibility for the political character of Cambodia today. If we had not invaded the country in 1970, and then intervened massively in her civil war, Prince Sihanouk would doubtless have returned to power soon with a left-leaning but more traditional regime. The Khmer Rouge movement would not have developed as it has, in all its hardened zeal. Most of the human suffering of the war would have been avoided.

The Khmer Rouge inherited a ruined nation. We are rightly horrified by accounts of the harsh measures taken. But after what has been done to them, are the Cambodians really to be blamed if they are xenophobic?

Those Americans who had a part in the savagery of our policy toward Cambodia over the years should be particularly slow to utter deploring pieties now. Secretary of State Kissinger, a principal author of the policy, has described events in Cambodia as "barbarous," "inhuman," "very tragic" and "an atrocity of major proportions." A man so steeped in the blood of Cambodians should have the shame to remain silent.

And now the insensitivity is in deeds as well as words. Once again we have to show the world how tough we are: The attitude of the teen-ager proving his manhood did not end with Richard Nixon's Presidency. Demonstrative violence is in fact a central element in Henry Kissinger's diplomatic philosophy. But how long must it be our country's?

How disheartening, too, to see the Mayaguez affair evoke from Congress the old jingo talk and calls for Presidential action. Senator Clifford Case, co-author of the 1973 ban on military action in Indochina, lived down to his reputation as a pusillanimous liberal by telling President Ford that he could ignore the law. Have we learned nothing from Vietnam about law and the Presidency? Have we forgotten that America had the world's respect when she stood for patience and magnanimity in human affairs?

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THURSDAY MORNING, 15 MAY 1975

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER 15 MAY 1975, Pg 1

Why Ford Shifted To Military Tactics

By JAMES McCARTNEY
Inquirer Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—President Ford switched from diplomatic to military tactics in the crisis over the captured merchant ship Mayaguez because of fear that some of the 39-man American crew might be taken out of reach, where they could never be rescued.

But well-placed government sources said late yesterday that some members of the crew may already have been moved to the mainland. And others may be on a nearby island, called Koh Tang, under guard by a small Cambodian naval garrison.

The President ordered what White White House Press Secretary Ron Nessen described as "an inhibiting action" late Tuesday after a National Security Council (NSC) meeting.

The situation was tense.

The ship lay motionless, about a mile off Koh Tang, which is about 30 miles from the Cambodian port of Kompong Som.

The President had put his word on the line. He had labeled the seizure of the ship by the new Cambodian Communist government "an act of piracy." He had demanded its "immediate release" and declared that failure to release it "would have the most serious consequences."

U. S. warships from throughout the Pacific were steaming to the scene to back up the presidential statements. Combat-equipped U. S. marines were en route to Thailand from Okinawa, Japan.

But as the NSC met Tuesday afternoon, the military possibilities of saving the crew appeared in danger of slipping away.

U. S. reconnaissance planes were reporting that some crew members might have been moved onto the island, and that some already might have been taken to the mainland.

The President stood the risk of finding himself in a situation — so frequent in the Indochina war — where vast U. S. power might appear impotent.

At some point in the late afternoon the President gave the Pentagon authority to "isolate" the ship, and the island, so that no more Americans could be taken beyond reach.

It was what one White House source described as a "preventive tactics," chosen after initial diplomatic efforts to free the ship and crew had failed.

The President's initial decision to resort to force was not designed to rescue the sailors.

It was designed, instead, sources said, to try to keep as many men as possible in a psoition where they might be rescued, if a decision should be made later to try to do so.

"Obviously, the President wanted to take the diplomatic route," said one White House official.

"But if the men were moved, we'd lose control. The option of trying to extricate them would be diminished. They'd be out of reach."

Once arriving at the decision, the President instructed his Congressional liaison staff, headed by Max Friedersdorf, to contact key members of Congress to let them know.

Calls began to go out between 5 and 6 p.m. Tuesday, on a "classified" basis, to top Democratic chairmen and ranking Republicans on the Armed Services, Foreign Relations and Appropriations committees.

They were told that the President had ordered the military to use "minimum force" to isolate the freighter and keep the gunboats from removing the crew. According to the White House, none of the congressmen or senators objected.

The White House described this process as "consultation." But Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield complained that he wasn't "consulted before the fact," but was "notified after the fact."

NEW YORK TIMES 15 MAY 1975, Pg 1

Sadat Says He'll Ask U.S. For Aid on Debt to Soviet

BY HENRY TANNER
Special to The New York Times

BEIRUT, Lebanon, May 14—President Anwar el-Sadat said in an interview published today that he would seek financial aid from the United States to settle Egypt's large debts to the Soviet Union.

Mr. Sadat, in an interview in the Lebanese weekly Al Hawadess, was quoted as having said that aid would be one of the topics he would discuss with President Ford in Salzeburg, Austria, on June 1 and 2.

Mr. Sadat arrived in Baghdad tonight from Kuwait, where he spent three days in conversations with Emir Sabah al-Salem al-Sabah, the Kuwaiti ruler. Mr. Sadat will visit Jordan and Syria before returning to Cairo early next week.

In the interview, President Sadat reiterated his frequent complaint that the Soviet leaders had refused to agree to requests for a rescheduling of Egypt's debts.

Estimates of these debts stemming from military and economic assistance including construction of the Aswan High Dam, range from $4-billion to $7-billion.

"The Soviet leaders won't give me even a grace period," Mr. Sadat was quoted by the weekly. "We are contacting Arab countries for speedy action to straighten out Egypt's economy and to enable her to honor her commitments to the Soviet Union and others. These contacts are not confined to Arab countries but will be extended to the United States."

Financial talks between the United States and Egypt have been conducted in Cairo in preparation for the Salzburg meeting of the two Presidents.

The interview was the first time President Sadat indicated so clearly that without immediate help Egypt would not be able to honor her commitments to foreign governments including the Soviet Union.

Mr. Sadat's four-nation tour is regarded by informed diplomats as a reflection of a subtle but fundamental policy change decided upon by the Egyptian President after the failure of Secretary of State Kissinger's "shuttle diplomacy" in March.

For the last 18 months, since Mr. Kissinger's first gisit to Cairo after the war in October, 1973, Mr. Sadat has been acting with deliberate independence as far as other Arab leaders were concerned.

Now, while still relying on the United States as the key to the Middle East conflict Mr. Sadat has resolved to operate stricly within the Arab context and to seek an Arab consensus before making a move.

According to Egyptian officials the present tour has three main objectives:

¶To seek an Arab consensus on what the Arab countries should expect from the United States in the coming stage of negotiations.

¶To mediate local disputes between Arab states, notably between Iraq and Syria over the waters of the Euphrates River and between Iraq and Kuwait over their border which has never been formally delineated.

¶To seek financial and military support from the oil-producing Arabs.

At a news conference in Kuwait President Sadat conceded that he had discussed Egypt's "enormous" economic difficulties with the Kuwaiti Emir.

In his news conference remarks and in the interview with the Lebanese weekly, Mr. Sadat reiterated a challenge to the Ford Administration to state clearly and publicly that the United States wanted Israel to withdraw from Arab territories seized during the war of tories seized during to war in 1967.

"The time has come for the United States to say whether it protects Israel within its borders or with the Arab territories that the Israelis seized by force," he said.

This apparently will be his key request to President Ford.

WASHINGTON POST 15 MAY 1975, Pg 7

Hairy Guardsmen Reinstated in Neb.

LINCOLN, Neb., May 14 (UPI)—Two Army National Guardsmen whose hair was ruled too long to satisfy regulations have been reinstated, Gen. Francis Winner, Nebraska adjutant general, said today.

Douglas Mosier was terminated several weeks ago, and William McClatchey was due to be separated from the service. Both have been retained as helicopter mechanics, Winner said.

The state attorney general advised that guard regulations concerning uniform standards were not clear enough to enforce.

WASHINGTON POST 15 MAY 75, Pg21

Algeria Seeking Viet Assets Here

Associated Press

The United States has received three diplomatic notes from Algeria seeking to assume the administration of South Vietnamese assets in the United States, including the former Saigon government's embassy.

All the notes said essentially the same thing, State Department spokesman Robert Funseth reported. That is, the Provisional Revolutionary Government in Saigon has asked Algeria to take over operation of the assets. Funseth said the American response has been the same: the matter is under consideration.

WASHINGTON POST 15 MAY 75, Pg 4

• Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) said he expects to schedule a floor vote next week on controversial legislation to lift the embargo on military aid to Turkey before Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger visits Ankara.

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WASHINGTON (UPI) -- THE TEXT OF A STATEMENT ISSUED BY DEFENSE SECRETARY JAMES R. SCHLESINGER AT A 3:30 A.M. EDT NEWS CONFERENCE ON THE RESCUE OF THE MAYAGUEZ CREW:

"THE SUCCESSFUL ACTIONS OF THE U.S. FORCES, ASSOCIATED WITH THE RECOVERY OF THE SS MAYAGUEZ AND ITS ENTIRE CREW HAVE A SIGNFICANCE FAR GREATER THAN THAT REPRESENTED BY THIS UNWARRANTED AND ILLEGAL HIJACKING EPISODE.

"IT REPRESENTS A MUCH-NEDEDED AND TIMELY REAFFIRMATION OF THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS -- AND PEACEFUL TRANSIT.

"MOREOVER, IT REPRESENTS A FIRM AND MEASURED RESPONSE TO THE HIGH-HANDED AND CRUDE USE OF FORCE.

"TO COUNTENANCE SUCH AN ACT WOULD MEAN THE WEAKENING OF INTERNATIONAL ORDER AND CIVILIZED COMMUNICATION.

"THIS SET OF OPERATIONS, SO EFFECTIVELY CARRIED OUT BY THE U.S. ARMED FORCES, IS AN ADDITIONAL TRIBUTE TO THE THEIR PROFESSIONAL SKILL.

"AS OF THIS EARLY HOUR THE MARINES REMAIN ENGAGED ON KOH TANG ISLAND WITH EXEMPLARY SUPPORT FROM THE NAVY AND AIR FORCE.

"THE PRICE THAT THE SERVICES HAVE PAID TODAY IS SIGNIFICANT, BUT IT REMAINS SMALL IN RELATION TO THE CONTRIBUTION TO THIS NATION AND TO THE CIVILIZED WORLD."

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WASHINGTON (UPI) -- WITH OVERWHELMING FORCE, U.S. MARINES HAVE RECOVERED THE MERCHANT SHIP MAYAGUEZ AND RESCUED ALL 40 CREWMEN FROM THEIR CAMBODIAN CAPTORS.

PRESIDENT FORD SAID TODAY HE PERSONALLY ORDERED U.S. AIR FORCE FIGHTERS TO DRIVE AWAY THE CAMBODIAN GUNSHIPS THAT SEIZED THE UNARMED AMERICAN VESSEL ON MONDAY. MARINES RECAPTURED THE VESSEL WEDNESDAY, UNOCCUPIED BUT WITH FOOD STILL WARM IN THE GALLEY.

THE MARINES LANDED AT KOH TANG, A TINY ISLAND IN THE GULF OF THAILAND, IN THE FIRST STEP OF THE SWIFT RESCUE. SIXTY MILES AWAY, NAVY FIGHTERS SCREAMED OVER THE CAMBODIAN MAINLAND AND BOMBED AN AIRFIELD IN A FURTHER DISPLACE OF FORCE.

THE FIGHTING ON THE ISLAND WAS FIERCE AND CONTINUED INTO THE EARLY MORNING HOURS, WASHINGTON TIME. DEFENSE SECRETARY JAMES SCHLESINGER SAID AMERICAN TROOPS HAD BEEN KILLED, BUT REFUSED TO GIVE NUMBERS OR DETAILS.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, WASHINGTON TIME, A THAI FISHING BOAT CAME UP TO THE DESTROYER USS WILSON, WHITE FLAG FLYING. THE 40 AMERICANS WERE ABOARD.

THE MAYAGUEZ WAS TOWED OUT OF THE AREA. THE CREW REBOARDED AND FIRED ITS BOILERS, AND ITS HONG KONG-THAILAND VOYAGE RESUMED.

SCHLESINGER CALLED THE CAMBODIAN SEIZURE OF THE MAYAGUEZ "A HIJACKING," AND TOLD A PREDAWN NEWS CONFERENCE THE KHMER ROUGE HAD BUCKLED UNDER THE U.S. MILITARY MIGHT AND WERE FORCED TO RELEASE THE CAPTIVES.

FOR A FEW HOURS, AMERICAN TROOPS AGAIN FOUGHT IN INDOCHINA. FORD MUST, UNDER THE WAR POWERS ACT, EXPLAIN HIS DECISION TO CONGRESS, AND PREPARED LETTERS FOR DELIVERY TO THE HOMES OF CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS ABOUT DAWN TODAY. THE EARLY REACTION OF MANY LAWMAKERS WAS TO SUPPORT HIM.

THE WHITE HOUSE WAS PLEASED WITH THE LIGHTNING SUCCESS. SINCE THE COMMUNIST VICTORIES IN VIETNAM AND CAMBODIA, FORD AND SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER REPEATEDLY HAVE WARNED FOE AND BOLSTERED FRIEND THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD STAND AND FIGHT WHEN NECESSARY.

FORD HIMSELF MADE THE ANNOUNCEMENT.

"I HAVE NOW RECEIVED INFORMATION THAT THE VESSEL HAS BEEN RECOVERED INTACT AND THAT THE ENTIRE CREW HAS BEEN RESCUED," HE SAID. "THE FORCES THAT HAVE SUCCESSFULLY ACCOMPLISHED THIS MISSION ARE STILL UNDER HOSTILE FIRE BUT ARE PREPARING TO DISENGAGE."

FOR THE FIRST TIME, CAMBODIA'S COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT MENTIONED THE SEIZURE WEDNESDAY AND CLAIMED THE SHIP WAS IN ITS TERRITORIAL WATERS. THE RADIO BROADCAST HINTED OF "ESPIONAGE OR PROVOCATIVE ACTIVITIES."

THE MAYAGUEZ WAS BOARDED MONDAY BY THE CREW OF A CAMBODIAN GUNSHIP ABOUT 60 MILES OFF THE COAST. THE OWNER, SEA-LAND CORP. OF MENLO PARK, N.J., SAID ONLY 30 OF THE 266 CONTAINERS IN THE SHIP'S CARGO HELD MILITARY SUPPLIES -- AND NONE OF THESE WERE WEAPONS, MUNITIONS, OR CLASSIFIED MATERIAL.

KISSINGER SAID DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS WOULD BE EXHAUSTED BEFORE TROOPS WERE SENT IN. REP. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, D-MASS., SAID CHINA HAD BEEN ASKED TO GIVE CAMBODIA A 24-HOUR ULTIMATUM. NO REPLY WAS RECEIVED, AND THE DEADLINE PASSED BEFORE DAWN IN THE GULF OF THAILAND, TUESDAY EVENING WASHINGTON TIME.

EIGHT CAMBODIAN GUNBOATS BEGAN LEAVING KOH TANG HEADED FOR THE CAMBODIAN PORT OF KOMPONG SOM. THEY WERE FIBERGLASS, ABOUT 30 FEET LONG -- LIKE SMALL OCEAN-GOING PLEASURE BOATS IN THE UNITED STATES -- AND ARMED WITH A SINGLE MORTAR OR MACHINE GUN.

THEY WERE STRAFED BY A7 AND F4 FIGHTER PLANES FROM U TAPAO AIR BASE IN THAILAND, EACH ONE ARMED WITH WEAPONS MORE SOPHISTICATED THAN THE BOATS. THREE VESSELS SUNK.

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CURRENT NEWS

PART II - MAIN EDITION - 1130

THIS SUPPLEMENTS PART I-EARLY BIRD EDITION

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WEDNESDAY, MAY 14, 1975

WASHINGTON POST - 14 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

South Korea Bans Dissent, Curbs Travel

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Foreign Service

TOKYO, May 13—South Korea's President Park Chung Hee issued a sweeping presidential edict today banning virtually all internal dissent on threat of prison terms of up to 15 years.

The new measure, one of series of off-again, on-again restrictions on domestic opposition over the past 16 months, also contains a ban on unauthorized departures of people and money from South Korea.

In a brief statement Park said he had issued today's lengthy decree "to consolidate national unity, coalesce national opinion and enable all people to prepare themselves thoroughly for an impregnable posture of national security" in the face of "a growing danger of miscalculation" by Communist North Korea.

To a large decree, public and political opinion recently had been coalescing behind government policy, following the fall of Indochina and the recent visit to Peking by North Korean President Kim Il Sung. Park's latest "emergency decree" runs the risk of refueling the opposition, even if its expression is suppressed for the time being by presidential power.

See TRAVEL, Pg. 2

WASHINGTON POST - 14 MAY 1975 Pg. 14

U.S. Said to Plan Cutback in Laos

From News Dispatches

VIENTIANE, May 13 — There were reports today that the U.S. embassy has decided to evacuate some Americans, as several more army units formerly aligned with the Laotian rightist faction pledged their loyalty to neutralist Premier Souvanna-Phouma and the Pathet Lao official named acting defense minister yesterday.

According to an authoritative source who told of the evacuation plan, the United States is also considering closing down American operations in some parts of Laos following the collapse of the rightist side in the tripartite coalition.

The source said it has not yet been determined how many of the approximately 820 American officials and their dependents in Laos would be sent out.

The source said those de-

See LAOS, Pg. 2

BALTIMORE SUN - 14 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

U.S. weighs options on seized ship

By PETER J. KUMPA
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—President Ford called the third meeting of the National Security Council in two days last night to consider options on how to recover the merchant ship Mayaguez, seized Monday by Cambodia and still held in the Gulf of Thailand 30 miles from the coast.

Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State, flew back from a Midwest speaking trip to attend the extraordinary top-level policy meeting, which also was attended by James R. Schlesinger, Secretary of Defense, and William E. Colby, director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

A White House spokesman denied reports that the ship had started moving during the day. "We have no information that the Mayaguez is moving," Ronald H. Nessen, presidential press secretary, said. He stated that it was still in the same place that it had been in the morning, near Koh Tang Island off the Cambodian coast.

American warplanes kept a constant watch on the ship and the fate of its crew remained a mystery. There was no hard information on whether the American crewmen had been taken off the ship or were still aboard as hostages. It was understood from informed sources that it was fear for their lives that delayed any quick naval action to recover the ship.

One U.S. Navy P-3 Orion reconnaissance plane dove through a heavy cloud cover early yesterday for a better view of the ship. It took one round of small-arms fire in the tail, but no one was injured. Other surveillance planes included jet fighters and Air

See SHIP, Pg. 2

BALTIMORE SUN
14 MAY 1975 Pg. 2

'Nothing we can do,' Teng says

Paris Bureau of The Sun

Paris—Chinese Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-ping said yesterday that China could do nothing in the event of American military reaction to the Cambodian seizure of the U.S. merchant ship Mayaguez.

"If the United States intervenes, there is nothing we can do," said the 71-year-old leader, who is in France on a six-day official visit.

Mr. Teng, No. 3 in the Peking hierarchy and heir apparent to Premier Chou En-lai, told reporters that he was unaware of China's reported role as intermediary in diplomatic negotiations between America and Cambodia for the ship's release.

The Chinese deputy premier is here on a visit basically aimed at improving Chinese-European relations and foster-

See TENG, Pg. 2

JAMES KILLINGBECK, CHIEF, CURRENT NEWS BRANCH, OX 78765 HELEN YOUNG, ASSISTANT CHIEF.
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TRAVEL ... CONTINUED

Park noted in his announcement that some nations have expressed uneasiness or misgivings about U.S. defense commitments following the Indochina collapse. "However, our government continues to place trust and confidence in the U.S. commitment based on the Korea-U.S. mutual defense agreement, and will endeavor to further strengthen the traditional ties of close friendship and cooperation with the United States," he said.

There was no recognition in the statement of the possible adverse impact in the U.S. Congress or executive branch of the new moves to suppress internal opposition.

Park's statement called on North Korea to desist from what he called 'the daydream of communizing the whole of the Korean peninsula" and to move toward early resumption of the now-frozen North-South dialogue.

He warned that if North Korea launches another invasion, "We shall then take the occasion to eradicate their threats once and for all. I solemnly warn, therefore, that any reckless adventure by the North Korean Communists will only lead to their destruction."

The South Korean leader did not explain the basis for his unusually strong threat of retaliation against the North.

Park, who first took power in a 1961 military coup and was elected to three terms as president in popular balloting, seized nearly total control under martial law in October 1972.

As opposition to one-man rule began to grow, he issued "emergency decrees" against domestic dissent in January and April 1974. He repealed the decrees last August in the face of foreign and domestic criticism, and released most of the 200 political prisoners from their cells in February.

In effect, today's edict reinstates the previous ban on opposition to Park's rule and in some respects goes further than before.

Among other things, Emergency Measure No. 9 makes it a crime, punishable by prison terms of one to 15 years, to:

- Advocate or petition for revision or repeal of the martial-law constitution under which Park assumed unchecked power.
- Broadcast or publish any news report of any opposition to the martial-law constitution.
- Stage any student demonstration or assembly that "interferes" with politics.
- Move any Korean-owned property out of the country "with intent to perpetrate a property flight."
- Publicly oppose the new emergency edict, or report on any such opposition.

The new decree gives government ministers sweeping power to close down universities, broadcasting stations, newspapers or other enterprises, or dismiss any member of their staff or administration, in enforcing the strictures. No judicial review of such measures is permitted.

The decree also explicitly permits arrests, detention, search and seizure without warrant — all of which have been commonly practiced in recent years in South Korea.

Last year's decrees, one of which authorized the death penalty for dissent, prescribed trial by closed military court. The new decree calls for trial by civil court. No ground rules for the conduct of the trials were specified.

SHIP ..... CONTINUED

Force AC-130 gunships that have range and staying power.

Officially, the White House, the State Department and the Pentagon declined to say what military and diplomatic efforts were being made to recover the American merchant ship, which was seized by Cambodian gunboats while en route from Hong Kong to Sattahip in Thailand.

But, according to informed sources here, the People's Republic of China was being used to apply diplomatic pressure while a number of Navy warships led by the carrier USS Coral Sea headed for the scene and marines in Okinawa were placed on alert.

President Ford, who had labeled the seizure "an act of piracy" and demanded the immediate release of the Mayaguez, was awakened twice in the night for reports on the incident. Yesterday morning, he presided for nearly an hour over the second National Security Council meeting considering what steps to take on the captured vessel.

Whatever action the President may decide to take, he seemed to have strong backing in Congress, where demands for military action were growing. Emphasizing the word "if," Mr. Nessen said that if there were any decision for military steps, Mr. Ford would consult fully with Congress.

Senator Robert C. Byrd (D., W. Va.), assistant Senate majority leader, urged the President to set a 48-hour deadline for the release of the ship. If it were not met, he said, the United States should take "whatever action is necessary" for its return.

According to two legislators who had meetings with the President on other matters, Mr. Ford was acting coolly and deliberately in the crisis. Said Senator Jacob K. Javits (R., N.Y.): "My feeling is the President is determined the ship and crew must be returned [but] he's keeping his shirt on." Representative John B. Anderson (R., Ill.) also was convinced that Mr. Ford would consult with congressional leaders before leaving diplomatic channels to get the ship back.

Mr. Ford was awakened at 2.25 A.M. and again at 5.20 A.M. for reports on the incident. He also talked with Secretary Schlesinger at 7 A.M., with the White House declining to say what was discussed.

One report had the President ordering 150 marines to fly to Thailand in a show of strength while alerting another 1,000 marines on Okinawa. But informed sources explained that it was standard procedure to alert troops in such instances. The possibility of using marines from nearby Thailand may be moot, for in Bangkok, Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj of Thailand said his country would not permit bases there to be used for military action against Cambodia.

Mr. Nessen refused to comment on the Thai position

Early yesterday, the White House reported that the Mayaguez was anchored close to the island of Koh Tang, about 30 miles from the port of Kompong Som, now renamed Sihanoukville, which is about 30 miles northeast of the point where it was seized by two Cambodian gunboats, about 8 miles from the rocky island of Paule Wai.

During the night, it had been escorted by the Cambodian vessels and had not gone to port as originally believed. There was no explanation for the stop,although a Pentagon spokesman said it was "apparently dead in the water."

From the last messages from the ship—given before the Cambodian boarding party reached the radio room—it is known that none of the crew of 39 had been injured during the takeover despite some gunfire.

Whether the crew had been moved off the vessel could not be determined . No spokesman here would even say whether any of the men had been sighted. There were, however, reports that more than two Cambodian vessels were in the area.

Late yesterday, there was a report that the ship had begun a slow movement. It was not headed away from the coast but it was not clear if it was headed for .Sihanoukville. Later, informed sources said, the erratic movement had stopped.

American aircraft kept the ship under continuous surveillance, which was made difficult at times by the cloud cover.

There was no confirmation that the Cambodians had been reached through diplomatic channels. And there was noting but speculation on the motives in seizing the ship.

TENG ... CONTINUED

ing European unity as a means of forestalling Soviet attempts to spread the Kremlin's international influence.

He met Valery Giscard d'Estaing, the French president, yesterday and reported having "a very frank discussion on international problems which interest our two countries."

LAOS ... CONTINUED

parting would be in two categories: families who indicate a desire to leave and officials scheduled for reassignment this summer, who would leave earlier.

[In Washington, however, White House press secretary Ron Nessen said, "No evacuation has been ordered."]

With the action by 10 units today, some 13 military organizations in the Vientiane area have expressed support for the government following the resignation of four rightist Cabinet ministers and two key generals over the weekend.

The national radio broadcast a statement from the air force commander, Brig. Gen. Bouatha Phottivongsa, pledging support for the coalition and banning unauthorized movements of military aircraft. The grounding of planes and a prohibition against the movement of military equipment was decreed yesterday by the acting defense minister, Kham Ouane Boupha.

The staff of the Finance Ministry also expressed support for the coalition government today and demanded that Ngon Sananikone, a leading rightist politician who was one of the ministers who resigned, be replaced by the Pathet Lao deputy finance minister.

Three companies of cadets at the police academy took a stronger approach. After declaring their support for the coalition, they failed to do so by Thursday they would be considered to have abandoned their posts.

Thursday is also the deadline established by the tripartite police administration in Vientiane for merchants to submit inventories of their stocks. The inventory order was issued as part of a drive to end hoarding, speculation and rampant inflation.

barred their officers from entering the building and accused them of corruption and neglect. The cadets spread themselves on the academy's lawn with Sten guns trained on the entrance.

Souvanna appealed today to all police, soldiers and civil servants who have left Laos in recent days to return, adding that if they

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EDITORIALS

WASHINGTON POST 15 MAY 1975

The Mayaguez Affair

THE NEW CAMBODIAN government's seizure of the American merchant ship Mayaguez poses an unwanted and difficult challenge to the Ford administration. Obviously, the United States must protect its citizens and their property from arbitrary acts by foreign states. Particularly at this moment of post-Vietnam uncertainty, the government is bound to be worrying about whether its will is still being taken seriously in the world. And yet the facts of this incident are still very few and dim. Certainly the basic prerequisites for the use of force—that the facts be known, that the Congress and the public be informed of the choices and risks, and that diplomatic alternatives be exhausted—have not yet been met.

What we do know is that an unarmed merchant ship under charter to the U.S. military, carrying supplies but apparently not weapons to U.S. military bases in Thailand, was intercepted in what Cambodia claims are its territorial waters eight miles from an island sitting 60 miles off the Cambodian coast in the Gulf of Siam. Whether this was an act of "piracy," as the administration at once claimed, is not clear to lawyers. In the absence of any explanation from the new, uncommunicative and intensely nationalistic government of Cambodia, one can only speculate on what its purposes were. To be tough and anti-American? To assert a territorial claim to an island also claimed by the Vietnamese? To take a chip for bargaining against the return of Cambodian property taken abroad by members of the former government? To protest the delivery of military supplies to American military installations on the territory of a neighboring state, Thailand, with which Cambodia has poor relations?

The United States has approached Peking for help in obtaining the release of the ship and its crew of 39. But there are no visible results as yet, and it is far from certain that China could do very much, even if it wanted to. Some approach to the United Nations Secretary General might also be appropriate. What would certainly not be appropriate, however, would be the policy recommended by Sen. James L. Buckley (Con.-R-N.Y.): "immediate punitive air and naval attacks." That he could toy so cavalierly with the lives of the 39 hostages, without having any way of knowing what actually had happened, and without considering what the targets or costs or risks of renewed bombing might be, suggests a truly astonishing inability to learn anything from Vietnam. The appeal by Sen. John Sparkman (D-Ala.) to retrieve the ship "any way we can" was only slightly less ill-considered.

The administration itself has threatened Cambodia with "the most serious consequences." It would have done much better first to build its case. As it was the administration last night found itself in the awkward if not untenable position of making plans to fly marines into American bases in Thailand, despite the Thai government's publicly stated refusal to permit use of those bases for military action against Cambodia. In fact, a more gratuitous display of American helplessness would be hard to conceive. The administration should not be raising the specter of force until it can supply the American people with convincing evidence of the rightness of its case as well as an explanation of why there is no effective alternative. American honor is being tested. But so, after Vietnam, is American common sense.

BALTIMORE SUN 14 MAY 1975

Dealing With Gunboat Diplomacy

The safe and speedy retrieval of the merchant ship Mayaguez with its crew and cargo should be the overriding concern of Washington in dealing with the incident. It was seized by boats from a Cambodia in the throes of transformation under a violent revolutionary regime that is consolidating control and spurning foreign contact. In the face of provocation by a little-known adversary, a great and self-confident power should move calmly and rationally. The first step before contemplating any action must be to find out why Cambodians did what they did, both through monitoring their broadcasts and through diplomatic lines in Peking. American bluster is unlikely to retrieve the Mayaguez, and precipitate violence might get the 39 seamen killed. Whatever a handful of marines can do, they cannot protect hostages in hostile custody.

There are some reasons to think the Mayaguez may have been seized as part of Cambodia's assertion of sovereignty over islands also claimed by South Vietnam and over waters in a 12-mile radius from them. This in turn would be part of an attempt to get economic control over a fair share of the Gulf of Thailand. Although Cambodia has a large coast, the boundaries with Vietnam and Thailand could be extended seaward in such a way as to deny it much seabed. The second session of the United Nations Third Law of the Sea Conference broke up in Geneva last week with the sea still in anarchy. There is no internationally respected way to resolve disputes over islets and over competing claims of mainlands and adjoining islands to continental shelfs.

The Mayaguez was at least the third vessel harassed by Cambodians in the same location this month. The waters are international under American doctrine but claimed by Cambodia since 1969. One puzzling aspect of the affair is why the owners of a merchant ship carrying military cargo allowed it to go so near a trouble spot involving a virulent government. The Gulf of Thailand is wide. A ship bound for Thailand need not go so near Cambodian-claimed islands.

If the assertion of territoriality was the motive, the Mayaguez is a pawn in a dispute not directed at the United States and its return should be easily managed. If another motive is involved, however, such as the acquisition of hostages for leverage in a dispute with the United States over something else, the incident could prove ugly and difficult. Dispatching marines to Thailand, where the United States already has considerable forces, only endangers Thailand's relations with the new Cambodia, and with this country. Clear communication between Washington and Phnom Penh is the first requisite and the only hope for the seamen now in Cambodian hands.

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WALL STREET JOURNAL - 14 MAY 1975

Retrieving the Mayaguez

Coming as it did on top of the other reverses U.S. policy has suffered in Southeast Asia, the Khmer Rouge seizure of the U.S. ship Mayaguez is a kind of last straw. With the 40 American crewmen now being held by Cambodia, we are confronted with all the doubts and dilemmas that surround the terrorist and hijacking incidents we have already come to know too well.

No blanket laws can be laid down to deal with such situations; judgments must be made by responsible authorities in light of the particular circumstances of each incident. We do not yet know what the appropriate method will be in this incident, but in dealing with it President Ford will be the responsible authority, and he will need the broadest possible latitude. The least Congress can do is to make clear that he has the authority to use U.S. military forces if the occasion demands.

Naturally, the President's first step must be to make some intelligent appraisal of Khmer Rouge aims. Specifically, did the new Cambodian government make a misjudgment that can be resolved with diplomacy, or was this a deliberate provocation by an "outlaw" government, a declaration that the new Cambodian regime will not abide by the normal standards of international conduct?

The Mayaguez was some 60 miles from the Cambodian shore, but only eight miles from a small rock island claimed by both Cambodia and Vietnam. Possibly the Cambodians are merely interested in making a point about ownership of the island and their 12-mile limit. They recently had fired on a South Korean ship and stopped a Panamanian freighter in the same waters. If they are willing to release the Mayaguez and its crew, it would be well worth a U.S. pledge to give their rock a wider berth.

If, however, there is really a question of "piracy" on the high seas, as President Ford declared, it becomes a different issue. Given the behavior of the new Cambodian regime so far, there is every reason to suspect that the seizure is intended as an act of defiance of foreign nations in general and the U.S. in particular. If so, the next step is hard to predict. It could be the release of the Mayaguez crew, along the lines of the release of refugees from the French embassy in Phnom Penh. But something worse is also easy to imagine.

Congress has legislated against the use of American military power in Indochina and the Mayaguez incident points up the difficulties in such limitations on American power. White House counsel thinks the President can legally use force in this instance and Senator Case says the limitations do not preclude "police actions" (like the one in Korea in 1950?). Secretary Kissinger says the President has "certain inherent powers" to act. But the very ambiguities of present law are an inhibition to quick action.

Beyond that, there is the question of the *next* Mayaguez. One of the big questions about this incident is, since the Cambodians had already assaulted two other ships, where was the U.S. Navy? The Navy is now moving into the Gulf of Siam. If the Cambodians move against another U.S. merchantman, should the Navy stand by pending a congressional resolution?

Freedom of the seas, and more broadly freedom of Americans to travel and trade in the world, is one of the bedrocks of American foreign policy. We learned from the Barbary pirates that sometimes enforcing this right requires the use of force. We are now back to that simple bedrock, and are learning again that there is no withdrawal from the world.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
14 MAY 1975

Cambodia turns to piracy

In a matter of a few days, the new government of Cambodia has shown its utter contempt for the principles of humanity and international law. First it uprooted millions of city people, including the aged, the wounded, and the ill—and herded them out into the countryside to toil in the fields. Now it has seized the United States merchant ship Mayaguez and its crew on the high seas. We seem to be witnessing the birth of a miniature monster.

The United States must secure the release of the ship and its 39 crewmen, most of whom are Americans. President Ford has denounced the seizure as an act of piracy, and Secretary Kissinger has called it unacceptable.

The diplomatic approaches being made to Cambodian leaders thru other governments are a correct first step. Cambodia, like an individual, is entitled to a chance to explain its behavior and correct it before any more damage is done.

But Mr. Ford quite rightly warned of serious consequences if Cambodia fails to return the ship and crew promptly—and promptly should mean hours, not weeks. Having issued this warning, he is preparing to carry it out. Naval vessels and Marines have been ordered into the area.

Liberals like Hubert Humphrey are right enough so far in warning that we should "stop, look, and listen" before using force. But if we know Mr. Humphrey, he will still be chattering on long after the crisis has turned to another humiliation like the one that lasted for a year after the Navy's Pueblo was seized by the North Koreans in 1968. That we cannot tolerate.

Another thing we must do right away is to stop playing coy about what the Mayaguez was carrying. If our cause is as just as it appears, the last thing we need is evasiveness. If the ship was carrying arms to Thailand, there is nothing improper about that. It was traveling in international waters and its seizure is plainly unacceptable. If unpunished, it will surely become the first in a series of intolerable harassments thruout Southeast Asia.

Flushed with their success in taking over Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge seem to be trying to taunt the United States, perhaps to prove that they can exact payment from us for our alleged transgressions against them. This is what was known in the days of Britain's might as "twisting the lion's tail." The British Empire never allowed the twisting to become intolerable. Neither can we allow Uncle Sam's beard to be this badly singed.

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER - 14 MAY 1975

Shooting is a last recourse

In a characteristic reaction to the seizure of a U. S. merchant vessel by a Cambodian gunboat, Sen. James Buckley demanded that the U. S. shoot first and ask questions later.

"A failure by the United States to react swiftly and clinically will only invite further outrages against the persons and property of American citizens," the New York Republican-Conservative declared. "I therefore urge the President to order immediate punitive air and naval attacks on appropriate targets in Cambodia."

That would assure the slaughter of a lot of Cambodians, but would it not also assure the slaughter of the 40-man crew of the Mayaguez?

The right course is to think first, and then perhaps we need not shoot at all. What happened, and why, in the Gulf of Siam are not at all clear, and the parallels with events in the Gulf of Tonkin 11 years ago are not so remote as to be brushed off entirely.

This is not to excuse what President Ford called "an act of piracy" by the new Cambodian regime, whose aims so far are as ambiguous as its behavior toward its own populace has been odious. Nor is it to rule out force in every and all circumstances.

Still, there is at least considerable room for doubt that the new Cambodian regime, having triumphed after years of war, is anxious to provoke a war with the U. S., and there is scarcely any room for doubt that a new round of hostilities in the Far East would not be in the American interest.

This nation's first recourse should be diplomacy, and its second and third recourse as well. That may not satisfy hawks like Sen. Buckley, but it is the best way of getting the results this nation wants.

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NEW YORK TIMES
14 MAY 1975

To Halt Nuclear Spread

The threat of nuclear energy to mankind, recognized for three decades but still t[illegible]tle controlled, lies in its dual nature. Like fire, it can be used beneficially or destructively. No task confronting the United States, the Soviet Union and other advanced nations—which supply reactors, fissionable materials and other peaceful nuclear equipment to the rest of the world—is more important than heading off an accompanying spread of atomic weapons.

The energy crisis is stimulating interest in nuclear power the world around. In addition to 221 nuclear power plants operational or on order in the United States, there are now 274 power reactors operating or planned in 26 other countries. By 1980, they are expected to produce annually as a by-product more than 40,000 pounds of plutonium that, extracted from spent fuel rods, could provide enough weapons-grade fissionable material for more than 2,000 Hiroshima-size bombs.

The first line of defense against this horror is the 1970 nuclear non-proliferation treaty, which is now getting its first scheduled review at a month-long United Nations meeting in Geneva attended by most of its 91 parties, including the five Euratom countries which have just ratified—West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg.

Efforts will be made to urge ratification by 17 other signatory countries, including Japan and Switzerland. But it is increasingly doubtful that some, such as Egypt and Turkey, any longer have that intention. And the nations which have refrained from signing include such potential weapons-states as India, Brazil, Argentina, Israel, Pakistan and South Africa.

Some treaty adherents are also suspected of nuclear weapons intentions. Iran is said to be seeking an American or French license to build a chemical reprocessing plant capable of extracting weapons-grade plutonium from spent fuel rods. So too, reportedly, is South Korea, feeling more insecure than ever in the wake of the United States withdrawal from and the subsequent collapse of South Vietnam.

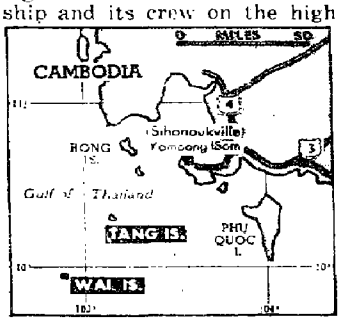
This trend can be slowed and possibly halted only through concerted action by the supplier nations to withhold such critical equipment as reprocessing plants and to tighten safeguards over the sales of other nuclear materials to parties to the non-proliferation treaty and, even more so, to non-treaty countries.

No sales at all should be made to non-treaty countries that fail to accept these tighter international safeguards. The International Atomic Energy Agency might be given responsibility for conducting peaceful nuclear explosions for non-nuclear countries—but only if an I.A.E.A. study shows such explosions to be environmentally and economically feasible, something American experts increasingly doubt.

NEW YORK NEWS
14 MAY 1975

A BRAZEN ACT OF PIRACY

President Gerald Ford has reacted with commendable vigor to Cambodia's seizure of an American merchant ship and its crew on the high seas, an indefensible and open violation of international law.



The unarmed Mayaguez was boarded by the Red brigands as it sailed past the island of Poulo Wai, 55 miles from the Cambodian mainland. The vessel and its crew were later taken to another island — Koh Tang, 25 miles away.

The facts of the incident speak for themselves. They add up to naked, provocative banditry on the part of the new Communist rulers of Cambodia in defiance of rules all civilized nations have followed for the protection of peaceful ocean-going commerce for three centuries.

In the circumstances, Mr. Ford has shown forbearance in choosing diplomacy as the course of first resort in attempting to pry the Mayaguez and its crew from Communist clutches.

But we hope he has made it abundantly clear to Cambodia—directly or through intermediaries such as Red China—that neither he nor the American people will tolerate protracted palaver.

If the ship is not speedily released and sent on its way, Mr. Ford has indicated a readiness to act decisively and retake the Mayaguez by force, using whatever military measures are necessary to carry out the task.

He should not hesitate to do so. Any faltering on our part will further diminish respect for the U.S., and give every tin-pot tyrant in the world the idea that he can prey on American shipping with impunity.

NEW YORK TIMES
14 MAY 1975

The Men and the War

To the Editor:

I should like to make a partial reply to the April 7 Op-Ed article by Gloria Emerson, my experience in Vietnam being at least equal to hers and my knowledge of some of the individuals she assailed being hardly less. Loose libels, as Edmund Burke said, are to be passed by with silence and contempt. With that I agree, so long as it is an attack upon one's person. But when it is an envenomed and unsupported calumny of one's friends, that is a wholly different matter.

The late Creighton Abrams had been my personal friend since war days in Europe. Ambassadors Ellsworth Bunker and Sam Berger I came to know through personal contact in Vietnam. Others in the group hit by Miss Emerson are obviously in her view more birds of a feather.

But I speak first of Abrams. True, nothing ill was said of him, but his likeness was there conspicuously midway in the graphic gallery so arrayed as to strike the eye like a police line-up. The collective character was presented as if "from its horrid head sprang pestilence and war."

Abrams was a highly disciplined, self-contained professional. Few civilians got to know him very well, and certainly no female correspondent ever found the approach to his innerliness. I knew his character, his devotion to country, his concern for his fellow man, his passion for justice, his conviction that abuse of power was an evil beyond excuse.

Out of a few trivial episodes Miss Emerson faults Ambassador Bunker as a "man unmoved by life itself." He is somehow villainous because he liked to be with other Yale men and sing the Whiffenpoof song. Nothing said of Ambassador Bunker or implied of Sam Berger was to me in any degree recognizable. I rated them as sympathetic individuals, possessed of a large humanity, dedicated to duty amid tasks of utmost difficulty in posts where personal danger was a fact of life.

Miss Emerson wonders what these men now dream. There is no answer, so I will tell her what I dream. By extension, she would damn all of us who tried to serve our country in Vietnam. Now that the checkered flag is down and it's open season on those who tried among the losers, we need only wallow in this kind of garbage, and we'll make of the United States a land that nobody cares to serve.

S. L. A. MARSHALL
Brigadier General (retired)
El Paso, Tex., April 22, 1975

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 14 May 1975

WASHINGTON STAR - 13 MAY 1975(14)

Takeover in Laos

The Communists are on the verge of taking over power in Laos. The event, which has been pending for the last 20 years, is causing little stir in the world — or for that matter in Laos itself. So far, the collapse of the coalition government of Communists, neutralists and rightists and the quiet takeover of the key government posts by the Communists has proceeded with a merciful lack of violence. In the wake of Vietnam and Cambodia, it seems almost like the inevitable outcome in the last of the Indochinese states.

What has happened, apparently, is that the rightist members of the government — including the ministers of defense and finance — read the handwriting on the wall and resigned. They are expected to be replaced by their Communist deputies or else by less powerful non-Communist figures. Meanwhile, several thousand wealthy, upper-class Laotians have fled the country into Thailand, along with many Vietnamese and Chinese businessmen. And neutralist Premier Souvanna Phouma has warned that 'some important changes are about to occur" which will bring Laos into "an accord with history." Most observers in Laos expect the change to be gradual rather than violent, with Souvanna perhaps remaining for a time as a figurehead. So far, despite some hostile demonstrations, the American embassy in Vientiane is sitting tight.

The effort to set up a coalition government in Laos was perhaps unrealistic from the outset. The first was installed after an international conference on Laos held in Geneva in 1961; the latest dates from the cease-fire and peace accords of 1973. But even during the long years of bitter fighting between the royal Lao forces (including units of hill tribesmen organized and equipped by the Central Intelligence Agency) and the troops of the Communist Pathet Lao, Communist detachments remained in the capital, maintaining the fiction of a coalition. As long as the outcome of the war in South Vietnam and Cambodia remained in doubt, the arrangement had a certain logic. Now that logic must give way to the general Communist victory throughout Indochina.

Who cares? Everyone has long since forgotten that Laos was where it all began: that it was the threat of a Communist takeover in Laos in 1961 that brought the first serious American intervention in Indochina, at a time when the danger to Vietnam was still considered remote. That threat inspired John F. Kennedy to send a detachment of Marines to Thailand and call for a meeting of the SEATO powers in Bangkok, where the United States received the firm backing of Britain — and the less enthusiastic backing of France — to prevent the impending Communist grab. This, in turn, led to the Geneva conference and the Rube Goldberg coalition compromise which the Communists immediately proceeded to ignore.

But that, of course, was long ago, when a good many countries in addition to the United States were seriously alarmed about the prospect of Communist expansion in Asia and still believed they could prevent it. Today, no one is likely to worry very much about a Communist takeover in Laos, except the Laotians themselves and perhaps the Thais, who do not relish the idea of still another Communist-dominated country on their indefensible northeastern frontier. And even the Thais at this point are far more likely to accommodate than resist. Truly, much has changed in the course of the last 14 years.

Guest Editorial: ARMED FORCES JOURNAL - APRIL 1975 (14 MAY)

NOT MANY PEOPLE REALIZE IT, but the United States has been supporting a costly and inefficient civilian army for many years. This army is 40% larger than all our uniformed services combined, and it costs the taxpayers 50% more to maintain. In sharp contrast to our real Army, it is growing rapidly all the time. It does not protect our Nation's interests abroad, and it does not always respect our liberties at home. It is not answerable to the public for its actions. It has been known to be lazy and arrogant, and to show excessive concern for preserving its own power and importance.

The institution to which I refer is the Federal bureaucracy, which currently numbers more than 2.9 million employees and costs more than $35 billion a year, 11% of the total Federal budget. The interests of the Country demand that it be reformed, reduced, and brought under control.

I do not wish to impugn the integrity or ability of individual bureaucrats. Most of them, like most Americans, are patriotic, loyal and well-meaning. However, the system of which they are a part is so cumbersome and disorganized that a complete overhaul has long been desirable. The present economic crisis has made such an overhaul not just desirable but essential.

President Ford recently asked Congress to limit Federal employees to a 5% increase in pay this year, in order to help reduce the Federal deficit. I support this proposal. However, I feel the President should go further. The President should immediately institute a program to eliminate all Federal jobs, in every Department and Agnecy, that are redundant, unproductive, or unnecessary . . . .

The Federal government is not obliged to provide any individual with a job. It *is* obliged to provide the entire Country with economic stability. To do this, it must cut back the mammoth Federal budget, which has more than tripled in a little over a decade. Surely one of the best places to start is the $35 billion that goes annually to support the bureaucracy.

Neither will this policy mean a necessary decline in the quality of government service. Far from that, a reduction in manpower is likely to produce a corresponding increase in efficiency. This is what has happened in our Armed Services, whose personnel is now at the lowest level since the Korean War. The Defense Department has proven that, properly equipped, it can do the same job just as well with fewer people. Civilian departments can and must follow its example.

There is a further benefit to manpower reductions beyond the savings in wages and salaries. A monstrous bureaucracy like ours has a vested interest in keeping government spending high. Government spending is a bureaucrat's livelihood. The larger the appropriations for his department or agency, the greater his power and influence. As a result, Federal officials who oppose increased government expenditures are few and far between. Those who favor reducing expenditures are practically nonexistent. Clearly, government spending can never be cut unless the government itself is cut back first.

There are now almost 3-million members of our civilian army, serving in 11 executive departments, the executive office of the President, and 80 independent agencies. A nation of free men and women does not need that much supervision. What is more, the Country cannot afford that much supervision. ■☆■

Senator Strom Thurmond, R-S.C.

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FEATURES COLUMNISTS

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

THE WASHINGTON POST Wednesday, May 14, 1975

Ford Misled on Vietnam Collapse

Jack Anderson and Les Whitten

The swift collapse of South Vietnam badly surprised President Ford who was misled, according to White House sources, by the national intelligence estimates.

These estimates are supposed to provide the President with the best possible analysis of what is likely to happen.

He was assured, for example, that the South Vietnamese army should be able to hold off the advancing Communists for several months. Even after the Saigon defenses began to crack, the national intelligence estimate predicted that Hanoi would negotiate with Saigon and form a coalition government.

The beleaguered Central Intelligence Agency was the first, say our sources, to warn that a Communist victory was imminent. The CIA recommended that the United States use its leverage to persuade the Saigon leaders to form a "peace government," which could negotiate a truce.

This would have given the United States more time to arrange an orderly and dignified evacuation. The CIA was overruled, however, upon the advice of American Ambassador Graham Martin who called upon President Nguyen Van Thieu instead to form a war cabinet supposedly to stiffen the resistance.

Although the Joint Chiefs of Staff correctly predicted more than two years ago that President Thieu would not survive and that the Communists would win the final struggle for Vietnam, the Pentagon badly misjudged the South Vietnamese army's ability to hold the line.

The Pentagon estimate was that the South Vietnamese would battle the Communists to a standstill along the approaches to Saigon. The only exception was the Air Force intelligence chief, Maj. Gen. George Keegan, who warned that the defenses would collapse.

It was the Pentagon's assessment that the South Vietnamese infantry divisions on the line were as good as any American divisions. Then why did they buckle? From the secret cables, here is a thumbnail analysis:

President Thieu was shaken by the capture of Banmethout in

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WASHINGTON POST 14 MAY 1975

Kenneth Crawford

Why We Lost the War

Could we have won the war in Vietnam? Of course we could. Sen. Barry Goldwater and a few others are saying so but nobody is paying much attention to them and there is no good reason why anybody should. We had the power, as Gen. LeMay told us, to bomb North Vietnam back into the stone age.

Why didn't we do it? The answer usually given is that by doing it we would have risked Chinese intervention of the kind that forced us to settle for a divided Korea in our previous Asian war. But it was at least questionable whether China, preoccupied with its own cultural revolution and mindful of its historic antipathy to the Vietnamese, would have gone to the rescue of its Southern neighbor. The risk was nevertheless there.

Mr. Crawford is a former columnist for Newsweek.

A more compelling reason for our failure to win the war in the only way it could have been won was our unwillingness to accept responsibility for the degree of devastation and bloodshed this would have inflicted. Some call this squeamishness. Others call it a decent respect for the opinion of mankind. Squeamishness or respect for civilized standards—it amounts to the same thing differently stated and differently weighted.

Defeat in Vietnam has hurt us, worse probably than we are disposed to acknowledge. It has raised questions around the world about our dependability as defenders of our allies and even more of weak nations not our allies. It has cost us something in self-confidence. It has cast doubt on our competence to hold our own in a contest for advantage, if not survival, with authoritarian systems.

Even the limited war we fought sandpapered the sensibilities of many, perhaps in the end a majority of Americans. Just recently a respected columnist has referred to the "carpet bombing" of Hanoi. Had that been a carpet bombing there would now be no Hanoi to celebrate victory in its

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WASHINGTON POST 14 MAY '75

David S. Broder

The 'Lessons' Of Vietnam

It was not long after the Korean war ended in 1953 that the Vietnam war began heating up. The fall of Dien Bien Phu followed the Korean ceasefire by barely more than a year.

Now that Saigon has fallen and the Vietnam war is at an end, there is inevitable speculation about the outbreak of a second Korean war.

The United States is linked to South Korea by a formal treaty and by the presence of some 30,000 American troops south of the 38th Parallel. And yet, a recent national opinion survey sponsored by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations found American voters overwhelmingly opposed to U.S. intervention, should North Korea again invade South Korean territory.

These simple facts suggest why, desirable at it may seem to many people, the United States cannot declare a moratorium on foreign policy debate. President Ford and most Democratic leaders have joined in pleas that the nation be spared an orgy of recriminations over "who lost Vietnam."

That is sentiment to which all may subscribe. But the President presumes too much when he goes on to assert that the debate is unneeded because everyone has "learned the lesson" of Vietnam.

Different people have learned very different lessons from Vietnam, and

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WHY WE LOST -- CONTINUED

well-ordered streets. It was selective bombing of military targets that wasn't quite accurate enough to avoid some civilian structures, including a hospital, which became exhibit-A in the tours conducted for visiting Americans determined to be appalled by their country's barbarism.

Hanoi could have been razed as Dresden was in World War II. The Red River dikes could have been cracked to release flood waters. At one point the rumor that they had been attacked set off an outraged cry of protest in this country. Unquestionably American power, had it been fully employed after the Tet offensive or at some other opportune juncture, could have won the war against North Vietnam and left its indigenous Vietcong cadres in the South unsupplied.

The question is whether we would have been better off winning that way than we are losing as we did. Probably not. Why, then, did our leaders take us into a war destined to harm us whether we won or lost? Because they thought we could win using only limited military means. Thus the Green Berets in Kennedy's scheme of things to beat the invaders at their own guerrilla game. And thus Johnson's determination to escalate enough to meet the challenge posed by the Russian and Chinese arming of North Vietnam. They both miscalculated. So hindsight makes wise men of their surviving critics.

American statesmen who warned this country over the years against enmeshment in land wars on this Asian continent doubtless recognized that a Western army fighting an Oriental army would be handicapped by Western conscience. Attitudes toward the value of life are too different. Even in the war against Hitler certain standards of military conduct were maintained. Prisoners of war, for example, were reasonably well treated over all.

In North Vietnam prisoners were sadistically abused. Civilian populations in the South were systematically terrorized, not by impersonal bombing and shelling, which were bad enough on both sides, but by night marauders on the ground kidnapping and murdering thousands whose only offense was that they sympathized with the Communists' enemies. The Phoenix operation, an attempt to fight fire with fire, never burned with enough conscienceless vigor to accomplish its purpose.

We cringed at pictures of Vietcong and North Vietnamese prisoners being kicked around by their South Vietnamese captors and at exposes of tiger cages for Saigon's political prisoners. If our people on the scene tried to moderate the conduct of our Asian allies the attempt was not well enough publicized and in any case seems to have been largely unsuccessful. Rough stuff on the battlefield occurs in every war. Continued abuse after the battle is over is unforgivable. At least, our side opened its prisoner-of-war camps to Red Cross inspection; the other side never did and we never learned until their release how savage its treatment of our men had been.

We keep hearing that the Paris accords, which were to end the war with honor on both sides, were violated by North and South alike. This is to equate cannon balls with bird shot. It became apparent that the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong never had the slightest intention of abiding by the treaty's terms. The South's violations were minor by comparison, maybe because he South lacked the resources to violate them as much as it would have liked. Whatever the reason, the equal division of blame is a distortion of the evidence.

How we Americans will weather the defeat in Vietnam is not yet clear. The immediate signs are depressing. Resistance to the succor of refugees is indecent in a nation of immigrants and refugees. The number is so small that assimilation should be fairly painless even in a time of economic recession. Perhaps it is only a first spiteful reaction of a people unaccustomed to defeat. Hopefully it will change as we get used to the loss.

More troublesome for this country's future is the burgeoning of extreme pacifism. A wave of antiwar sentiment follows every war but it seems more than usually virulent this time for understandable reasons. If there is a sure way for the United States to lose its influence in this world it is to convince friend and foe that American public opinion will never again stand for use of military force in any circumstance.

Another phenomenon of this immediate post-war period is complaisant acceptance of communism as an unobjectionable alternative to democracy. We are invited to be ashamed of our anti-communism during the cold war. It was, we are told, irrational demonology. Anyway Stalin is dead and detente is in force. What if all Asia follows the Vietnamese example? What if Western Europe is Finlandized? We will find out when and if these things happen that there was something not to regret in our cold-war attitude—and perhaps even something to regret in our failure to use our full power against North Vietnam.

'LESSONS' -- CONTINUED

until those conclusions are tested in debate, there can be no hope of agreement on a set of premises from which post-Vietnam policy can begin. Nothing makes that plainer than their differing views of the Korean situation.

Some have concluded from Vietnam that the United States should "never again" intervene on behalf of a regime which maintains power through repressive policies, which is marked by corruption and which commands only a dubious loyalty of its own subjects—even if that regime is attacked by a Communist government of no more savory character.

They argue that the U.S. treaty commitment to Korea shoud be abrogated and the American troops withdrawn as quickly as possible.

Others think the lesson of Vietnam is that the United States should never again be asked to fight a *limited* war on the mainland of Asia. They would support American intervention in Korea only if we were ready to go "all out for victory." Echoing the late Gen. Douglas MacArthur, they say there must be no "privileged sanctuaries" for the aggressor, or the United States should not fight again.

A third group concludes that the lesson of Vietnam is that we have been blinded by a fear of monolithic communism which has lost its relevance, if it ever had any. They argue that regimes like North Vietnam or North Korea, which maintain considerable autonomy, even as they derive support from both Peking and Moscow, are more worrisome to the Communist superstates than they should be to us.

Their view, of course, is that the United States should make it clear now that we no longer have a strong interest in who controls the Korean peninsula, and let the rival claimants settle their own quarrels.

A final group believes that a Communist Korea would put intolerable flank pressures on Japan, a linch-pin of the entire non-Communist economic and political world, and would force that country either to change its basic world orientation or to rearm—neither of which is desirable for American national interest.

From their perspective, the United States should make it clear in advance, not only to Pyongyang but to Moscow and Peking, that the United States cannot accept, and therefore will resist, a military move aimed at South Korea.

If detente is not to become a license to fish in troubled waters, they argue, the Communist giants must show their capacity for self-restraint. And if they do not, then let us disabuse ourselves of the myth of detente and reckon with the risks of the real cold war world.

All four of these views are held by people who firmly believe that they have properly assessed "the lesson of Vietnam." It is not too soon now for Congress and the President to open the debate on what that lesson really is. Tomorrow may be too late.

FORD -- CONTINUED

the central highlands last March. He concluded that his troops were spread too thin and ordered a strategic withdrawal.

But Thieu was indecisive. He would issue orders, than cancel them. He couldn't decide where to make a stand.

Finally the commander of the Second Military Region, after a meeting with Thieu, returned to his men and announced: "We're pulling out tonight."

They, not only abandoned their heavy equipment but left the First Military Region outflanked. What was supposed to be an orderly withdrawal, thereafter, turned into a pell-mell rush for the coast. Panic spread, with every man for himself, until the hasty retreat became a total rout.

* * *

WASH POST 14 MAY 75

Teng Criticized

PARIS—The French Communist Party newspaper L'Humanite sharply criticzed visiting Chinese First Vice Premier Teng Hsiaoping for his invective against the Soviet Union.

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NEW YORK TIMES - 14 MAY 1975

What Kind of Dominoes?

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By C. L. Sulzberger

PARIS—The only thing we know so far about the validity of a dominoes theory in Southeast Asia is that South Vietnam and Cambodia have been conquered by revolutionary armies and Laos is falling over the brink.

The incidence of guerrilla violence in Malaysia and Thailand has increased —but not drastically. North Korea seems preparing for another go at South Korea but that pertains to the domino game only in the broadest sense.

If some states—notably Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand—are straightening out their relations with Peking, that is not astonishing. So is the United States. And, somewhat unexpectedly, an initial (perhaps temporary) result of the abrupt new look in Asia is a rise of Chinese influence, weakening Leonid Brezhnev's publicized hope to outflank southern China.

Saigon's Provisional Government has taken pains to insist it won't choose sides in the Sino-Russian quarrel. Since Saigon's sponsor, Hanoi, is believed more subject to Moscow's influence than Peking's, this assurance by Gen. Tran Van Tra seems inferentially friendlier to China.

Even Kim Il Sung, North Korea's redoubtable bullyboy, is advertising to everyone that among "evil spirits" his "ideological battle" hopes to eradicate is "feudal Confucianism." "Confucianism" is a dirty word in China, not Russia. This is significant because North Korea borders both.

The relatively tolerant appearance Saigon seeks to give the world may or may not endure. Logically it would seem improbable in view of the Indochinese dominance by Hanoi's disciplined spartan system which, after all, made the South Vietnam conquest possible.

As for Cambodia, it is very hard to judge its ideological future by its revolutionary present. The latter seems, by all accounts, to be the work of a kind of fanatical jacquerie, whose early actions make Russian Bolshevism look conservative and make Chinese Maoism look like a ceremonial tea.

All one can say at this stage of the great dominoes game is that the United States has lost a great deal of influence but it is by no means certain that either Russia or China has gained much or even that Communism, as most people understand the word, will end up triumphant in the newly revolutionized areas.

Although it experienced certain unsuccessful heresies like Trotskyism, Marxism was considered a monolithic doctrine until Marshal Tito's Yugoslavia fought Stalin down on a combination of ideological and national issues. The crack Tito caused in the monolith was merely the first of many. Eventually the old Russian idea that Communism abroad could be used as an obedient servant of Kremlin dictates at home began to appear absurd.

Since Tito's rebellion, varieties of

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NEW YORK TIMES - 14 MAY 1975

Promises, Promises!

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, May 13—The United States isn't very good at handling defeat, probably because it hasn't had much practice. It has been excessively self-critical about the collapse of Vietnam and Cambodia, and now our officials seem obliged to go around reassuring everybody that Uncle Sam is a stout and dependable fellow after all.

Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore came here the other day, after turning back shiploads of Vietnamese refugees who sought safe haven in his country, and lectured us on how to be a reliable ally and regain the confidence of Asia. Nevertheless, President Ford gave him a big splashy dinner at the White House, where the Prime Minister turned his toast into a stump speech, and then went on "Face the Nation" and implied that the United States had not only been unreliable but maybe even dishonorable in Southeast Asia.

Some of this sort of thing was probably unavoidable, but confusing the American record in Southeast Asia with the American record in the world over the past thirty years is a little silly, and if the world is in doubt about how the United States will react to any serious challenge to its vital interests, the postwar record is fairly clear.

Washington reacted to the Soviet threat to Berlin with the airlift; to the Soviet Sputnik challenge in outer space by going to the moon; to the disaster of the Cuban Bay of Pigs with the blockade of Khrushchev's Cuban missiles in the second Cuban crisis; to the Communist threat to Greece and Turkey with the Truman Doctrine; to the economic wreckage of Europe after the last World War with the Marshall Plan; to the Soviet pressure on Japan with a security pact and the most generous and imaginative economic and political setlement ever offered by a victorious nation to a defeated nation.

The revisionist historians are having a field day now, but in the postwar era, the United States has been at its best when confronted by serious trouble and at its worst when it was sweet-talked into dreams of a phony perpetual peace.

Moscow misjudged Dean Acheson's Pacific "defense perimeter" speech, which left Korea out of the protected area, but found an American Army in Korea soon after the North Koreans attacked the South, at the Soviet Union's urging.

The Russian threat to dispatch airborne divisions to the Middle East produced an immediate American worldwide alert and a compromise cease-fire—not a very good one—but the Moscow threat or bluff or whatever it was, got the usual stern American re-

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NEW YORK TIMES
14 MAY 1975

Taiwan's Future

By George T. Chang

KEARNY, N.J.—President Ford is scheduled to visit China this fall. Undoubtedly the Taiwan issue will again be raised at the highest level, and a compromise might be worked out in the process of improving diplomatic relations between the United States and China.

The reaction of the majority of Taiwanese toward the rapprochement between the United States and China has been mixed. They welcome the emergence of new pragmatic policy on both sides. But on the other hand, they resent that the right and existence of 16 million Taiwanese have been totally ignored.

Strong desire prevails among the Taiwanese to have a decisive say about their political future. In view of the current conditions outside and inside Taiwan, one may conceive no circumstances under which the application of the principle of self-determination of people is more pertinent and urgent.

To deny 16 million literate citizens the right to decide their own political future as well as their own form of government is to violate every principle of contemporary law and politics.

Given a free and honest referendum today on Taiwan, the overwhelming majority of the people of Taiwan would choose to establish a democratic and independent state of Taiwan, both in fact and in law.

Despite uncertainty about the possible impact of the Presidential trip on future United States-China relations, one of the trip's outcomes is certain and predictable. The trip will constitute another serious blow to the present regime in Taipei.

Full diplomatic recognition of China by the United States, if realized, would mean, among other things, complete diplomatic isolation of the Nationalist regime.

This international isolation, coupled with the deteriorating internal economic situation, would push the regime to the brink of collapse. To prevent internal turmoil or even bloodshed, the regime must immediately take the following measures as the first steps toward a more revolutionary change of its structure and character.

First, announce Taiwan as a new political entity, thereby severing *de jure* and *de facto* its linkage with past Chinese internal conflicts and

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DEFENSE SPACE BUSINESS DAILY - 12 MAY 1975(14)

MCGOVERN SEES U.S. SEEKING UP TO 5000 CRUISE MISSILES. Sen. George McGovern (D-S. D.), in seeking a ban on U. S. cruise missiles (Defense/Space Daily, April 30), said that the Navy could seek to deploy as many as 2000 cruise missiles and the Air Force, between 2000 and 3000.

He asserted that Congress should first consider a prohibition against "any new long-range cruise missile of any kind." He said a "lesser, but still meaningful prohibition," would be to allow the more verifiable air-launched long-range cruise missiles, on the condition that all above a certain range cutoff point would be counted against the 2400 delivery vehicle ceiling set at Vladivostok, but to ban any sea-based long-range cruise missiles.

He said the cutoff point above which sea-based cruise missiles would be banned and air-launched cruise missiles counted could be 100 kilometers, or roughly the range of the Harpoon anti-ship missile.

Noting that the Administration indicated at Vladivostok that air-launched missiles with a range above 600 kilometers should be counted under the 2400 vehicle ceiling, McGovern pointed out that a cruise missile with a nominal range of 600 kms "could be altered to go over 2000 kilometers, or perhaps more."

TAIWAN -- CONTINUED

proclaiming its intent to live in peace with all neighboring countries, including China.

The majority of the Taiwanese believe that China's vow to "liberate" Taiwan is motivated by the fact that the Nationalists remain a party to the Chinese civil war, continue to claim the title of "Government of China," and adopt "recovery of the Chinese mainland" as a national policy.

The Taiwanese also believe once the provocation is removed and a more representative government expresses its nonhostile intention, the tension in the area will be greatly diffused, paving the way to create a more favorable atmosphere in which a peaceful coexistence could be worked out between the people of Taiwan and China.

Second, end the quarter-century-long martial law. The so-called Chinese civil war has long dwindled down to a verbal war without significant military action on either side.

The indefinite state of siege maintained by the Nationalists on Taiwan has long lost its justification. It now serves only as a cynical device for the rulers to suspend indefinitely civil liberty and suppress political opposition. Return to democratic normality of political life is a prerequisite for a socio-political change essential to the island's stability.

Third, release all political prisoners, thereby providing a basis for genuine collaboration with opposition forces. Taiwan has been politically the most repressive area in the world. Many intellectuals and youths are being tortured and are languishing in military prisons.

Fourth, conduct general and free elections, thereby creating an open environment for a peaceful transfer of political power.

These measures must be taken urgently within Taiwan. Washington and Peking, too, must realize that unless and until the right of self-determination of the 16 million people of Taiwan is fully recognized by all parties concerned there will be no peace in the region.

George T. Chang is the president of World United Formosans for Independence.

PROMISES -- CONTINUED

sponse.

In short, whenever the United States has seemed to be wavering and the Soviet Union has probed and tested America's will and its strengths, the United States reaction has been clear and swift.

In fact, if there is a danger in the present mood of disappointment and failure in Southeast Asia, it is not that the United States will fail to react in the future but that, if pushed on the assumption of American weakness, that it will overreact, as President Kennedy did in Vietnam after his humiliating blunders at the Bay of Pigs.

The threat to the United States in the last decade was not primarily a military or strategic threat, unbalancing the power of the world, as the Pentagon insisted, but a philosophical and economic threat, dividing the American people and unbalancing their trust in one another and the dependability of their institutions at home.

To allow these divisions to go on, after the loss of 56,000 lives and over $150 billion in aid would really have raised serious and justifiable doubts about the judgment and reliability of the United States as the principal defender of Western civilization.

The allies of this hemisphere, in Europe, and in Japan and the rest of Asia will know they are in serious trouble and will know they are insecure when America is diverted from its primary interests by secondary considerations, and weakened by unemployment, inflation and mistrust.

Meanwhile, verbal assurances by President Ford and Secretary Kissinger that America is a faithful ally are not likely to do much good, and in any event, will not impress either our allies or our adversaries. If they have not learned how America reacts to adversity after Berlin, the Middle East, Cuba, and the Marshall Plan, they probably won't be impressed by Mr. Ford's apologies or Mr. Kissinger's promises.

The truth is that a united America, out of Southeast Asia, is stronger and more reliable than a divided America fighting for dubious goals around Saigon. And if the allies don't see that after the record of the last thirty years, no amount of rhetoric out of this city is likely to convince them.

DOMINOES -- CONTINUED

Communism quite independent of Moscow appeared in China, Albania, Rumania and also infected other parties out of power such as Italy's. Indeed, a revolt within a revolt occurred in Yugoslavia itself when Milovan Djilas, once Tito's Number Two, struck out at what he considered stifling bureaucracy.

Djilas spent years in jail as a consequence of his dissent and is still refused permission to travel or to print his writings. He discusses some philosophical aspects of what we now see in Asia in an anthology called "Parts of a Lifetime," just published by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

In a piece called "Bureaucratic Nationalism," previously unpublished but written less than four years ago, he says: "Communism is an ideology, that is, a complete, closed doctrine. It is impossible to remove one pillar without shaking the other pillars and the entire structure. . . . We are witnessing the birth of a very specific kind of pluralism: the pluralism of nontolerant, nondemocratic nationalisms."

He wrote in 1954 (hitherto unpublished): "What the term Marxism means today has no more connection with the real Marx and his theory than does the contemporary Church with the Bible." In November, 1971, he added:

"Communism is Communism only if it is realized; that is, if it struggles for power—its real and realizable goal. And power can be conquered and maintained only on real, national grounds. Exactly because of that . . . Communism must split apart and come into conflict on national grounds. . . .

"The contemporary world, which is becoming united through diversity and where each day science and art reveal anew the indefinable complexity of nature, society and man, will complete the decomposition of ideology, at least as we know it. This is the dramatic fate that awaits Communism, which was once the most scientific ideology, the ideal ideology, the sole world ideology."

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NATIONAL OBSERVER 17 MAY 1975 (14)

Admiral Moorer Looks Back at Vietnam

'The Ending Is Sad and Unfortunate'

THIS article is excerpted from an interview conducted by The National Public Affairs Center for Television last week. Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, a veteran of 41 years in the Navy, was chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the crucial Vietnam years 1970-1974; before that he was chief of naval operations. The interviewer was Henry Trewhitt, Washington correspondent for the Baltimore Sun.

Admiral, you just retired recently as the nation's foremost military commander and you're now free to speak as you wish, without the discretion that's required of a sailor on active duty. I'd like to look back at Vietnam.

We've just ambiguously lost our first war, and I wonder what you would say to the parents of the 40 some thousand American boys who died in that war. Did they die in vain?

No, not in my opinion, because we did, I think, do quite a bit in Southeast Asia to stabilize the area at the time. We indicated that we were willing to make such sacrifices of blood and treasure to support what we considered to be right.

I also think as a side issue, for instance, that there are other areas in Southeast Asia, such as Indonesia for instance, that wouldn't be in the stable condition they are today if the United States had not been willing to go into Vietnam.

On the other hand, of couse, I think that the ending is sad and unfortunate, and to me in particular, who spent about 10 years of what I consider to be my most mature and productive years, struggling with this thing, to see the little Communists driving tanks supplied by the Soviets and at the same time using rifles supplied by the Chinese in an area which at one time was occupied by U.S. forces, doesn't leave me very happy, I can tell you.

Admiral, that really leads us directly almost to the "domino theory," which was first articulated I guess by the late President Eisenhower in 1954, and what he said in effect was that the countries in Southeast Asia would follow in sequence and there would be strategic consequences throughout the area, and I think probably by implication, the globe, if the United States allowed Vietnam to fall to communism. Do you see the domino theory at work now? Has it proved out?

Yes, I think that in one sense it certainly has, and, of course, we don't know yet just what will happen. But I think there's clear indication, both in the Pacific, and for that matter in Europe, that nations do not have the confidence in our country that they have had in the past.

Furthermore, looking to the future, I think that the acquisition of all of Indochina will permit the Communists to use such things as the great rice resources to bring pressure to bear on other nations in that area, and, of course, you've already seen indications from the Philippines—today there was quite a bit of talk about withdrawing from Thailand, and world-wide, I think you will see that the so-called uncommitted nations might have second thoughts, or at least more thoughts, about supporting the U.S. position than they have had in the past.

Let's review just briefly what's happened to the so-called dominoes. Now we have South Vietnam under Communist rule, Cambodia also under Communist rule, Laos is in a formally neutralist position, but certainly dominated by Communist forces, and the Thais are in the process of asking the United States to leave.

You mentioned Indonesia; I suppose there have been no direct consequences there, as far as I know, and the Philippines are talking about our leaving. Now do you see this as a hegemony sort of movement forward of communism, or is it really a matter of individual Communist parties at work here, and do we expect to see a unified Communist front in this area?

Well, I think, of course, each individual group has its own local objectives, but on balance, it is true that the Soviets and Chinese assisted the North Vietnamese. In other words, their interest they considered to be in confluence with those of North Vietnam.

I don't look at the domino theory as if we're going to have a situation that just goes click, click, click, like that. But it's the gradual erosion of the things that have made our country prosperous and strong that concerns me.

I don't think that this is going to happen overnight, but I think it weakens us, and of course many Americans understandably say, well, what in the world interests us in Southeast Asia? What does that have to do with my daily life? Well, it has quite a bit.

For instance, if one visits the Malacca Strait, he will see what's taking place down there in terms of commerce, and things of this kind. So our standard of living, our trade, our economic and political influence, all are certainly affected by the situation that's just developed.

Admiral, everything we've said leaves a fairly bleak outlook for Southeast Asia, taken in isolation [sic], and yet you said you didn't believe that those American forces had died in vain there. What do you think the United States accomplished in that 15-year enterprise?

Well, of course, as I said, we certainly didn't accomplish what I thought at the outset that we were going to accomplish. But at the same time, I think that looking back on the conditions that prevailed at the time that the commitment was made, it would have. . . .

. . . What are those, in your judgment, that determined the commitment?

At that time, of course, we were dedicated to blocking aggression in any part of the world that [it] happened to be taking place.

I see two anachronisms in the points you have made, Admiral, and I wonder if you would agree with them. One, with regard to public support of the war. Didn't the United States undergo that experience earlier in Korea when public support definitely, or the absence of public support really, definitely became a factor in the terms under which we ended the Korean War, and it certainly was a factor in which the French ended the first Indochina war, and doesn't the experience of the French indicate that United States political leaders and strategic planners should have taken into account the French experience more than they did?

Yes, I think so, but I think perhaps the thing that deterred them from really accepting that entire line of thought was that of course we felt that, you know, and quite probably, that we could do anything, and we could have done anything if we, in my view, had have brought that war to a close.

I think that quite a bit of the restraint that was placed on our military people was caused by the concern about what the Soviets and the Chinese were going to do. But, I don't think that they ever had any intention of involving themselves in Vietnam.

Let me come specifically to that point of what the United States should have done militarily in South Vietnam, not politically, but militarily, to bring that war to a successful conclusion. . .

Well, I think that in the first case the troops should have been landed in North Vietnam. They should have been landed in the Vinh area perhaps, or in an area where we could have had forces north of those passes that feed down into the Ho Chi Minh Trail That's one thing.

I certainly think that Haiphong Harbor should have been mined at the very outset. Everyone was wringing their hands as to what the Russians would do if we mined Haiphong Harbor. Seven years later we mined it, they didn't do a thing, and they never would have done anything, in my view.

And then we should have put the pressure on the area of Hanoi, Haiphong, etc., and brought the thing to a close. I think that, we had the power, we had almost unlimited power. Now, we did all these things. We went into Cambodia in 1970, we went into Laos in 1971, we mined Haiphong in May of '72, and we bombed Hanoi in December of '72. All I'm saying is we should have done all those the same day.

Admiral, what about tactics on the ground. We had an air-mobile concept—the use of ground forces transported by helicopters with high mobility, with high flexibility. Did that work, in the short-term sense?

I think it worked, but I also think that you've got to remember that again, that the North Vietnamese were a highly disciplined army that had been fighting for years, that they were not too concerned about casualties. They did not have an identification problem. They didn't care certainly about killing the South Vietnamese. And they were in the jungle warfare context.

And consequently, it always takes far more forces to defend civilized areas than it does to attack from the outside. And that again comes back to my point about invading North Vietnam—we should have reversed it so *they* had the problem of defending the cities instead of having to defend the cities down south.

Admiral, let's come back to that December 1972 period in the bombing—the so-called Christmas bombing of Hanoi. Do you regard the Paris peace accords that were reached as a result of that

(See MOORER, Pg 6-F)

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 14 MAY 1975

'Never again' is not enough

Roscoe Drummond

Washington

The response of most Americans to the tragedy and cost of the Vietnam war is: "Never again."

But "never again" is not a sure guide to the future. It is not a policy, it is a hope.

The danger of "never again" is that the exact set of circumstances which drew us into Vietnam will not likely occur again. The need is to develop some settled and acceptable guidelines so that when another crisis confronts us we will be in a better position to stop, look, and listen before acting too quickly.

The premise of a very large part of America's role was well expounded by President Nixon before the fate of South Vietnam was visible. This was what the President termed the Guam doctrine.

Its essential thrust was this: While the U.S. should reduce its military presence in some parts of the world and must avoid any rash commitment of combat troops, it should provide material assistance to nations which show a resolve to defend themselves against outside aggression.

But there are caveats to such a policy. Are we going to aid nations indiscriminately whenever their frontiers are violated? Shouldn't the U.S. avoid open-ended commitments? Should we refuse to help countries whose governments are quite repressive and less democratic than our own?

All fair questions. Everyone will not give the same answers to them, but their validity seems to me to make it desirable that the President and Congress agree on basic guidelines in order to profit from the lessons of Vietnam. I would say that, at the very least, the guidelines ought to embrace four main reservations.

The U.S. should aid an aggressed nation only:

1. When there can be no appreciable doubt that the American interest is deeply involved.

2. When a recipient country shows persuasive evidence it will use such aid to good advantage.

3. When Congress is given the opportunity by the President to approve such action — and does approve it.

One of the most crucial of all the lessons to be learned from Vietnam is that we must never again allow any doubt to exist that when the government of the United States makes a promise, explicit or moral, it will fulfill that promise. The only way this can be assuredly avoided is when both the President and Congress are united in approval.

Otherwise, after Vietnam, it will not be a credible promise. America's word must be totally trustworthy. This is the way to make sure we do not repeat one of the great mistakes in Vietnam. That mistake came when in the peace agreement, the President made a moral commitment to continue aid without knowing whether Congress was willing to carry it out.

4. There is a further caveat and it deals with a matter which many of the critics of Vietnam view with the greatest concern. They ask: Why help any country where civil rights and individual freedom are under attack by the regime we are proposing to assist? These issues are not black and white. They are relative.

My answer would be that the U.S. should provide material assistance to a nation defending itself against outside aggression only when the prospect of achieving government by the governed will be enhanced by its successful defense.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 14 MAY 1975

The Kremlin eyes Europe

By Eric Bourne

Vienna

The Warsaw Pact — Russia's answer to NATO — completes its 20-year term this week and will be renewed automatically for a further 10 years.

Within a few months its seven members will meet with the NATO powers (the United States and Canada included) and the European neutrals in an East-West, all-European conference on security and cooperation.

A Soviet proposal for such a conference, tied originally to the "neutralization" of Germany, is older than the Warsaw treaty itself and has been the present Kremlin leadership's principal political goal in Europe since the mid-1960s. It might have come earlier but for Russia's use of force through the pact to crush the Czechoslovak reform movement in 1968. As it was, the West made the Kremlin wait another four years before agreeing to begin its preparation.

Now, in the new atmosphere of detente, it looks to be "in the bag" and this, together with the fact that the Russians are not prolonging their "NATO," prompts questions of what line Soviet policy for Europe may adopt after such a conference.

The Russians created their Warsaw Pact in May, 1955, as a response to Western European Union and NATO's enlargement by the admission of a rearmed West Germany. Like the North Atlantic treaty, it stipulated that an attack on one member would be an attack upon all and it was described as a defensive alliance of nations facing "the common danger" of a possible "rebirth of militarism" in West Germany.

This was the constant target over the years, until it was silenced first by the Soviet-West German nonaggression treaty and later by general European detente (though, in their current negotiations with NATO on force reductions in Central Europe, the Russians still harp most on West Germany's military potential).

The Warsaw Pact, however, provided also a very convenient new basis for keeping Soviet troops in Eastern Europe, over 10 years after the war had ended. And, although these were withdrawn in 1958 from Romania, the only East-bloc state without a border "open" to noncommunist Europe, they were retained elsewhere in the area as a sure means of control in an uncertain period when national self-interest had begun to make itself felt, as in Poland and Hungary.

Both the "domestic" raison d'etre for keeping the pact going and its value as an instrument of foreign policy opposed to NATO remain. But a new European situation will apply after the security conference is an accomplished fact, and the Warsaw treaty itself gives one clue to what may become the bloc's new political thrust for the future.

One of its concluding articles says that if and when a system of collective security comes about on the basis of a general European treaty, the Warsaw Pact "shall cease to be operative" the day that treaty enters into force. (The simultaneous dismantling of NATO, of course, is implicit.)

The 35-nation European conference is not concerned with such a treaty. But the declaration expected to emerge from the final "summit" will undoubtedly be interpreted and exploited by the Russians as a kind of "peace and security treaty by proxy," confirming inter alia the status quo for Germany and Europe.

It has taken the Russians 20 years to get the security conference. They doubtless reckon that now a treaty on collective security might not take so long. In any event, it will probably be much heard of in the next ten years of the Warsaw Pact.

Mr. Bourne is the Monitor's special correspondent in Eastern Europe.

MOORER -- CONTINUED

bombing as just simply a matter of capitulation on the part of the United States?

No, I don't think so at all. I wouldn't call it capitulation. I think that it was quite clear that the bombing in Christmas of '72 had a significant effect on the North Vietnamese, and it appeared at that time as long as they were faced with that possibility in the future, that they would in fact comply with whatever agreement they happened to make.

As you recall, they were very much readied to get back to Paris and talk about these terms. Because I think they were visibly shaken. They ran out of missiles, and if we had have really wanted to at that time, or taken the action against them, they would have been in a very, very serious position. So in nine days they were ready to go back.

As you recall, we had stopped the bombing back in the early fall, and there had been a lull there for a while, and they had been very difficult with respect to agreeing to any kind of final cease-fire. And I think this made "Christiens" out of them, if such a thing can be done in Hanoi, and consequently it was thought, I believe, by people in this country as well as in South Vietnam, that so long as they had the threat of a repetition of this kind of action, which in my view should have been taken years ago, they would in fact comply.

I think your remarks imply that you do not agree with the argument with some in this country that the Christmas bombing of Hanoi was undertaken as much to convince the South Vietnamese to sign those accords as the North Vietnamese then.

That was absolutely ridiculous, in my view. I think that one of the things that's missing in all these discussions is the grave concern so many of us had about the POWs, and I'll go to my dying grave and I'll never understand why the American people were willing to tolerate this medieval torture year after year and not get aroused over it.

And President Nixon was very much concerned about the welfare of these POWs. And I think one of the greatest satisfactions he got out of his term of office was having an opportunity to welcome these boys home.

And I think that if we had *not* bombed as we did in December of '72, that the POWs would still be in Hanoi.

Admiral, you mentioned earlier, the North Vietnamese concern for repetition of the Christmas bombing, in other words a respect for strategic bombing. . . .

. . .That was the first time they really got the treatment they should have had several years before.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 14 May 1975

BALTIMORE NEWS-AMERICAN - 13 MAY 1975(14)

Former NATO Chief Defends U.S.-European Ties

By KINGSBURY SMITH
Hearst Headline Service

ROME, May 14 — Europe is "terrified" by America's setbacks in Vietnam and by its own inability to control events in Portugal, Cyprus and the Middle East.

With the threat of Soviet military and political power increasing, the Atlantic Alliance and NATO are more vitally important than ever.

The Atlantic Alliance remains the bulwark of Western Civilization. If America abandons it, the United States will become a second-rate power; freedom — and probably peace — will be lost.

These are the views of one of Europe's outstanding statesmen, Manlio Brosio, former Secretary General of NATO and now a member of the Italian Senate.

In a written response to questions submitted to him in connection with President Ford's forthcoming visit to Europe, Senator Brosio warned that the free world cannot "win the struggle to preserve Western Civilization, "nor save peace," if "we do not believe any more in the issues at stake."

Not long ago one of America's leading commentators wrote that the European allies would not be unduly alarmed by the defeat of American policy in Vietnam. Others have asserted that America's abandonment of Vietnam would be welcomed by its European allies.

The statements of Senator Brosio, one of the most respected political personalities in Europe, would seem to indicate that some American commentators have strange sources of information.

Following are the questions submitted to senator Brosio and his answers:

Q—To what extent do you feel the credibility of America's commitments to the European allies have been affected by recent events in Vietnam, by the attitude of Congress toward that problem, and by the public opinion poll indicating a majority of the American people would be opposed to the use of American troops to fight in defense of West Berlin, or even Western Europe?

A—No doubt European people, not only conservative ones, but also moderate, enlightened democrats and democratic socialists are today astonished and terrified by the setbacks of the United States in Vietnam, and its inability to control situations in Portugal, Cyprus and the Middle East.

They are also puzzled by the attitude of Congress and by certain trends in American public opinion. The prestige of the United States in Europe has lowered, due also to an excess of previous confidence, and of blind, lazy reliance on United States decisive might (military and diplomatic).

Q—What could the United States do to help restore confidence in the credibility of its commitments to the NATO allies?

A—To restore confidence, the United States should, first of all, demonstrate its continuing interest in the Atlantic Alliance, not only by words, but mainly by deeds, doing everything possible in the Atlantic Council and at NATO headquarters, to show its presence, its authority and its resolve.

The activity and the determination of the U.S. government are the decisive elements: Congress and public opinion are

See FORMER CHIEF, Pg.8-F

WINCHESTER EVENING STAR 12 MAY 1975 (14)

'Smart' Nuclear Warheads

FRANK VAN DER LINDEN

WASHINGTON — Sen. Thomas J. McIntrye has aimed a low blow at Defense Secretary James R Schlesinger by accusing him of promoting "nuclear warfighting doctrines which could lead to a terrifying new strategic arms race."

The New Hampshire Senator also assailed a fellow Democrat, Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington, who is also a leading aspirant for the presidency, for endorsing Schlesinger's proposals to improve this country's long-range nuclear missiles.

McIntrye said Schlesinger and Jackson "would not only dramatically increase the accuracy and yield of our current Minuteman missiles," but would also develop a new "terminally guided MARV" which would enable the warheads to change their course in flight and strike enemy targets with "virtually perfect accuracy."

"YOU'VE HEARD of "smart' bombs," McIntrye told a New Hampshire audience when he broke the news of the "MARV." "Well, this would be a 'smart' warhead."

The average American would be delighted for his country to have an improved reentry vehicle such as "MARV" if it would help to deter the Soviet Union from starting a nuclear war. McIntrye quoted a friend of his as saying, "When we go squirrel hunting back home we want to have the most accurate rifle we can get."

But the New Hampshire Senator isn't at all happy over the prospect of moving ahead of the Russians in missile technology. Quite the contrary. He charged that the Schlesinger-Jackson program would "actually dimish our national security by putting a hair trigger on nuclear war."

McINTRYE, WHO is chairman of the Senate Armed Services Subcommittee on Research and Development, arrived at his odd conclusion by following Alice-in-Wonderland logic. He reasoned that the Russians agreed to the "SALT" arms control deals of Moscow and Vladivostok only because of the central premise of "mutual vulnerability."

Translated into plain language, that means that neither of the two superpowers could be sure of knocking out the other's missiles without suffering a devastating counter-blow by the surviving weaponry. Thus, each is deterred from making an attack, and there is no war.

McIntrye and like-minded men fear that, if the United States Minuteman missiles could be equipped with a "MARV" that could kill the Soviet missiles with pin-point accuracy, the Russians would strike us first. Thus, their reasoning goes, improved U.S. weapons would "destabilize" the arms balance.

BUT SCHLESINGER recently assured the Armed Services Committee: "We are not interested in developing a disarming first-strike capability against the Soviet Union, and improvements in the Minutemen III force should in no way be construed as such.

"How far we go with our counterforce options, such as terminally guided MARV, and hard target capability in a new ICBM MX and the Trident II submarine missile, will depend upon the pace and extent of the Soviet counterforce developments.

The Secretary told McIntrye that the "MARV" is an "iffy" program, "there is no intention of deploying it at the present time" and final tests are "years in the future."

Despite these assurances, the Senator accused Schlesinger and Jackson of promoting "a terrifying new strategic arms race."

If there is to be such an arms race, the Russians will start it by developing their own larger nuclear missiles.

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SAN DIEGO UNION
28 APRIL 1975(14 MAY)

JOHN P. ROCHE

U.S. Should Reassess Strategy

In ancient times it was customary to execute the messenger who brought bad tidings. A century ago a Kansas weatherman was almost lynched when the tornado he predicted levelled a town.

Today we are seeing a revised version of this scenario: those of us who have emphasized the disastrous impact on America's world-standing of our walk-out in Southeast Asia are being blamed as the dominoes (yes, dominoes) fall.

Don't misunderstand me. I am not going to fight city hall: the American people have consciously or unconsciously decided against being a "Great Power." This does not for a minute mean that we are prostrate and helpless; it simply signals our unwillingness to play a major role on the world stage.

Moscow, for example, had no great intrinsic stake in Vietnam — the Indochinese contribution to the Soviet gross national product or to Russian security was nil, but the Politburo poured military assistance down the Vietnamese "rat hole."

Why? Because they correctly saw the outcome in Vietnam as a test of their will to be a "Great Power." And the message has gone out: Moscow doesn't let its allies down.

Symbolically, Vietnam has been their revenge for the 1962 Cuban missile crisis when, as Dean Rusk said, "We were eyeball to eyeball, and they blinked first."

Obviously I am profoundly unhappy about this national decision to go fishing, but on the practical level what worries me even more is that the President and the National Security Council may decide to demonstrate to the world that we have not lost our "machismo."

After the failure of the Bay of Pigs, enormous pressure was brought on President Kennedy to "do something." I visited the White House about two days after Castro had rounded up the last of the expeditionary force and everyone I talked with seemed to feel a need to demonstrate that we were not, as one put it, "a crippled giant."

Indeed, they scared me to death because the proposed ideal location for this display of muscle was Laos! I sardonically suggested they look at a map (I am a great believer in looking at maps), but this advice was spurned and I was politely told I just didn't have any guts.

Right now our main task is to caulk the boat. Because of our national and governmental focus on Indochina over the past decade, we have sadly neglected other vital matters. I have argued here for years — to take one instance — that there is no NATO strategy, and at the moment it is beginning to look as though the absence of a strategy will be matched by an absence of allies.

At this moment we are in limbo: the American people have signed off on the major premises of our policy since World War II, but no coherent substitute has been offered.

If it is to be continentalism, let us face that fact and make the necessary shifts in our commitments that will provide symmetry. And please, Mr. President, stop telling the world our credibility is undamaged: it merely makes you sound foolish.

FORMER CHIEF -- CONTINUED

important, but less impressive in European minds.

Unfailing loyalty to Israel, clear-cut attitude towards Portugal, firmness and balance on the Greek-Turkish controversy and on the energy problem are also essential.

Q—Why is maintenance of NATO still important?

A—The Atlantic Alliance and NATO are not only important, but more vital than ever. The threat of the expanding Soviet military and political power is increasing, slowly but steadily.

For Europe, the alliance is a question of life or death, freedom or servitude. For the United States it is a question of remaining a great world power or of declining to a second-rate power, retreated in isolation. The loss of Europe to U.S.S.R. supremacy would mean exactly that.

The Atlantic community remains the source and the bulwark of Western Civilization: If the Americans do not care for it any more, it will be lost for us all and for the world, alongside with freedom, and probably with peace.

Q—Has detente proved good or bad for the west?

A — Detente has always been a deceptive word. The Soviet Union has only understood and practiced peaceful coexistance — that is, a struggle of political and social power without actual fighting.

Peaceful co-existence in Europe has been useful. It has spared us the horrors of war. But the idea of detente, that is the relaxation of efforts and vigilance, and the illusion of an easy reconciliation of opposing and conflicting social systems, has done more harm than good. It is not a reality. It is a delusion which has greatly helped the advance of Communism in many countries — Portugal, Vietnam, Ethiopia, and maybe other countries in the near future.

"We are engaged in a struggle which we want to keep peaceful, but we cannot win it, nor end it with a draw, nor save peace, if we do not believe any more in the issues at stake."

DEFENSE SPACE BUSINESS DAILY

6 MAY 1975(14)

ZUMWALT SAYS U.S. WOULD LOSE WAR WITH RUSSIA

Calls For $8 Billion Boost In DOD Budget

Former CNO Adm. Elmo Zumwalt declared this weekend that if war were to break out between the United States and Soviet Union at this time, the U.S. would face "almost certain defeat."

He said, however, that he believes that the two countries are "too rational" to engage in war.

Zumwalt blamed Congress for the decline in America's defense capability, charging that Congress "has been so penurious in its budget, we do not have the capability to stand up to the Soviet Union today." He said that the U.S. naval capability has been dwindling since the 1962 Cuban missile crisis and now has only a 50 percent chance of retaining control of the waterways.

Sees Increased DOD Budget Inducing Detente

Zumwalt said the way to halt the Soviet Union's rush to arms superiority is to increase the U.S. defense budget -- a move which he said would encourage arms limitation agreement.

He said if Congress were to increase the DOD budget by as little as $8 billion in FY '76 over the $104 billion requested, "this would send a spike on the fever chart back to Moscow and they'll begin saying, 'hey fellas, let's cool it. The natives are getting restless."

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 14 May 1975

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 13 MAY

Mideast prospects

Joseph C. Harsch (14)

There is one reason for thinking that just possibly this summer will bring a general settlement of the most dangerous unsolved international problem in the world today. That problem is, of course, the relationship between Israel and the neighboring Arab states. The one reason it might be solved is because the Soviet Union wants something this summer which Washington need not give without getting something of value in return.

Moscow wants to get a conclusion this summer of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The one and only thing of importance which can come out of that conference would be recognition of Moscow's control over the countries of Eastern Europe. Moscow has that control de facto today, but it has never yet had that condition recognized by the United States as de jure.

For example, if you look through a copy of the Congressional Directory you will discover that the U.S still recognizes a Latvian and a Lithuanian legation in Washington and an Estonian legation in New York City. There are charges d'affaires attached to each of these legations and they are listed in the official Washington diplomatic list published by the Department of State. In other words, the U.S. has never officially recognized the Soviet conquest and suppression of these three formerly independent Baltic states.

This fact has galled the Russians, just as the continued U.S. recognition of Taiwan galls the Chinese. Moscow would like to have the whole world, including the U.S., accept the de facto situation in Eastern Europe as being legal and permanent.

There are substantial colonies of Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian people in the U.S. who care about their former homelands and have voting power. Hence Washington is reluctant to grant such recognition of Moscow's conquests. If it does, what would it get in return?

It may be conceivable that a Mideast settlement could be reached over Moscow's objection, but it is not likely. But with Moscow's full cooperation a settlement would come within the boundaries of realism. The settlement would not only be possible, it would even be probable.

That would require, however, a conscious decision in Moscow to give up the advantages it has enjoyed so far from continued Mideast strain and tension. It would probably require the formal and contractual recognition of permanent frontiers for Israel. It would mean full cooperation with American diplomacy at a reconvened Geneva conference this summer. It would require a joint Soviet-American settlement plan which the two would present at Geneva and, in effect, would impose on the Israelis and Arabs.

Obviously, Moscow is not going to give up the many advantages it enjoys from nonsettlement in the Middle East without getting something of value in return. But there is the possibility of the trade. There is some evidence that the Kremlin is moving in this direction. It would stand to gain something as well as losing much. It would gain security against the danger of another confrontation with the U.S. over the Middle East.

Soviet cooperation in reaching a Middle East settlement has always so far been the will-o'-the-wisp of the problem. It has always slipped away just when it seemed to be in hand. Can it be captured this summer? Just possibly. And if captured, where does it lead? It leads to Arab recognition of Israel within its pre-1967 boundaries with a guarantee of those boundaries by the Arabs and by both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. It also means a political future for Palestinians in West Bank Jordan and some form of joint or international control over the old city of Jerusalem.

It could happen this summer if American diplomacy could work out the terms of the settlement with Moscow. But it would mean getting going — now.

BALTIMORE NEWS-AMERICAN
12 MAY 1975 (14)

Diplomats Eye Mideast Pact

By KINGSBURY SMITH
Hearst Headline Service

NEW YORK — There is a mood of cautious optimism among some well-informed UN diplomats concerning the prospects for progress within the next two months towards a new Israeli-Egyptian military disengagement agreement.

It is believed that Israel and Egypt are prepared to make new concessions to bridge the gap that caused the collapse of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy peace efforts in March.

Whether the concessions will be sufficient to bring about a new agreement in the step-by-step negotiating process is uncertain but some of the UN diplomats closely associated with Middle East developments are inclined to believe they will.

This mild optimism is based partly on diplomatic reports from Jerusalem, Cairo and Washington, and partly on the belief that the Israeli and Egyptian governments realize there will be grave danger of a new war this summer if a new military disengagement agreement in the Sinai has not been reached by July.

It is expected Egyptian President Anwar Sadat will tell President Ford what new concessions he is prepared to offer during their meeting in Salzburg June 1 and 2.

The American government has been applying strong pressure on Israel to make greater concessions than it was prepared to offer in March; and it is assumed Premier Yitzhak Rabin will submit new proposals when he confers with President Ford in Washington June 11 and 12.

The Israeli government is pressing Washington for a resumption of talks on Israel's pending arms requests

to coincide with Premier Rabin's visit.

Israeli diplomats say it would be politically easier for Rabin to offer new concessions if the arms supply discussions were resumed. They were suspended in March when President Ford announced the U.S. intended to make a "reassessment" of its Middle East policy.

Suspension of the talks reflected the deep disappointment of the President and Secretary Kissinger over the Israeli government's refusal to make greater concessions for a deal with Egypt in March.

Continued suspension of the talks, which involved Israel's request for $2.5 billion in economic and military aid in the coming fiscal year, is viewed by Israeli diplomats as unfair pressure, especially since the State Dept. agreed early this month to supply Jordan with sophisticated surface-to-air-missiles, obviously intended to be used against Israel in the event of a new war.

While Rabin may discuss new concessions during his visit to Washington, Israeli diplomats believe it will be politically impossible for him to actually make them before the arms supply talks are resumed.

One of the reasons for moderate optimism in UN circles is yhe belief, based on diplomatic information from Jerusalem, that Rabin is prepared to drop Israel's insistence on a nonbelligerency pledge from Egypt as a condition for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Sinai passes and oil fields.

The Israeli leader is reported to be willing to accept "specific acts" which would demonstrate Egypt's peaceful intentions. Israeli insistence on the nonbelligerency pledge was a major factor in the breakdown of the March negotiations.

Among the "specific acts" that Israel had in mind are: Egyptian consent to extend the mandate for the presence of the UN peacekeeping force in the Sinai for three to five years; and establishment of early warning stations in the buffer zones to reduce the danger of surprise attack.

Another encouraging sign was Sadat's announcement last month at he would reopen the Suez Canal June 5. Israeli Defense Minister Dhimon Peres said that if Egypt did so and allowed ships to carry goods to and from Israel, the Israeli government would be willing to make "significant concessions."

Sadat actually gave such a commitment in a secrrt rider to the military disengagement agreement of January 1974. In this addition, which was not made public but was handed to Kissinger, Sadat said:

'As a first step, all cargoes destined for and coming from Israel would be permitted through the canal from the time of its reopening."

While the Egyptian leader is not prepared to allow ships flying the Israeli flag to pass through the canal until the state of belligerency os ended, his assurance that Israeli cargoes would be permitted was regarded by the American government as a major concession.

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT

19 MAY 1975 (14)

Word from top intelligence analysts is that North Korean Communist boss Kim Il Sung was told, in effect, to "cool it" when he rushed to Peking in late April to suggest to Chinese leaders that he exploit the Vietnam debacle by launching an offensive to reunify Korea under his rule.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 14 May 1975

WASH STAR 13 MAY 1975 (14)

A Pleading For Patience On Portugal

By Mary McGrory
Washington Star Staff Writer

Sen. Edward W. Brooke, R-Mass., is proposing a course of action towards Portugal which is not costly or destructive or irrational — and therefore, perhaps, unlikely to get off the ground.

He suggests that in dealing with the new left-wing government in Lisbon we exercise diplomacy, patience and understanding.

Portugal, which has been taken over by a radical military group called the Armed Forces Movement, has so far indicated that it wishes neither military aid nor increased economic assistance. What it wants of us, Brooke thinks, is to be left alone — with particular reference to the C.I.A. — to work out a new way of doing things after 25 years of strongman, one-man Salazar rule.

Brooke, who has always been interested in Portugese affairs — he has a fair number of Portugese constituents — was in Portugal in April, shortly after the military took over.

Point of View

He found a conciliatory and open-minded attitude among the new leaders. Prime Minister Vasco Goncalves, for instance, assured him that Portugal intends to continue in NATO. He is also willing to permit the U.S. air bases in the Azores — prohibiting only their use for resupply. Portugal, of all the European nations during the October war, permitted U.S. planes bound for Israel to refuel in the Azores, and thereby suffered from the displeasure of the Arabs.

"We had a dictatorship under Salazar for 25 years," Goncalves reminded the senator, "and the U.S. never expressed the slightest concern."

The leader of the Socialists, Mario Soares, explained to Brooke that the Armed Forces Movement was sparked by junior officers who learned anticolonialism in Angola and Mozambique, two outposts of the Portuguese Empire.

"This country was under the control of 100 families and three banks," Soares told Brooke. "It was inevitable that we would move to the left."

It is possible, as Brooke wrote to President Ford in a letter on his return, that Portugal could move to the left without going Communist. The Socialists emerged from the recent election — in which 92 percent of the voters exercised the novel franchise — with 33 percent of the returns.

The Communists got only 12 percent.

The accession of the left-wing dictatorship to power caused the usual growls of disapproval in the administration, which has always preferred to deal with more congenial right-wing military dictatorships and does not trust a country that is going left to stop at socialism.

Brooke found our ambassador, Frank Carlucci, exhibiting patience and understanding towards the new rulers, for which, it was said, he was denounced behind the scenes by the secretary of state for being insufficiently "tough" and "hardline." This report was subsequently denied by the secretary of state. Our previous ambassador to Portugal also failed in this regard and was dismissed. Carlucci, however, is still in place, perhaps due to Brooke's intervention.

Brooke fears that the weak showing of the Communists in the election will not calm the fears of the administration.

"Five percent would have been enough to unnerve them," he sighs.

The members of the constituent assembly are not the new representatives of the Portuguese people. They are charged only with drafting a new constitution in the next five years. The Armed Forces Movement will be in control, meanwhile, and will have the power to ratify the document.

Brooke has had no reply to an April 8 letter to the President, in which he suggested that by over-reacting we might be "accelerating rather than inhibiting a Communist takeover."

It is difficult to say if the administration's easily-activated fears are in this case real or imagined. The President and the secretary of state have created a climate where reasonable assessment is difficult. By magnifying the consequences of the defeat in Vietnam, they have encouraged the dire predictions now sweeping Europe. If they had expressed relief rather than dismay over the long-delayed resolution of our most draining and shaming overseas adventure, they might not be beset by the uncertainties and alarm they have generated.

Brooke points out that we have in every event very little bargaining power with the Portuguese. We alienate them only at the risk of losing a vital link in the Western alliance.

"What are we going to do?" he asks rhetorically. "Withdraw from NATO? Give up our bases in the Azores?"

It has been some time since the United States, which prefers to arm the right and straight-arm the left, has tried diplomacy. Portugal offers the best current example for us to prove that we learned something from our Vietnam experience.

WASHINGTON STAR 13 MAY 1975 (14)

CHARLES BARTLETT

Cooling Off on Marcos

In times when the Philippines take on fresh geopolitical significance for the United States, it is reassuring to find some diffidence in the State Department's posture toward the tainted regime of President Marcos.

This is a testing time in the paternalistc dealings between the United States and the Philippines, and one hint of the administration's readiness to play a strong hand is a shift of attitude toward the exile leader Raul Marglapus. He is a Stevensonian kind of politician who was a popular leader of the opposition to Marcos until he became an exile slightly before the islands fell under the mantle of martial law in 1972.

The police came to arrest Marglapus almost as soon as Marcos proclaimed the new ground rules, but he had fortuitously left the country on a speaking tour. Marglapus did not find a particularly warm reception in this country.

The State Department utilized its leverage with the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, partly financed by congressional appropriations, to block Marglapus's selection for a fellowship in 1974. The Filipino politician is applying once more this year, and happily the State Department has progressed to a passive position.

The significance of this shift is its implication that Henry Kissinger does not mean to get caught in another of those painful campaigns to stay close at any cost to autocratic Oriental leaders whose philosophy and actions cannot be justified by the yardstick of American ideals. The temptation to court despotic governments is enlarged by the evolution of the Philippines, South Korea and Indonesia as the outer line of American influence in the Pacific.

The treatment of Marcos's wife is another hint of healthy insouciance in Washington's view of Manila. Mrs. Marcos, swept by her jet plane to frequent rendezvous with the beautiful people, has come to the United States twice in the past six months without drawing any official notice. She was reported last fall to have been badly miffed when the State Department advised President Ford to give her no attention at all.

This requires some spirit. Clark Air Base, on Philippine soil, is the second largest American air base anywhere. The Subic Bay Naval Base is a key to Seventh Fleet influence in the South China Sea.

But the Philippines are no showcase for American democracy, and the bilateral treaty of 1951 has not produced an alliance to which a majority of Americans would rally with zeal. The benefactions of the past, including nearly $1 billion in military aid, big sweeteners in the purchase of sugar and a steady umbrella of defense against all comers, have proved no inducement to progress in a society sorely lacking in grace, charity and character.

Two assumptions govern U.S. dealings with the Philippines. One, fabricated in Washington, is that the Filipinos will never translate their feisty talk into actual pressures to evacuate the American bases. The other, originating in the islands, is that the Communist insurgency will never swell to the magnitude of a real threat to the established government.

Asia's changing character makes it possible to believe that both assumptions may prove wrong in the long run. The precedents and prospects suffice at least to discourage any strong inclination to cling tightly to another rotten regime.

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LOS ANGELES TIMES - 13 MAY 1975 (14)

The Danger in South Korea

This is not the time to be considering a reduction of U.S. military strength in South Korea or actions that could weaken Seoul's ability to defend itself. But it is the time for the U.S. government to begin using its considerable influence to force President Park Chung Hee to change his regime's repressive domestic policies.

President Ford has reaffirmed and indicated that he intends to strengthen U.S. ties to South Korea. The bonds that exist are much different from those cited to justify American involvement in Indochina. They derive from a formal defense treaty, growing out of the Korean war. They derive from the costly American effort in that war, and the successful preservation of South Korea's independence. And they derive from the important geopolitical fact of Korea's proximity to Japan. That fact was the main strategic rationale for U.S. intervention in the Korean war in 1950. It has not changed since then.

Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) is one of those calling for a gradual withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Korea in the wake of the Vietnam debacle. We think he is wrong. But he and other members of Congress are not wrong in their concern about what has been happening in South Korea. The Ford Administration should act on that concern for the sake of both Korean and American interests.

The danger, quite simply, is this: that the autocratic policies of the Park regime—the intolerance of political opposition, the stifling of press and public criticism, the attempt to insure conformity by police-state methods—will help create the very conditions of civil discontent and frustration in which subversion flourishes best.

The potential is there, and with it the unacceptable possibility that the United States could again become involved, directly or indirectly, in a situation inimical to its basic security responsibilities.

The chance of another cross-border invasion by Communist North Korea can't be entirely ruled out, though the possibility is slight so long as the U.S. defense commitment remains unambiguous, and so long as China and the Soviet Union are cool to such a venture, as they now appear to be.

The greater risk is one that North Korean dictator Kim Il Sung talks about openly—the launching of a new campaign of subversion in the south, of guerrilla warfare, sabotage and terrorism, this time counting on support from the local population that was not given in the past.

Last year we supported a proposal in Congress to begin a phaseout of U.S. aid to Korea in responsive protest to what Park has been doing. A military aid cutoff, we now believe, could mean only added burdens for the United States in view of the changed situation in East Asia, and might well result in miscalculations in North Korea about the durability of the U.S. commitment.

But that assessment does not diminish—indeed it enhances—the need for the United States to use its substantial leverage to promote changes in Park's antidemocratic activities.

The U.S. message should be clear. The defense commitment to South Korea will be maintained. But that commitment carries no obligation to support one-man rule based on repressive policies whose ultimate results are antithetical to American aims, interests and ideals.

LOS ANGELES TIMES - 13 MAY 1975 (14)

Korea A-Arms Use an Option, General Says

BY SAM JAMESON
Times Staff Writer

SEOUL—The United States would consider using tactical nuclear weapons in case of an outbreak of war in the Korean peninsula, a top American military commander said here Monday.

The U.S. officer, who asked not to be named, made it clear in an interview that he did not expect North Korea's Communist dictator, Kim Il Sung, to launch an all-out attack upon South Korea at this time.

But he also indicated that if such an attack should occur, a recommendation urging use of tactical nuclear weapons would most likely be made by the U.S. command here to the White House.

The highly placed commander was asked what role "the most powerful of American weapons" played in U.S. contingency plans against an all-out attack by North Korea. Although the question was worded indirectly to allow the officer to avoid violating American policy forbidding the discussion of the location of nuclear weapons, the commander replied:

"I'm an 'attack nuke' man myself."

Then he elaborated:

"The United States armed forces has kept a whole array of tactical nuclear weapons in its inventory, recognizing that the decision as to whether they will ever be used is a decision only the commander-in-chief can make, recognizing that more emotion surrounds this in the whole military equation than anything else, and recognizing there is a school of thought that persists today that the first use of nuclear weapons starts an uncontrollable spiral.

"Having said all that, the tactical nuclear capability constitutes one option available to U.S. and allied decision makers."

The officer pointed out that "as good military professionals, we plan against the contingencies we may be called upon to exercise." But he said an all-out war on the Korea peninsula in which either China or the Soviet Union—or both Communist giants—participated directly would "really pose some tough decisions for Washington to make."

"If you are going to fight in Korea—and for objectives possibly larger than the Korean Peninsula itself—you then have to face a decision (as to whether) you are going to deploy a lot of U.S. divisions over here, or (whether) you are going to consider something else first."

He made it clear the "something else" was tactical nuclear weapons.

Unlike strategic nuclear weapons, which would wreak destruction over huge areas, tactical nuclear weapons are designed to destroy specific targets and localize damage.

The senior officer painted two scenarios for an all-out war, neither of which, he said, he expected to occur now.

In the most likely kind of all-out attack upon the south, North Korea would probably rely upon its own armed forces to launch a massive strike at Seoul, seeking to invest the city, and then solidify its gains through negotiations.

"It would be a very violent and short conflict" in which U.S. ground forces stationed here would be kept out of battle, he said. American air power and army artillery and missile units, however, would play a major role, he added. The U.S.-South Korean aim in such a war would be "to stop that guy virtually in his tracks" at the Demilitarized Zone.

A second possible kind of attack would be one in which either China or the Soviet Union, or both, committed some of their own forces—perhaps air or naval—to battle along with the North Koreans "to go for it all."

Such a war probably would turn into a long, drawn out struggle, directly involving all U.S. forces here.

Use of the American nuclear option probably would be considered most seriously in the second kind of war, the commander said.

The officer said he thought that neither China, which

See A-ARMS, Pg. 12-F

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR - 14 MAY 1975

How to release U.S. ship?

Show of force and cool diplomacy

By Dana Adams Schmidt
and Guy Halverson
Staff correspondents of
The Christian Science Monitor
Washington

The U.S. Government is combining a show of force with cool diplomacy as it tries to get back the cargo ship and its 39-man crew seized by the new Cambodian Government.

It is still not clear, however, what leverage Washington has to force the Cambodians to give up the ship and crew without risking the lives of the men.

A U.S. Navy reconnaissance plane was hit by gunfire as it flew over Cambodian gunboats, government sources said.

President Ford has said that he would consult with Congress before taking any military action. This raises questions to observers here: (1) A rescue mission would doubtless need the cover of secrecy — yet can such secrecy be maintained if Congress is to be told in advance? (2) If Congress is to be consulted, can the President make a speedy move? (3) Is it possible that Mr. Ford now sees progress in negotiations with Cambodia, and that he feels no such consultation will be necessary?

Meanwhile, State Department and nongovernmental experts are studying political and legal implications.

It is recalled here that while in Congress, President Ford called U.S. options "very, very limited" once the spy ship Pueblo and its crew had been seized in 1968.

It is also said that the legal situation is by no means as clear-cut as the administration has indicated by saying the seizure was a clear-cut violation of the right of innocent passage.

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger said in Missouri, where he was visiting, that the U.S. will "wait a bit to see what diplomacy can achieve." While asserting that the U.S. would take the measures necessary to obtain the ship's release he declined comment on reports of troop movements.

The government has:

1. Reportedly ordered the amphibious assault ship Okinawa with up to 800 marines aboard to put to sea from Subic Bay in the Philippines, allegedly in the direction of the South China Sea and the location of the Mayaguez. The aircraft carrier Coral Sea was presumably operating in the South China Sea. Another 150 marines were reportedly flown from Subic Bay while 1,000 marines at Okinawa were reported on alert.

The Mayaguez has been escorted by the Cambodians to an anchorage off the island of Koh Tang, 30 miles from the Cambodian coast.

2. Sent a protest and warning to the new Communist Cambodian Government via the Government of China in Peking, and via the French Government which remains in touch with the Cambodians in Paris and is trying to keep open its embassy in Phnom Penh. State Department sources say the note threatened "serious consequences" if the ship was not set free.

Politically, White House sources admit, a vigorous "send in the marines" ploy seems attractive, especially after the distressing end of the Indo-China war. But then they cite Mr. Ford's caution in 1968.

Meanwhile, the Premier of Thailand, Kukrit Pramoj, had said earlier that his government would not allow any use of Utapao for operations connected with the seized ship.

Legally nongovernmental experts make these points:

1. From a legal point of view this was not an "act of piracy" as stated by the President. Under the Geneva Covenant of the High Seas of 1958, piracy is an act by private persons for private gain. This, however, was an act by Cambodian Government gunboats.

2. Most authorities consider that a coastal state has the right to determine whether a ship in its territorial waters is engaged in operations threatening its health or safety. In this case the ship was captured eight miles off the rocky islet of Poulo Wai within the 12-mile limit claimed by the Cambodians who probably still consider themselves at war with the U.S. Its cargo, according to American official sources, included some military supplies destined for Thailand.

3. On the other hand, there are differences of opinion as to whether territorial waters apply to tiny islets in the sea. The islet, about 50 miles from the coast of Cambodia, is furthermore claimed by South Vietnam as well as Cambodia.

4. The case of the Pueblo in 1968 is not a valid precedent because the Pueblo was a naval vessel engaged in electronic espionage. The Mayaguez, allegations by the Soviet news agency Tass notwithstanding, appears to be a genuine U.S. registered merchant ship which happened to be carrying some military supplies.

5. At the conference on the law of the sea that has been meeting in Geneva, the U.S. has sought to get international acceptance of a more clear-cut right of innocent passage for all ships through territorial waters regardless of their cargoes. But the generally accepted standards at present give the coastal state the "subjective" right to decide whether or not to seize a ship in its waters.

The Pentagon May 13 declined any comment on the freighter or the movements of U.S. ships in the China Sea, and some observers thought the blackout might be a cover for forceful action already under way.

Pentagon officials did disclose, however, that the position of the Mayaguez had been ascertained by aerial surveillance. Privately some Pentagon officials pointed out at this writing that if the U.S. is to act it had better act quickly, before the crew is landed and taken deep into the interior.

Monitor correspondent Godfrey Sperling Jr. reports from Washington:

The President's spokesman, Ron Nessen, has said flatly that the President will not take any military action on the seizure without first consulting with congress.

Asked if the President were "now consulting with Congress about an alert or precautionary acts," Mr. Nessen said "no."

Under questioning, he seemed to be ruling out the use of the loophole in the War Powers Act which says: "In every possible instance" the President shall consult with Congress before introducing U.S. Armed forces into hostilities.

He seemed to be saying that this was definitely not an instance when the President would act first and then ask for permission simply because it was "not possible" to ask first.

Asked it the President had set a deadline for release of the prisoners, Mr. Nessen said, "No, he has not." He said the controlling presidential words were his demand for "immedate release." He said: "The President has not set an hour or minute deadline."

Asked if the President has received "even the slightest glimmer of hope" in his negotiations, Mr. Nessen paused and then said, quietly, "I don't think I will take that question."

Asked if "there is any evidence the ship was carrying anything except cargo?" Mr. Nessen said: "No, a simple no."

Rep. Joe D. Waggonner (D) of Louisiana told reporters after meeting with the President May 13 that Mr. Ford said to him, "I've got a very tough decision to make on the ship."

Mr. Nessen also disclosed that there had been a previous comparable incident in roughly the same area.

"Ten days ago," he said, "a Korean ship was fired on. It was not hit. It was not detained. It was fired on by what appeared to be a Cambodian ship."

Mr. Nessen offered no help to questioners who wanted to know if the U.S had known about this incident — information that might have been used as a warning.

LOS ANGELES TIMES
11 MAY 1975 (14)

Air Force Study Suggests Halt to Homebuilding

From a Times Staff Writer

RIVERSIDE—An Air Force noise study recommends a halt to residential construction in Riverside's exclusive Canyon Crest development west of March Air Force Base.

Base commander Col. Stan Brown says that although the study is not binding on local officials, it should be seriously considered in light of urban encroachment around the sprawling base. The report also recommends land use restrictions for various noise zones around the base.

Canyon Crest, one of Riverside's fastest growing areas, lies in a path where the Air Force discourages residential development.

A-ARMS ..... CONTINUED

Kim Il Sung visited April 18 to 26, nor the Soviet Union, which Kim is expected to visit soon, were prepared to back any all-out attack by North Korea.

"But in the gray areas—infiltration, probes and incidents in which who did what would remain unclear—I'm not so sure," he said.

If the North Korean dictator—encouraged by the U.S. Congress' failure to vote aid to South Vietnam in its 11th hour and by Communist successes in Indochina—provoked some kind of aggression against the south, "it would be to test the water to see whether earnestness behind the fine statements of the (Ford) Administration and, to a certain extent, of Congress was really there."

Such a probe, he said, probably "would be on the lower end of the spectrum" of aggression.

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RADIO - TV DEFENSE DIALOG

RADIO TV REPORTS INC. WASH., D.C., SUMMARIES NOT TO BE QUOTED.

THURSDAY, MAY 15, 1975 (BROADCASTS OF MAY 14, 1975)

SUMMARY OF NETWORK NEWS IN THIS ISSUE

John CHANCELLOR, Charles QUINN, Tom BROKAW, Catherine MACKIN and George LEWIS, all of NBC News, report on Mayaguez related events. QUINN reports on Secretary LAITIN's statement of the sinking of three Cambodian boats and also on the amended statement released later. QUINN reports a helicopter operation might be in the works. BROKAW reports on meetings at the White House of the NSC and on Presidential authority to use troops to protect American lives and shipping. MACKIN reports on the reaction of the Congress to the military action and includes statements by Senators JAVITS and TOWERS and by Rep. RHODES and other comments by Senators MANSFIELD, JACKSON and KENNEDY. CHANCELLOR reports on the sinking of the ships and that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee endorsed the military move. CHANCELLOR also reports that the Thais publicly stated they want the recently arrived U.S. troops to leave Thailand. LEWIS reports on the arrival of the new Ambassador and on Thai reaction to U.S. plans to attack from Thailand. CHANCELLOR reports that two AID centers in Thailand have been looted and that three AID officials are being held hostage by Laotians, and that the Embassy staff will be cut. Jim RUDDLE, NBC, reports on memorial funeral services for Corporal Darwin JUDGE who was killed at Tansonnhut Airport before the evacuation.

Bob SCHIEFFER, Ike PAPPAS, Phil JONES, Peter COLLINS and Marvin KALB, all of CBS, report on Mayaguez related events. PAPPAS reports on Secretary LAITIN's statement concerning the sinking of the Cambodian ships; on the planes involved in the attack; on the revised Pentagon statement; and on U.S. warship movements towards Cambodia. JONES reports on the question of Presidential consultation with Congress over the military action; and on White House meetings. COLLINS reports on the presence of the 1,000 Marines at Utapao and the Thai reaction to that presence, including a threat of drastic action to be taken. He then reports on the implications that a shutting down of U.S. bases in Thailand would have. KALB reports on the administration's view of Thailand and on the failure of U.S. diplomacy in trying to secure the release of the Mayaguez. SCHIEFFER reports on the nuclear test blast in Nevada and that no radiation leaks were reported. Bernard KALB, CBS, has a report on defense spending and on the controversy between spending money on social programs versus defense needs. He includes statements by two congressmen who take opposite sides -- Sen. TOWER takes the defense side -- gives estimates of future defense budgets; estimates of present defense programs, B-1, Trident; and includes a statement by Secretary SCHLESINGER concerning the need to increase defense spending in order to maintain the worldwide military balance between the U.S. and Russia.

Harry REASONER, Frank TOMLINSON, Howard K. SMITH and Jim BENNET, all of ABC News, report on Mayaguez related events. TOMLINSON reports on the attack on the Cambodian boats and on the U.S. planes that carried it out; on ship movements towards that area; and on options available to U.S. forces to secure the Mayaguez and its crew. REASONER reports that U.S. U.N. Ambassador SCALLY requested U.N. help in getting the ship back; and asserted the right of the U.S. to protect its people and property. BENNET reports on the Thai reaction to Marine arrivals in Thailand and includes a statement by the Thai Prime Minister demanding the removal of those Marines. SMITH has a commentary on the chances for war in Korea in light of Kim Il SUNG's desire to start a war; repression and dissension in S. Korea; U.S. retreats from Indochina; China's willingness perhaps to stop the North Koreans from warring; and measures the U.S. can take to discourage the North Koreans.

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NBC NIGHTLY NEWS NBC TV
7:00 PM MAY 14

American Planes Sink Cambodian Ships

JOHN CHANCELLOR: Good evening. The crisis involving the seized American ship Mayaguez deepened today as American airmen went back into Indochina combat for the first time since 1973. American planes based in Thailand sank three vessels of the Cambodian Navy after repeated warnings when it looked as though the Cambodians were planning to take crewmen from the ship to the mainland. This took place near Koh-Tang island. Our correspondent Richard Valeriani has learned there is now definite evidence that some of the Americans are on that island. And Valeriani says there are indications that some of the Americans had been taken to the Cambodian mainland. Senator Barry GOLDWATER is quoted as saying he was told that some of the men are on the mainland now. There was a lot of activity in Washington today, a meeting of the NSC at the White House and briefings at the Defense Department. Charles Quinn has the Pentagon story.

CHARLES QUINN: Pentagon spokesman Joseph LAITIN had a statement saying that the first American warship, the destroyer escort Holt, had arrived in the area, but the heart of the matter was the American attack.

JOSEPH LAITIN: Beginning at 8:30 PM yesterday evening there were indications that the Cambodians appeared to be attempting to move captive U.S. crewmen from the ship and from the island of Koh-Tang to the mainland. After giving warning U.S. aircraft began efforts to block this movement. Three Cambodian patrol craft were destroyed, about four others were damaged and immobilized. One boat succeeded in reaching Kampong Som.

QUINN: LAITIN refused to answer any questions but later he amended the statement to say that there was not now sufficient evidence to indicate that any of the Cambodian boats had been damaged. Forces here said it was a four hour operation, that the Cambodians were warned extensively and repeatedly, that it only takes minutes to destroy a handful of patrol boats. The planes came from Thailand, sources said. None was hit, although a Navy reconnaissance plane took a bullet in its tail. Sources said the military was led to believe that the Cambodians might move the Americans to the mainland through intercepted radio messages, rather than visual sightings. They said that some American crewmen might have been on one of the patrol boats, the one that made it to port, and that it was deliberately allowed to escape.

CHANCELLOR: Chuck, so where it stands now is that American planes sank three Cambodian ships?

QUINN: Right.

CHANCELLOR: But we just don't know about the others?

QUINN: He says now after rereading intelligence reports he doesn't have sufficient evidence to indicate that any others have been damaged.

CHANCELLOR: Do you have any idea how many Americans might have been taken to the mainland?

QUINN: No, sir, there's no indication of that here, John, just that one boat perhaps if any.

CHANCELLOR: And what's next militarily?

QUINN: I've been told by a very reliable source here that a helicopter operation is in the works -- it's just in the works. It may be imminent, but decision on that will take place in the White House not here at the Pentagon.

CHANCELLOR: Charles Quinn briefing us from the Pentagon. At the White House the luncheon meeting of the NSC broke up late this afternoon and after that happened congressional leaders of both parties were asked to the White House. Tom Brokaw has more on that story.

TOM BROKAW: President FORD is meeting with congressional leaders of both parties at the White House this evening following a two hour meeting of the NSC, where military options were discussed. The President has promised to consult with Congress on military actions in the Mayaguez situation. In addition to the congressional leaders and the President in the meeting there is the Secretary of State, Henry KISSINGER, Secretary of Defense SCHLESINGER, and Vice President ROCKEFELLER. No members of the military JCS were seen at the room at the beginning of the meeting. Some congressional leaders are complaining about the nature of these consultations, but White House spokesmen say the President has a clear constitutional authority to use military force to protect American lives and property without congressional permission. Presidential advisers argue that the War Powers Act doesn't apply in this case. As one put it, this is not a case of sending a half million troops into SE Asia. So, in effect, the White House is

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calling it consultation, but the President is telling Congress what he'll do and he is telling them tonight here at the White House.

CHANCELLOR: Tom, what are they saying at the White House now about the safety and the whereabouts of the crew?

BROKAW: The whereabouts is still an extremely sensitive situation at the White House, John. Administration spokesmen are reluctant to talk about it, however, some high level White House officials have said they've received no reports of any casualties of the crewmen aboard the Mayaguez. But that is about as much as they'll say at the White House on that subject.

CHANCELLOR: Tom Brokaw briefing us from the White House. In the Congress there was general support for the President. The White House said strong consensus and no objections. But there were questions asked and some difficulties about whether congressional leaders were consulted or only informed. The White House says SEnate Majority leader MANSFIELD was told before the fact, but he said it was after the fact. Here's more on the Congress from Catherine Mackin.

CATHERINE MACKIN: Senator MANSFIELD was one of several prominent Democrats who at least raised questions about the action President FORD took. As for press secretary Ron Nessen's statement that there were no objections among the leaders of Congress, MANSFIELD said no objections is a highly technical phrase. MANSFIELD said you can't object after decisions already are made. He said there was no consultation, just notification only after the fact. Henry JACKSON, a Democrat running for President and a Vietnam hawk, said he hopes the United States is not going down the same road followed after the 1964 Tonkin Gulf incident which led to major involvement in Vietnam. JACKSON said this is a time for cool heads, not a time to exercise the use of force. Senator Edward KENNEDY said it appears the United States may have acted with undue haste. He questioned whether every possible diplomatic effort had been made before military force was used. But there was a lot of support for the President, many said what he did was a justified act of self defense and said he was acting fully within his power as commander in chief.

SENATOR JACOB JAVITS: I believe a President has the right to act against piracy on the high seas in respect to the U.S. vessel and there's no question about that.

SENATOR JOHN TOWER: Well I think in the past in a similar situation we've failed to act with sufficient haste.

REP. JOHN RHODES: It would be my hope that the Cambodians would realize that the situation is one that we do not intend to tolerate and that it might be well for them to release the ship and the crew.

MACKIN: All afternoon officials of the State Department and Defense Department circulated on Capitol Hill briefing the members of the House and Senate Foreign Relations Committee on what the President did. Under the 1973 War Powers Act President FORD will have to file a written report to Congress on the Cambodian action within the next 48 hours. Catherin Mackin, NBC News, Washington.

CHANCELLOR: And late today the Senate Foreign Relations Committee endorsed the President's action. Throughout the day, however, despite different kinds of messages to the Cambodian government the United States has not been given any signal in return from Phnom Penh, not even an acknowledgment that its messages were received.

***(Commercials)

CHANCELLOR: The Prime Minister of Thailand, Kukrit PRAMOTCH, today was protesting the sudden arrival overnight of 1,100 American Marines who were flown to an American airbase in Thailand. He was not given notice of that, nor were American civilian officials in Bangkok. And the government of Thailand has given the American government until Wednesday night Washington time to get the Marines out of the country. The Marines, of course, could be used if necessary in a rescue mission for the crewmen of the Mayaguez. But that deadline stands. All this took place on a day when a new and somewhat bewildered American Ambassador, Charles WHITEHOUSE (?) arrived in Bangkok. George Lewis has that story by satellite.

GEORGE LEWIS: The new Ambassador was greeted by a small group of student demonstrators carrying anti-American signs, chanting and singing anti-American slogans. The demonstration was noisy but non-violent, as Ambassador WHITEHOUSE and his wife walked through the crowd. He arrived as the Thai government was protesting the reported movement of 1,100 U.S. Marines into the country. According to one account the Thai Prime Minister was threatening to break relations with the United States. But there was a polite official welcome, flower garlands from a protocol officer. In a brief statement Ambassador WHITEHOUSE had little to say about the Cambodian capture of the merchant ship Mayaguez, about any U.S. military response or about the problems

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between the U.S. and Thailand.

AMBASSADOR CHARLES WHITEHOUSE: I recognize that there is a problem with regards to the ship Mayaguez, with which at this moment I'm afraid I'm not familiar. My wife and I have been travelling for three days and I'm afraid at this time I'm not in any position to comment with regard to this problem. At least I should also state that until I've had the honor of presenting my credentials to his majesty the king, it would be very inappropriate of me to comment on anything that effects Thai-American relations.

LEWIS: So the new Ambassador will contend with a government which says it is angry at the U.S. There are signs here the anger is not unanimous, that some Thai leaders favor a continued military presence here. It seems to be a delicate balancing act, trying to placate the Communists while holding them at bay with U.S. military men here. And the big question is whether the Thais can pull it off. George Lewis, NBC News, Bangkok.

Anti-Americanism in Laos

CHANCELLOR: Anti-American feelings arose today in Laos as the coalition government there continued to move closer to Communist control. In the Laotian town of Savannakhet a student mob broke into the compound of the Agency for International Development, sacked it and made hostages of three American AID employees. They are believed to be unharmed. And in the royal capital of Louangphrabang the AID compound also was broken into but the four Americans there are believed safe. And in Washington the State Department said the United States would begin to cut the size of its Embassy staff in Vientiane by the end of the week.

Report on Killed U.S. Marines

CHANCELLOR: Two American Marines, Lance Corporal Darwin JUDGE of Marshaltown, Iowa and Corporal Charles McMAHON of Wilburn, Mass., were killed in a rocket attack at Tansonnhut airport two days before the Saigon government surrendered to the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese. And in the rush of the American evacuation from South Vietnam their bodies were inadvertantly left behind in a Saigon hospital. Last night in Marshaltown a memorial service was held for Lance Corporal JUDGE. Jim Ruddle reports.

JIM RUDDLE: When he was 15 he became an Eagle Scout. He like to work with his hands, to make things. He graduated from Marshaltown High School May 31st last year and enlisted in the Marines. Marshaltown H.S., now the flag at half staff, and a memorial service for Darwin JUDGE, dead at 19 in South Vietnam, one of the last two Americans killed there by enemy action. Darwin's parents learned of his death two weeks ago and their grief has been compounded. The memorial service had music, flowers and flags, but no coffin, Darwin's body was left behind in the confusion of the American evacuation of Saigon.

MINISTER: In a way tonight the whole nation is evesdropping on this place -- not out of disrespect mind you -- but perhaps as a final guest of grief. Maybe this is one of the last opportunities to collectively weep over the tragedy of the Vietnam war.

RUDDLE: So in many ways it was like all those other memorials for other American servicemen whose bodies were never returned from Vietnam. And it was a different kind of memorial to the Vietnam dead because this could be one of the last. Jim Ruddle, NBC News, Marshaltown, Iowa.

CBS EVENING NEWS CBS TV
7:00 PM MAY 14

U.S. Planes Sink Cambodian Ships

BOB SCHIEFFER: Good evening. United States warplanes have sunk three Cambodian gunboats in the Gulf of Thailand about 30 miles off the coast of Cambodia. U.S. officials said the attack was ordered to prevent the Cambodians from taking the crew members off the Mayaguez, the captured American merchant ship. The air strikes occurred as more than 1,000 U.S. Marines were arriving in Thailand. The Thai government protested both the troops arrival and the sinking of the boats, which it called madness. More on the story from Ike Pappas at the Pentagon and Phil Jones at the White House.

IKE PAPPAS: It was 16 hours after the attack that the Pentagon informed the nation it had occurred.

SECRETARY LAITIN: Beginning at 8:30 PM yesterday evening there were indications that the Cambodians appeared to be attempting to move captive U.S. crewmen from the ship and from the island of Koh-Tang to the mainland. After giving warning, U.S. aircraft began efforts to

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block this movement. Three Cambodian patrol craft were destroyed.

PAPPAS: The original Pentagon statement said four patrol boats were also damaged. Later the Pentagon said its information may have been erroneous, that it is not clear how many, if any, of the patrol boats were damaged. At least three types of American aircraft took part, the A-7, a medium range fighter equipped with 20mm gattling guns; the F-4, an all weather fighter-bomber fitted with 20mm cannons; and the AC-130, a converted turbo-prop cargo plane carrying gattling guns. The destroyer Holt arrived on the scene this afternoon, the aircraft carrier Coral Sea is due there around midnight eastern time. Pentagon sources said pilots took some precautions to determine if any of the crew members of the ship were on the patrol boats before they attacked. However the sources said they could not rule out the possibility some of the crewmen were on the Cambodian boats. They added that some survivors were seen on rafts in the water. Some crew members may have been on the one boat that got through.

Indications here are more military force will follow unless the Khmer Rouge Communists act swiftly to release the ship and its men. Pentagon sources said that action could come within 24 hours. Ike Pappas, CBS News, the Pentagon.

PHIL JONES: The President started leaning towards military reaction late yesterday afternoon, congressional leaders were then telephoned. According to the White House this was consultation as required by the 1973 War Powers Act. However CBS News has learned that those telephone calls consisted of a Presidential aide reading a statement on President FORD's plans. The congressional leaders were not asked for a reaction or advice. White House officials say there were no objections raised. Then Mr. FORD held a meeting with his NSC. That session lasted until after midnight. Secretary of State KISSINGER was back for his regular meeting with President FORD this morning and again this afternoon for the fourth emergency security council session. KISSINGER indicated that there is still a good chance that the American crewmen are on the island near where the Mayaguez is anchored. Publicly the President has still not stated a deadline for the return of the vessel and crew. However it has now been two days since he issued that stern warning calling for the immediate return of the vessel and its crew or the Cambodians would face serious consequences. Phil Jones, CBS News, at the White House.

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SCHIEFFER: In response to the Cambodian capture of that American merchant ship more than 1,000 U.S. Marines were airlifted today to Utapao, the U.S. base in Thailand. But the troop movement has created new friction between the Thai and American governments. No sooner had the Marines arrived then Thailand gave them 24 hours to get out of the country. We have reports now from Peter Collins in Thailand and Marvin Kalb in Washington.

PETER COLLINS: The Marines were brought into the big Utapao Airbase aboard Air Force jet transports from Okinawa. There was little for them to do except to wait for orders. The Marines said they were under instructions not to discuss their mission. But their presence on this base is building toward a diplomatic collision between the United States and Thailand. With the collapse of the American position in Indochina, the Thais have been increasingly nervous about having large U.S. forces in their country as they try to patch up relations with the new Communist governments of Vietnam and Cambodia. And now Thailand's Prime Minister Kukrit PRAMOTCH says he doesn't want to be dragged into a new dispute between the U.S. and Cambodia. The Prime Minister has told the U.S. he will not permit the Marines to use Thailand as a base for any move to free the captured freighter Mayaguez by force. And beyond that he has ordered the Marines out of the country by Thursday or Thailand will take "drastic action." What that action might be is open to speculation, but one option could be simply to close this and the other three American bases in Thailand. That would be a heavy blow to the United States which keeps 25,000 troops and a variety of aircraft on the bases, including B-52 bombers such as this one. If the Thais want to close the bases they could easily cut off their supplies or even move in military force, although such a step is unlikely. Peter Collins, CBS News, at Utapao Airbase, Thailand.

MARVIN KALB: The administration thinks Thailand is unreliable and it's been in the process of pulling American troops out of the country for the past few months, a process unrelated to the current crisis. The old anti-Communist alliance between Bangkok and Washington is dying as the Thais try desperately to strike up new friendships with the triumphant Communists of Cambodia and Vietnam. In this climate the U.S. did not feel that it had to inform the Thai government that

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the Marines were coming, and it did not, thereby further inflaming an already bad situation. Actually the Marines went to Thailand for only one purpose, as part of the rescue operation of the captured freighter. This episode only underscores the fragility of American diplomacy in SE Asia. For example, when the freighter was seized the U.S. found itself in the awkward position of being forced to turn to China for help, there was no other country the U.S. could turn to. And when, predictably, China turned a cold shoulder towards the U.S. the administration felt it had no alternative but to use military force. Marvin Kalb, CBS News, the White House.

Nevada Bomb Test

SCHIEFFER: In the ground 2,500 feet below Peyute Mesa, Nevada today the government exploded a nuclear device 50 times as powerful as the WWII atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The ground shock was felt 110 ten miles away in Las Vegas where the buildings swayed and doors rattled for about 30 seconds. Monitoring planes reported no radiation leaks.

Report on Defense Spending

SCHIEFFER: Earlier this week CBS News in its special series, Defense, Diplomacy and Detente, has explored American treaty obligations throughout the world and how the United States stands militarily with its potential adversaries. Tonight in the final report Bernard Kalb takes a look at U.S. defense spending.

PRESIDENT FORD: However good their intentions, those who claim that America is overarmed and overspending on defense are dead wrong.

CONGRESSMAN: I concur with that statement, I don't think that we are overarmed. (Senator TOWER (?))

CONGRESSMAN: Absolutely not, I think that we are overspending and we're not getting our money's worth.

BERNARD KALB: That clash of views is just the opening skirmish in the annual battle over just how much the United States should spend on defense, and it's expected to get a lot more intense this year. The guns versus butter controversy, sharpened by disagreement over national priorities at a time of unemployment, inflation and uncertain economy. For the first time the Pentagon has asked for more than $100 billion in appropriations, $104.7 billion to be exact, for fiscal '76 -- reflecting the climbing cost of defense, that's a $15.7 billion increase over last year. The money for such expenses as operations and maintenance, military personnel, the acquisition of hardware. Among other objectives the record budget is aimed at accomodating inflation now and improving weaponry later. Of the grand total, about $93 billion is for actual or estimated outlays in fiscal '76. Part of the remainder represents a down payment on future growth, thereby laying the groundwork for a steadily increasing defense budget. The Pentagon estimates it could go as high as $148 billion in 1980. What has drawn the fire of congressional critics are the requests for continued funding of such highly controversial items still in the development stage, such as the B-1 bomber $84 million each; and the giant new Trident nuclear missile submarines a billion and a half dollars each, the most expensive single weapons system on the drawing boards.

CONGRESSMAN: These glamor items get into the defense budget because that's what the services want to put in there, I mean, that's what they really like to have. The Air Force loves bombers, and the submarine -- Navy wants to have a new Trident submarine, and the Army likes a new main battle tank. Those are very, very expensive pieces of equipment and not worth the cost.

KALB: An opposing view from Senator John TOWER, who sees the present defense budget as a bare bones budget and is willing to consider cuts in other programs if necessary to support it.

SENATOR JOHN TOWER: Well I think what we have to do is look at some of the social programs that we enacted during the '60's that have locked in a lot of obligatory federal spending, and perhaps go back and modify some of these programs or reduce them. But again we have to order our priorities. And I think that we have to simply take a hard look and see where we can effect cuts in the lower priority programs.

KALB: Congress has only so many dollars to work with. National defense is down for 27 percent of the federal budget. But critics argue that if the Pentagon gets that percentage other programs will suffer.

CONGRESSMAN: I think you can do that, just write down environment, health care, educational needs, job training programs. All these social and domestic problems, of course, are relatively going to suffer when we waste money over and above the needs of an adequate defense in one sector of our budget.

KALB: At the Pentagon, no defensive-

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ness about (?) the record defense budget from Secretary James SCHLESINGER.

SECRETARY SCHLESINGER: This is a record budget only in terms of the gradually diminishing value of the dollar. Now the main point behind our defense budget is the necessity, given the U.S. foreign policy in the world, of maintaining adequate forces to retain a worldwide military balance so that the Soviet Union does not by an automatic process become the dominant power in the eastern hemisphere. With regard to the guns versus butter issue, I think I indicated that the real value of the DOD budget has been shrinking, that our percentage of the federal budget has been cut almost in half in the last -- in recent fiscal years -- so that more and more has been made available for social programs against shrinking tax revenues by real reductions in defense. The question is whether that process has not gone too far and whether it now threatens the worldwide military equilibrium which it is necessary for us to maintain.

KALB: Some congressional critics have been talking about record budget cuts the Indochina defeat has made them back away. Still not every requested dollar is regarded as untouchable. The question being asked is whether the final cuts will be only symbolic or whether the controversy over national priorities will cut deeper into the Pentagon budget. Bernard Kalb, CBS News, Washington.

SCHIEFFER: Both the Senate and the House today passed a resolution to hold federal spending this year to $367 billion. This ceiling encompasses a deficit of about $69 billion.

ABC EVENING NEWS ABC TV
7:00 PM MAY 14

U.S. Planes Sink Cambodian Boats

HARRY REASONER: The United States has begun military action to gain the release of the American merchant ship Mayaguez now held by Cambodia. When diplomatic efforts to free the ship failed and it became apparent the Cambodians were about to move the crew members, U.S. planes attacked the gunboats guarding the Mayaguez, at least three of the Cambodian boats were destroyed. We have reports detailing the attack and related events first from Pentagon correspondent Frank Tomlinson.

FRANK TOMLINSON: The attack against the Cambodian boats was carried out at 8:30 last night our time by American aircraft flying out of Thailand after there were indications that the Cambodians were trying to move the captured crewmen off the freighter Mayaguez and off Koh-Tang island. Fifteen hours after the AC-130 gunships and the A-7 fighter-bombers made their attack the Pentagon made a terse announcement saying that three Cambodian patrol boats had been sunk. That original announcement also said four other Cambodian patrol boats had been damaged and immobilized. Now the Pentagon is backtracking, saying, that there's insufficient evidence to prove that those four boats were damaged. One Cambodian boat did make it to the port of Kampong Som. It was not attacked because it was feared American crewmen were onboard. Meanwhile, the Mayaguez is still at anchor off Koh-Tang island, 30 miles off the Cambodian coast and is under constant surveillance by U.S. aircraft. The first of several Naval ships headed for the Gulf of Siam has arrived in the area, it's the destroyer escort Holt. Three aircraft carriers, the Coral Sea, the Hancock and the Midway are in the western Pacific apparently headed for the Gulf of Siam. A reinforced Marine battallion landing team of 1,200 men is in Thailand, it could move at any time the order is given. Officials say there are several options open to the Marines. One of those options is to put Marines on the deck of the freighter Mayaguez. Another is to land Marines on Koh-Tang island. The best bet is to recover the Mayaguez they'll take both options simultaneously. Frank Tomlinson, ABC News, the Pentagon.

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REASONER: Ambassador John SCALLY called on United Nation's Secretary Gen. WALDHEIM today to formally request U.N. help in securing the release of the Mayaguez and its crew. In a letter presented to WALDHEIM, SCALLY said the U.S. reserves the right to take such measures as may be necessary to protect the lives of American citizens and American property.

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HOWARD K. SMITH: When those 1,200 Marines sent by President FORD arrived in Thailand the Thai reaction was strong. They demanded the Marines be withdrawn immediately. There was also a popular protest as the new U.S. Ambassador to Thailand arrived. ABC's Jim Bennet reports.

JIM BENNET: ***But even as he spoke (Ambassador) Thailand's Prime Minister was expressing other ideas on the American presence here.

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PRIME MINISTER PRAMOTCH: We have made a protest to the U.S. Government, together with the demand that the troops be withdrawn immediately. And if that's not done, if our request (unintelligible) there will probably be a deterioration in the good relations between this country and the United States.

REPORTER: Do you mean that Thailand is going to break relations with the United States?

P.M. PRAMOTCH: We will have to wait and see the results.

BENNET: Ambassador WHITEHOUSE left the airport amidst derisive shouts that the entire U.S. military presence in Thailand should leave immediately. What the Thais want now are not U.S. Marines on their territory poised to perhaps strike again into Indochina, but assurances of neutrality with their aggressive Communist neighbors. And there are those who believe that they are even prepared to break relations with America seeking that assurance. This is Jim Bennet, ABC News in Bangkok.

REASONER: An official of the Thai Foreign Ministry criticized today's U.S. military action as piracy and madness. He said the U.S. gave no thought to the consequences for Thailand. What if Cambodia decides to retaliate, he asked? It can't retaliate against the Americans, they are too far away, but it can retaliate against Thailand which is right next door.

Commentary: Howard K. SMITH

HOWARD K. SMITH: It may not happen, but with the general downgrading of the United States by Asians we ought to give it some thought. I mean a move by North Korea against South Korea. There's a logic favoring such a move: a) Kim Il SUNG of North Korea has indicated often and openly and recently that it has never left his mind, b) his opponent General PARK of South Korea has applied repression -- though nothing like KIM's in the North -- repressions which have disunified and weakened South Korea, and c) South Korea's main support, the United States, has just lost its first war ever and has little stomach for another land war in Asia at present. But if KIM doesn't act soon we may somehow regain stomach. There's a countervailing logic also, China may oppose an adventure by KIM that might cause the U.S. to lose interest in Asia and leave China alone on the Asian continent facing a hostile Russia and also possibly facing a Japan going nuclear because of lost confidence in the U.S. Also the U.S. mood is unpredictable, it is such that one more nasty slap might just cause a quick change of heart in favor of blowing KIM to kingdom come, especially since unlike Indochina our interests should be clear in this case, the Korean Peninsula points straight at Japan. I don't know which logic will prevail but it might influence things if we made up our minds soberly, now and indicated our thoughts to KIM early. Congress would have to do that. I had the impression President FORD has already made up his mind, he would be for fighting.

Due to insufficient space items of relevance to DOD from the CBS Morning News and the Today Show NBC News of May 14, 1975 have not been included.

PLEASE NOTE: Complete transcripts of the following are available:

Special Report: Phnom Penh After the Fall CBS Radio May 8, 1975.

Evening Edition EE TV May 12, 1975 Ambassador Basheer, spokesman for President Sadat.

Evening Edition EE TV May 13, 1975 Ambassadors of Thailand and Australia.

CBS Morning News CBS TV May 13, 1975 Ike Pappas and Phil Jones discuss the Mayaguez.

Tomorrow NBC TV May 13, 1975 Senator McGovern.

First Line Report CBS Radio May 13, 1975 Daniel Schorr comments on the last days of the Nixon presidency.

Walter Cronkite CBS Radio May 12, 1975 Substitute Hottelet on Cambodia.

News WAVA Radio May 12, 1975 Report on Rep. Aspin charges against Army regarding nuclear security.

UPI World Desk UPI Radio May 13, 1975 Statement by Capt. Hill

News WAVA Radio May 13, 1975 Report on Marines on the alert.

The World Tonight CBS Radio May 12, '75 Report on the Mayaguez.

News WAVA Radio May 13, 1975 Marines flying back to Indochina.

Radio Net Alert News Report CBS Radio 5/14 Statement by Secretary Laitin.

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CURRENT NEWS

PART I - EARLY BIRD EDITION - 0730

PART II - MAIN EDITION - PUBLISHED AT 1130

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THURSDAY, MAY 15, 1975

GENERAL NEWS SUMMARY FROM THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MAY 15, 1975

World-Wide

THE U.S. RETOOK a seized ship and 30 crewmen after sinking Cambodian boats.

The Pentagon said a small Cambodian boat flying a white flag brought about 50 American seamen to a U.S. destroyer in the Gulf of Thailand. There wasn't any immediate word on the other nine crewmen of the U.S. merchant ship Mayaguez, seized by the Cambodians Monday. Shortly before the release of the 30 men, about 200 U.S. Marines recaptured the ship and went ashore on an island where it had been moored, encountering resistance from Cambodian troops there.

The release followed a radio broadcast from Phnom Penh that Cambodia was ready to return the merchant ship, which was accused of spying and violating Cambodian territorial waters.

The U.S. forces lost at least two helicopters in the operation, which also included air strikes against Ream airfield on the Cambodian mainland near Sihanoukville. President Ford ordered the rescue effort nearly 24 hours after sending U.S. planes to sink three Cambodian patrol boats in a bid to block Cambodia from bringing the captured U.S. seamen to the mainland.

The White House said it acted with "a strong consensus of support" from congressional leaders in the attack, which wasn't announced for 11 hours.

Thailand demanded that the U.S. immediately remove 1,100 Marines flown to an American base there early yesterday without prior notification to the Thais. The planes that sank the Cambodian boats also took off from the base in Thailand, U Tapao. The 1,100 Marines were withdrawn to a U.S. aircraft carrier early today.

* * *

LAOTIAN STUDENTS attacked U.S. offices; some Americans were withdrawn.

Several thousand demonstrators ransacked the U.S. Agency for International Development building in the town of Savannakhet, taking three Americans hostage. A similar mob, protesting high food prices as well as the American presence, broke into the AID office in Luang Prabang and carried off rice and supplies. A U.S. protest was lodged with Prince Souvanna Phouma, premier of a coalition government in Laos that has come increasingly under the control of the pro-Communist Pathet Lao.

The State Department confirmed that it's reducing the size of the embassy staff in Vientiane but denied that it plans to close the office.

The rightist commander of the coalition government's joint security force was replaced by a general who is more sympa-

(See NEWS SUMMARY, Pg. 3)

NEW YORK TIMES 15 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Ford's Action Is Supported in Congress

By PHILIP SHABECOFF

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 14—The White House said today that President Ford had consulted with Congressional leaders before ordering an attack on Cambodian patrol boats. At least some of those leaders insisted later, however, that they had not been consulted but merely informed of a Presidential decision already made.

However, members of Congress generally expressed approval of the President's action and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee adopted a strong resolution of support this evening acknowledging the President's constitutional right to order military operations.

Yesterday the White House press secretary, Ron Nessen, told reporters that President Ford would "consult" with Congress before ordering any military action to rescue the seized American freighter Mayagüez, or its crew.

Action Called Constitutional

He quoted the Congressional War Powers Resolution of 1973, which states, in part, that "the President in every possible instance shall consult with Congress before introducing United States armed forces into hostilities or into situations where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated."

Roderick Hills, a counsel to the President, told a questioner that Mr. Ford had acted under his Constitutional war powers to protect the lives and property of Americans. When asked to cite the specific authority within the Constitution, Mr. Hills said that he did not have the exact article in front of him.

But he insisted that the inherent right of the President to use war powers to protect lives and property had not been challenged. The only open question, he said, was the appropriate level of military response.

White House Position

Mr. Hills, an assistant to Philip Buchen, the head of the

(See FORD, Pg. 2)

NEW YORK TIMES 15 MAY 1975 Pg. 18

Ford Waited 11 Hours to Tell American Public of His Action

WASHINGTON, May 14 (UPI) —President Ford waited at least 11 hours before informing the American people today that United States warplanes had attacked Cambodian boats.

A short time later, Mr. Ford called the National Security Council into session at the White House for the third time in 24 hours to continue efforts to gain release of the United States cargo ship commandeered by Cambodian forces in the Gulf of Siam.

The President conferred periodically with Secretary of State Kissinger, and White House officials sought to portray a sense of calm.

During the President's only public appearances, at the start and end of a meeting with Premier Joop M. den Uyl of the Netherlands, Mr. Ford gave no indication that he was under great pressure. At one point, he and Mr. Kissinger exchanged jokes about soccer with the Dutch leader.

Administration sources said that the first United States air strikes against Cambodian patrol boats began by 1 A.M., Eastern Daylight Time, today and that at least five of the craft had been hit within an hour. The first public acknowledgment of the operations came about noon from the Defense Department. There was no official explanation for the delay in announcing the action taken by the American planes.

At that point the White House press secretary, Ron Nessen, said he was unable to provide further details about either the military action or the status of the 39-man crew that was aboard the merchant ship Mayagüez when it was seized Monday.

Asked whether the United States was now at war with Cambodia, Mr. Nessen replied, "Not that I am aware of."

Administration sources said that President Ford decided to order the air strikes late yesterday afternoon after the first

(See WAITED, Pg. 2)

BALTIMORE SUN

15 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Support for Ford is hedged

By ADAM CLYMER

Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—The Ford administration sent in the marines and used aircraft against Cambodia just as a day of general political support for Mr. Ford here was beginning to show cracks.

And the actions also were taken just as a report of a decision to release the ship reached the city and appeared to have caught the White House totally by surprise.

While the timetable of the military operations was not made clear immediately, it appeared possible that the marines and the Navy planes engaged the Cambodians after the Phnom Penh radio report had reached Washington.

It probably will not matter as much politically as the success or failure of the efforts to get the 39 crewmen out alive—and there were reports from the Pentagon that 30 of them had been recovered by the marines—but if the appearance of disregarding the offer to free the ship and going ahead military anyway is confirmed, it could deepen any such reaction.

Senators and representatives had just finished meeting with Mr. Ford and had left the White House when the Phnom Penh radio report came over a

(See SUPPORT, Pg. 2)

JAMES KILLINGBECK, CHIEF, CURRENT NEWS BRANCH, OX 78765 HELEN YOUNG, ASSISTANT CHIEF

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SUPPORT -- CONTINUED

United Press International ticker at 8:17 P.M. Ronald H. Nessen, Mr. Ford's press secretary, said the President had not learned of the report from UPI but from some other source. He would not say when Mr. Ford learned, but it was plainly not long before.

And the military moves the President intended to take—actions that the congressmen would not describe—were plainly scheduled to begin soon, perhaps in minutes. They were announced 60 minutes later.

Two of the leaders, Senator Milton R. Young (R., N.D.) and Representative Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., (D., Mass) told reporters that the results would be known by about 10 P.M. Others thought it might take longer.

But accounts of the meeting made it clear that even though the President was applauded when he came in, there was some uncertainty about his course. The congressmen did not challenge his legal authority but they indicated some reservations about the course he chose.

They were not for the most part quarreling about the wisdom of the earlier efforts to prevent gunboats from taking the captive crew to the mainland, efforts that resulted in sinking three Cambodian vessels, with one, where white faces reportedly were seen on deck, apparently allowed to get to shore.

But at least some of the Democrats were edgy both about the degree of consultation the President used before that action and last night's set of moves. And there were reservations expressed at the White House meeting about whether at least one of the steps planned in last night's operations might not needlessly threaten the crewmen's lives.

Mr Nessen had proclaimed at a White House briefing that when the leaders had been read a statement of the President's plans Tuesday afternoon (by the White House's Congressional Liaison Office), "this is considered to be consultation." Despite its likely legal sufficiency, politically the step was plainly not so considered by some of those notified on the Hill. Senator Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.), the Senate majority leader, was testy in his account of the phone call he received. He said he did not bother to object to what was read to him "becase it was already decided."

His reservations were echoed by his deputy, Senator Robert C. Byrd (D., W. Va.), after the White House meeting. "At least some of the leaders in the two houses should have been called in" to offer their opinions, he said, instead of being "advised after the fact."

And Mr. Byrd, while not identifying the precise American moves that troubled him, said that while he had supported Mr. Ford's actual decisions with some reservations about the degree of restraint employed.

Earlier, Capitol Hill had been producing general approval. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee cheered Mr Ford's use of "his constitutional powers within the framework of the War Powers Resolution."

Although Senators Edward M. Kennedy (D., Mass.) and George McGovern (D., S.D.) were critical of a lack of restraint they saw in American policy, others such as Senator John O. Pastore (D., R.I.) and Representative Lester L. Wolff (D., N.Y.) backed the President up.

Republicans were almost without exception supportive, but one senior GOP legislator, in a conversation between the report of the Cambodian offer and the announcement of the U.S. military moves, said it would "defy logic" not to hold up any armed actions to see if the offer was real. He could not be reached for comment later.

But the Democrats had plainly positioned themselves to attack the President for not consulting them—even last night, they said, they were "told" and not asked—and for a military overreaction that, if the rescue failed, they might say was more interested in saving face than in saving the crewmen's lives.

WASHINGTON POST
13 MAY 1975
Pg. 21

Saigon Diplomacy

France announced its recognition of the new government of South Vietnam and said that the two countries shortly will exchange ambassadors. Elsewhere, the Provisional Revolutionary Government moved to extend control of South Vietnamese embassies abroad.

The North Vietnamese charge d'affaires in London took over custody of the South Vietnamese embassy at the instruction of the PRG. In Tokyo, the Cuban government took custody of the South Vietnamese embassy until diplomatic relations are established between Japan and the new Saigon regime, and a PRG delegation arrived in New Delhi to take charge of the embassy there.

On other fronts, Belgium said it was moving to establish relations with the PRG. In Geneva, the World Health Organization's annual assembly approved the membership of North Vietnam, 116- to 0. The United States and seven other countries abstained.

FORD -- CONTINUED

White House legal department, indicated that the President believed that informing Congress of his actions satisfied the requirement of the War Powers Resolution that he consult with Congress before beginning military operations.

The resolution does not require prior approval of military action by Congress, he asserted.

At today's news briefing, Mr. Nessen said that the President, through his Congressional relations staff, "did consult" with Democratic and Republican leaders of the House of Representatives and Senate between 5:30 and 6 P.M. yesterday, "three hours before the act." A statement issued by the Defense Department today indicated that the attack began shortly after 8:30 P.M., Eastern Daylight Time.

However, Senator Mike Mansfield, Democratic leader of the Senate and one of those listed by Mr. Nessen as having been consulted, said in a telephone interview today:

"I was not consulted. I was notified after the fact about what the Administration had already decided to do."

In a statement released later, Senator Mansfield said: "I did not give my approval or disapproval because the decision had already been made. My reaction at this point is that there are a lot of questions to which I want answers."

Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi and President Pro Tempore of the Senate, and Senator Clifford P. Case, Republican of New Jersey, the ranking Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, also said that they had not been consulted but had been informed. Mr. Eastland said he had been told after the attack.

Both, however, indicated that they strongly supported President Ford's action against the Cambodian boats.

The majority leader of the House of Representatives, Thomas P. O'Neill of Massachusetts, also said he had not been consulted but only informed.

The House minority leader, John J. Rhodes of Arizona, was quoted by The Associated Press as having said that he had not been notified until after the Cambodian vessels were sunk. But a spokesman for Mr. Rhodes told a questioner: "He was notified beforehand. We are calling it a consultation. Mr. Rhodes has no complaint."

A member of the White House Congressional liaison staff told a questioner that leaders of the Senate had been called about the President's planned action, starting with Senator Mansfield at 5:55 P.M., yesterday and concluding with Senator Eastland at 8:20 P.M., or shortly before the attack on the Cambodian vessels began. Memorandums of each call were sent to Max Friedersdorf, head of the Congressional relations staff, who had presumably passed the response along to the President, the staff member added.

This staff member said that about half the Senators had voiced approval of the President's action while the others simply "acknowledged" the information. Earlier today, Mr Nessen said that the response of the Congressional leaders to the "consultation" was "a strong consensus of support and no objections."

The members of Congress were not given any legal basis for the President's order for military intervention when they were contacted by the White House staff. At today's briefings at the White House, Mr. Nessen said that "the President has authority to protect the lives of Americans and the property of Americans under the Constitution."

Although several members of Congress charged that the President had violated the War Powers Resolution by failure to consult Congress; there was little criticism of the military action itself.

The resolution adopted by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, while it will not be voted on by the full Senate, was intended as a vote of Senatorial confidence. It was approved unanimously and said:

"Committee condemns an act of armed aggression on an unarmed U.S. merchant vessel in the course of innocent passage on an established trade route.

"The President has engaged in diplomatic means to secure its release and we support that.

"Third, we support the President in the exercise of his constitutional powers within the framework of the War Powers Resolution to secure the release of the ship and its men.

"We urge the Cambodian Government to release the ship and the men forthwith."

WAITED -- CONTINUED

of the National Security Council meetings.

Mr. Nessen said that Congressional leaders were advised of the decision at about 5:30 P.M. by White House aides, who reported that "there was a strong consensus of support and no objections."

Mr. Ford's next meeting with the Security Council started at about 10:20 P.M., soon after Mr. Kissinger returned from a speaking engagement in Kansas City. The session lasted a little over two hours. Officials said that Mr. Ford then spent a few minutes in the Oval Office and headed for the Presidential quarters, getting to bed at about 1 A.M. for about four hours of sleep. They said that he got no phone calls during the night.

Mr. Ford reached his desk at about 7:40 A.M. and after receiving his regular early-morning intelligence briefing, he met with Mr. Kissinger for about 45 minutes. He saw the Secretary of State three more times during the morning before meeting with the Security Council.

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NEW YORK TIMES - 15 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Thai Tells U.S. to Remove 1,100-Marine Unit Today

Threat to Relations

By The Associated Press

BANGKOK, Thailand, May 14 —Premier Kukrit Pramoj today gave the United States until tomorrow morning to remove 1,100 marines brought to Thailand without his permission and promised "drastic action" if his demand was not met. He did not specify the action.

The Premier told newsmen that Thailand did not intend to be drafted into American preparations to take back the American merchant ship Mayagüez. Cambodian gunboats seized the ship on Monday, and it was last reported lying to in the Gulf of Siam 30 miles off the Cambodian coast.

First reports from the Thai Foreign Ministry said 800 marines arrived before dawn at the United States Air Force's U Taphao base on the south coast, but Mr. Kukrit later said that Edward E. Masters, the American chargé d'affaires, had told him that the final total was 1,100.

Panamanian Ship Stopped

A Thai protest note warned of "serious consequences" to relations between the United States and Thailand if the marines were not removed.

Meanwhile, Thai communications sources reported that Cambodia today seized another foreign merchant ship, the Panama - registered Eastern Grand, but released it after nearly two hours. The sources said the ship was intercepted near Panjang Island, 85 miles off the coast.

Mr. Kukrit, who told Mr. Masters yesterday that Thailand did not want her territory used to stage any armed operation related to the Mayagüez, summoned him again today to deliver the ultimatum.

The text of the Thai protest note follows:

"It is recalled that on May 13, 2518 [the year according to the Buddhist calendar] the Prime Minister informed the chargé d'affaires of the American Embassy that Thailand does not wish to become involved in the dispute between the United States and Cambodia over the seizure of the vessel Mayagüez, and that Thailand will not permit her territory to be used in connection with any action that might be taken by the United States against Cambodia.

"On May 14, 2518, the Thai Government learned that the United States Government had sent some elements of its Marine forces into Thailand as part of its reaction against Cambodia.

"The Thai Government considers that this action by the United States Government is not consistent with the goodwill existing between Thailand and the United States. And unless these forces, which have entered, against the wishes of the Thai Government, are withdrawn immediately, the good relations and cooperation existing between Thailand and the United States would be exposed to serious and damaging consequences."

The Premier used stronger language to newsmen, charging that the arrival of the marines was "a violation of Thai sovereignty."

Meanwhile, 40 or 50 student protesters, shouting, "American, go home," were at the airport for the arrival of the new Ambassador to Thailand, Charles S. Whitehouse.

Mr. Whitehouse walked nodding and smiling between the ranks of the students and issued a prepared statement saying that he hoped to further "friendship and cooperation between our two peoples in the months ahead."

The National Student Center, which led the uprising that ended the military dictatorship 19 months ago, accused the United States of using the seizure of the freighter Mayaguez as an excuse to intervene again in Indochina.

Mr. Masters first learned from a news report from Washington that the marines were on the way. The Thai military command, which clears all international military flights, apparently was advised in advance. Presumably it did not pass the information on to the Government, a communication gap that has been common since the military dictatorship was overthrown in October, 1973.

Thailand under the military dictatorship was a staunch supporter of the United States war in Indochina and provided the bases from which most American air operations originated in the last years of the war. The present civilian Government is seeking a way to live with its new Communist neighbors and to return to the traditional Thai neutrality that kept the country independent while the rest of Southeast Asia came under European domination in the 19th century.

United States officials threw an unusual screen of secrecy around the crash of a United States military helicopter in northeast Thailand yesterday, raising speculation that it was on a mission in connection with the Mayagüez or the arrival of the marines.

Informed sources said all 23 persons aboard were killed when the aircraft crashed near the Laotian border and about 35 miles west of the United States Air Force base at Nakon Phanom. The sources said the passengers were Air Force men en route to U Taphao.

WASHINGTON POST
15 MAY 1975
Pg. 16

Approach to Sihanouk On Ship Release Fails

By John Burns
Toronto Globe and Mail

PEKING, May 14 -- Attempts by U.S. diplomats here to engage Prince Norodom Sihanouk and the Chinese government in efforts to secure the release of the American container ship Mayaguez reached a standstill Wednesday in the wake of the negative response to the initial representations on Tuesday.

Officials of the U.S. liaison office refused any official comment on the representations but it was learned that Prince Sihanouk and the Peking embassy of the Khmer Rouge government had failed to respond to requests for the ship's immediate release.

The Chinese foreign ministry, asked to intervene with the Phnom Penh authorities on Washington's behalf, was understood to have refused on the ground that the matter was not its concern.

The official Hsinhua News Agency had not reported the seizure more than 48 hours after it occurred and diplomats attached significance to the non-committal stance taken by vice premier Teng Hsiao-Ping, who was questioned about the incident in Paris.

Teng, who has been in effective day-to-day control of the government since Premier Chou En-Lai went into hospital a year ago, was asked what China would do if Washington took military action to get the vessel back.

NEWS SUMMARY -- CONTINUED

theric to the Pathet Lao.

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An Indochina refugee-aid bill setting a maximum authorization of $507 million, the amount Ford has estimated will be needed, was passed overwhelmingly by the House. It then passed a separate bill to appropriate $405 million. The Senate moved to speed up its consideration of similar legislation.

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Maurice Stans was fined $5,000 for five misdemeanor violations of federal campaign-finance law. The former Commerce Secretary and Nixon fund-raiser pleaded guilty in March to accepting two illegal corporate contributions to the 1972 Nixon drive and failing to report three other cash transactions.

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Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko criticized Secretary of State Kissinger by name for "defending swollen U.S. military budgets," a position Gromyko said conflicted with Kissinger's calls for detente.

* * *

A fiscal 1976 budget with a $68.8 billion deficit was called for by Congress. Both houses adopted guidelines that state expenditures of $367 billion and assume $298.2 billion in receipts. Ford wants the deficit held to $60 billion.

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Ford rejected New York City's request for $1 billion in emergency federal aid. Earlier, the city announced a $280 million offering of short-term notes.

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Proposed land-use legislation survived an early House test as the Interior Committee defeated a move to table it, 22-20.

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A ban on state "fair-trade" laws allowing manufacturers to set minimum product prices was approved by a House Judiciary subcommittee.

* * *

Portugal's government continued its nationalization program by taking over cement, tobacco and paper concerns. Foreign companies and foreign interests in Portuguese firms were exempted. To curb income disparities, the government raised the minimum wage 21%, set a maximum salary and froze those above the equivalent of $480 a month until year-end.

* * *

Egyptian President Sadat said the U.S. holds "90% of the cards" in the Mideast and could bring about a settlement there by putting more pressure on Israel.

* * *

A White House swimming pool will be built with about $81,000 of private donations. It will be outdoors but heated. Ford went ahead with the project against the advice of some aides who said it might be controversial in view of his calls for austerity in government.

* * *

Decriminalization of marijuana was debated at hearings of a Senate subcommittee chaired by Birch Bayh (D., Ind.). The Justice Department opposed a subcommittee bill as poorly drafted but said the agency hasn't adopted a firm position on ending criminal penalties for personal use of the drug.

* * *

Poland got a $240 million loan from a group of Western banks for development of copper deposits for export markets.

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An underground nuclear test, the largest in nearly two years, was carried out in Nevada and could be felt 100 miles away.

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BALTIMORE SUN - 15 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

American jets bomb base, sink 3 boats

By CHARLES W. CORDDRY
Washington Bureau of the Sun

The United States recaptured the merchant ship Mayaguez and retrieved at least 30 of its 39 crew members last night in a series of military actions against Cambodia ordered by President Ford three days after Cambodian gunboats seized the ship in the Gulf of Thailand.

Joseph Laitin, Defense Department spokesman, announced at 11.15 P.M. that a small boat bearing white flags had drawn up to the U.S. Destroyer Wilson, near Koh Tang Island, with the 30 crew members, and the destroyer took them aboard.

Mr. Laitin said the information had been conveyed to President Ford by James R. Schlesinger, Secretary of Defense.

He said the crew members had been sighted about 10.30 P.M. That was about 35 minutes before an air strike was launched from the carrier Coral Sea against Ream Airfield near the Cambodian port of Kompong Som.

Mr. Laitin also reported that in an action related to the recapture of the ship, 135-marines had landed on Koh Tang Island and more were going ashore. The marine landings on the island , it was understood, began about 7.20 P.M. Marines in that operation were brought by Air Force helicopters from Thailand. The marines who seized the ship previously had been moved to the destroyer Holt from Thailand .

Before Ronald H. Nessen, White House press secretary, issued the announcement, press dispatches from Bangkok, Thailand, reported a Phnom Penh broadcast saying the Cambodians were releasing the ship and ordering it on its way.

In response to this, Mr. Nessen said Washington messaged Cambodia: "As you know, we have seized the ship. As soon as you issue a statement that you are prepared to release the crew members you hold, unconditionally and immediately we will promptly cease military operations."

The operations ordered by Mr. Ford were:

- Marines to seize the Mayaguez.
- Additional marines to land on Koh Tang Island, where the ship was anchored, to rescue any crew members there. It was learned from other sources that the landing party was made up of 150 marines flown in by Air Force helicopters from Thailand. It was understood they encountered some opposition, but there were no details.
- Up to 1,200 marines for the operation if needed.
- U.S. aircraft from the carrier Coral Sea to carry out "associated military operations" in the Thailand Gulf to protect the military operations to retrieve the ship and crew.

The latter operations were not spelled out, but were the ones that the congressional source reported included air strikes on shore installations.

Earlier in the day, American warplanes destroyed three Cambodian patrol boats in an attempt to prevent movement of crew members of the Mayaguez to the Cambodian mainland, the Defense Department announced.

The Mayaguez was anchored about 500 yards off the island of Koh Tang, which lies 30 miles from the Cambodian coast. It was taken there after being seized about 60 miles from Cambodia in what President Ford called an act of piracy.

Before the U.S. military action was announced, President Ford called the fourth meeting of the National Security Council in three days to consider how to recover the ship and crew and what actions to take against the Cambodians.

The administration mobilized a fleet in the Thailand Gulf, ordered 1,200 marines into U Tapao Air Base in Thailand and directed Air Force helicopters and crews from several Thai bases to assemble at U Tapao. Authorities said the carrier Hancock left Subic Bay in the Philippines Tuesday and also was steaming to the gulf.

Navy and Air Force aircraft have been flying over the seized ship since it was taken by the Cambodians.

One urgent consideration at yesterday's security council meeting, an informed source said, was the Thai government's demand that the U.S. marines be withdrawn immediately.

Thailand, the government in Bangkok said, "does not wish to become involved in the dispute between the United States and Cambodia over the seizure of the vessel. . . and will not permit its territory to be used in connection with any action which might be taken by the United States against Cambodia."

A question was posed for leaders here, it was said, whether, in order to satisfy Thai demands, to move the marines to U.S. Navy ships before employing them in any action at Koh Tang island or elsewhere. An alternative was to move the marines directly into action with Thai-based U S. Air Force helicopetrs.

Mr. Laitin announced the attacks on patrol boasts yesterday at midday, giving only sketchy information and refusing to answer questions.

He said it appeared Tuesday evening that the Cambodians were trying to take the Mayaguez crew from the ship and from Koh Tang to the mainland. U.S. aircraft —identified by others as Air Force AC-130 gunships and A-7 attack bombers—undertook to block the move.

Mr Laitin said small-arms fire had been directed at American planes for several hours before this. At first he said three craft were destroyed and "about four others" were crippled. Late in the day, he said he had found there was "not sufficient verification to support" the statement about the crippled craft.

Others suggested that those boats may have raced to the protection of Koh Tang island.

WASHINGTON POST - 15 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Public Reaction Favors Bombings to Free Ship

The White House press office reported that initial reaction to the bombing was running strongly in favor of the President. As of 4:30 p.m. yesterday, the White House had received 668 telephone calls favoring getting the ship out, 24 against and nine calls from people merely commenting on the situation.

The White House also received 250 calls from people favoring bombing the ships, 51 calls against, and 295 telegrams favoring the bombing and 90 against.

A State Department spokesman said only four telegrams had been received there as of 4.45 p.m. yesterday. "They can be characterized as urging a vigorous American response," he said.

WASHINGTON POST
15 MAY 1975 Pg. 21

Martin in Bangkok

MANILA—U.S. embassy sources said Graham Martin, former U.S. ambassador to South Vietnam, left Manila late Tuesday for Bangkok after an eight-day stay. They said they did not know how long he would stay in the Thai capital.

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WASHINGTON POST 15 MAY 1975, Pg 7

Suit Asks Building Halt At Base for Trident Subs

By Timothy S. Robinson

The ability of the nation to survive a nuclear missile attack, a subject normally reserved for closed congressional hearings and Pentagon war rooms, was the underlying issue in a recently completed trial here in an almost-empty federal courtroom.

The trial pitted a group of environmentalists against the military, and attorneys say the decision could have a direct influence on future litigation concerning the applicability of environmental laws to military bases.

Following more than a eek of testimony, U.S. District Court Chief Judge George L. Hart Jr. asked both sides to submit proposed legal and factual findings. His decision is expected by June.

The nuclear weapon at issue is the Trident submarine, praised by Defense Department officials as the country's most important future weapon defense against nuclear attack.

Scheduled for operation in 1978, the submarine will bear more and better nuclear weapons than the current Poseidon submarine and will be larger, quieter, and the most "survivable" of defense systems in the event of a nuclear attack, Pentagon officials testified.

Trident has a "brickbat O-1" priority, a national defense code that is now held by only two defense systems—the Poseidon and the land-based Minuteman III missile system.

With congressional approval of the system, the Navy is converting an ammunition storage dump near Bangor, Wash., to a base out of which Trident crews will train and the missile-carrying subs will operate. The base, at its peak, will employ more than 30,000 persons, according to plans.

A group of environmentalists, called "Concerned About Trident," is asking that base construction be blocked, because it says the Navy has failed to comply with environmental laws.

The environmentalists say:

The Navy never has prepared an environmental impact statement on the $15 billion Trident program.

The Navy's environmental-impact statements prepared on the Bangor site were drawn up after the decision was made to put the missile base there and are therefore a sham.

viets "another whole ocean to worry about" when defending against submarine-launched missiles, and of the need to be within easy striking distance of Moscow and Peking.

Vice Adm. R. Y. Kaufman testified that "at the risk of sounding parochial I'd say the Trident is No. 1" in terms of importance on the list of future defense systems.

When attorney David Sive attempted to cross-examine Kaufman on alternatives to Trident that may have been considered by the Navy, including the possibility of no new weapons, Hart interrupted:

"If the world becomes sweet and gentle and no one has any weapons we don't need this weapon. That is perfectly patent to anybody."

Although not claiming that the military is automatically and absolutely exempt from the requirements of the National Environmental Policy Act government attorneys have said in documents filed in the case that ". . .there are circumstances in which federal activities of a political nature are involved that are beyond the reach of NEPA and . . . some of those actions about which the plaintiffs here complain are actions of that political character.

". . .At several significant stages in the development of the Trident system, decisions were made, which had as their basis, considerations of national defense, international relations and the security of this nation as its role as a world power. These decisions are beyond the power of this court to review."

Another aspect of the Trident suit is the stand taken in behalf of the government by the Pacific Legal Foundation, a group that has sided with environment a list in the past.

In some-times sarcastic tones PLF attorneys noted that "without the Trident system, it cannot be guaranteed that foreign adversaries will not unleash vastly superior weapons, at which time all of the [plaintiffs] exhortations of naive environmental damage will have become ironically academic."

The nation's delicate Strategic Arms Limitation Talks with the Soviet Union could be undermined by a decision against Trident, the PLF attorneys continued, adding: "What bargaining power do we have in nuclear limitation talks if the Soviets know we are limiting ourselves because of domestic environmental concerns?"

The Navy has not prepared a new environmental-impact statement on the Bangor site since recent congressional aproval of a speeded-up completion date for the base.

Hart already refused to block the construction of the base pending the completion of the trial before him, and has indicated in court that he intends to weigh heavily the national-security aspect of the base in his decision.

The federal government asked that the trial be conducted because of the "public interest in having a controversy of this complexity and importance resolved on a full and complete record."

Environmentalists say building the base will have a detrimental effect on fish and wildlife in and around Hood Canal near Puget Sound, where the base is being built. They also say the Navy has not properly considered the effect on the area of the thousands of people who will arrive to build or operate the base, or the possibilities of nuclear hazards arising from handling weapons.

The Navy says, basically there is a point at which national defense takes priority over environmental concerns. The Navy points that it selected a site that is currently a base and that will take little additional construction, compared with building a base from scratch.

The Navy also says it has prepared the necessary environmental-impact statements and that no decision was made on locating the base in Bangor until after those impact statements were considered. The Navy says it selected Bangor from among 89 sites, which were narrowed to four possible locations.

Those final four sites included three on the Atlantic Coast and one on the Pacific Coast. At that point, the decision was made to put the base on the Pacific Ocean, government officials testified in court.

Three former secretaries of Navy and Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger, have filed affidavits supporting the decision to put the Trident base on the Pacific, and admirals who testified last week said the decision is even more important now than when it was made about two years ago.

With a bluntness reminiscent of the height of Cold War, the admirals discussed the necessity of giving the So-

NEW YORK TIMES
15 MAY 1975
Pg 18

PLEA FOR U.N. HELP MADE BY THE U.S.

By KATHLEEN TELTSCH
Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., May 14 — The United States asked Secretary General Waldheim today to do what he could to help obtain the release of the merchant ship and crew seized early Monday off Cambodia.

The seizure was an illegal and unprovoked action that posed a threat to international peace, the United States Representative, John Scali, said in a letter handed to the Secretary General.

Mr. Waldheim responded by offering his good offices to the Governments concerned. He appealed to them to "refrain from further acts of force in order to facilitate the process of peaceful settlement."

Mr. Waldheim sent messages to Prince Norodom Sihanouk, titular head of the new Cambodean government who is in Peking, and to Phom Penh.

Mr. Scali's request was made a few hours after announcement in Washington that American aircraft had been fired on by the Cambodians and that the planes attacked and sank Cambodian gunboats in the vicinity of the seized freighter. The timing prompted some here to complain that the United States turned to the United Nations after—not before — had it resorted to force, when it could have appealed earlier.

American officials offered no explanation, but it was be-well aware that potential United Nations help was limited since there was no direct contact with the new Communist authorities in Phnom Penh. It was also believed that the request to the United Nations was something of an afterthought.

Since the Communist takeover there has been only one communication, on April 30, in which the new Foreign Minister, Sarin Chhak, claimed Cambodia's seat here; the message came via Peking. Mr. Waldheim acknowledged it but received no reply.

"The trouble with offering good offices is that one has to be sure they are welcomed by everyone, and it is difficult in this case to know where to address the offer," a United Nations official said.

The United States' letter said it had initiated "certain steps through diplomatic channels" to obtain the release of vessel and crew. Washington has asked Peking to intervene, but it is not clear how much influence the Chinese have with the new Government even though Prince Norodom Sianhouk, its titular head, is in Peking.

The letter also reserved the right to take measures to protect the lives of the Americans and the property involved, as provided in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, which recognizes the right of self-defense against armed attack without waiting for action by the Security Council.

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BALTIMORE SUN - 15 MAY 1975 Pg. 2

U.S. will 'thin out' personnel in Laos

BY DEAN MILLS
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—The Ford administration, worried about the increasing dangers to Americans in Laos, has urged a "thinning-out" of American officials in that country.

Robert L. Funseth, a State Department spokesman, said in announcing the decision that there are no plans to evacuate all Americans or to close the American Embassy in the Lao capital of Vientiane. He said the Lao government has not requested that the embassy be closed and that the embassy remains in contact with the government.

With the resignation of rightist ministers last week, the Communist-led Pathet Lao are in effective control of the government. But unlike the Communist takeovers in Cambodia and South Vietnam, there has been no change in the structure of the government so far and therefore no technical reason for the United States to break diplomatic relations.

Mr. Funseth said that the American aid program for Laos is "under general review" as a result of anti-American demonstrations and the changes in government in Vientiane. The United States has not suspended aid despite recent developments.

The State Department said student demonstrators in the town of Savannakhet had seized three American officials of the Agency for International Development and were holding them. The American Embassy in Vientiane reported that the officials were not believed harmed.

Mr. Funseth described the "thinning-out" of American personnel in Vientiane as a process that is expected to take place over a period of several weeks beginning this week.

Americans in outlying areas already have been instructed to move the capital, he said. There is no reason, he said, to believe that American troops will be needed to protect the withdrawal process.

There are about 1,000 Americans in Laos now, 150 of them are "unofficial" Americans. The rest are the 320 officials and their dependents.

NEW YORK TIMES - 15 MAY 1975 Pg. 43

Barbarous Piracy

By Anthony Lewis

The diplomacy of violence: That is still, then, to be our trademark. Once again an American Government shows that the only way it knows how to deal with frustration is by force. And the world is presumably meant to be impressed.

The Khmer Rouge were wrong and foolish to seize the American merchant ship Mayaguez, if the facts were as stated in Washington. They violated necessary norms of international behavior. We had reason to be concerned, especially about the fate of the crew.

But using a sledgehammer to crack a nut is self-defeating for nations as for individuals. Violent escalation of the conflict could hardly be expected to achieve the immediate aim of the crew's release; to the contrary, it might heighten the danger. More broadly, the military action showed a lack of that perspective expected of a great power—the perspective, in this case, recent history.

Imagine that in 1775 and for years after an enormously powerful state equipped with futuristic weapons had intervened in our Revolutionary War. From bases in Canada it rained destruction on the thirteen colonies. A million Americans, a third of the population, fled their homes; 300,000 were casualties.

When the war was finally over, how might the victorious Americans have felt about that foreign state? If one of its ships had sailed into what were claimed to be Americans waters, might we have been tempted to board and seize the vessel?

A comparison between America in 1775 and Cambodia in 1975 is not so far-fetched. The peasant society of Cambodia today is hardly more advanced, technologically, than eighteenth-century America. Cambodia was just as defenseless against B-52's as the thirteen colonies would have been.

American planes dropped 250,000 tons of bombs on Cambodia between 1969 and Aug. 15, 1973, when Congress prohibited all U.S. military action in, over or on the waters adjoining Indochina. Between a third and a half of Cambodia's 7.5 million people became refugees. Jon Swain of The London Sunday Times, one of the correspondents recently evacuated, described the physical damage he saw as follows:

"The entire countryside has been churned up by American B-52 bomb craters, whole towns and villages razed. So far, I have not seen one intact pagoda. . . . The war damage here [Kompong Chhnang], as everywhere else we saw, is total. Not a bridge is standing, hardly a house. I am told most villagers spent the war years living semi-permanently underground in earth bunkers to escape the bombing."

With that background, Americans should be slow to point a finger of moral disapproval at the Khmer Rouge. Nor can we rightly take a lofty position on the need to respect law. Washington has not reacted with force when Ecuador seized U.S. fishing boats more distant from shore than the Mayaguez was. And the American bombing of Cambodia was itself of dubious constitutionality.

The United States also bears a heavy responsibility for the political character of Cambodia today. If we had not invaded the country in 1970, and then intervened massively in her civil war, Prince Sihanouk would doubtless have returned to power soon with a left-leaning but more traditional regime. The Khmer Rouge movement would not have developed as it has, in all its hardened zeal. Most of the human suffering of the war would have been avoided.

The Khmer Rouge inherited a ruined nation. We are rightly horrified by accounts of the harsh measures taken. But after what has been done to them, are the Cambodians really to be blamed if they are xenophobic?

Those Americans who had a part in the savagery of our policy toward Cambodia over the years should be particularly slow to utter deploring pieties now. Secretary of State Kissinger, a principal author of the policy, has described events in Cambodia as "barbarous," "inhuman," "very tragic" and "an atrocity of major proportions." A man so steeped in the blood of Cambodians should have the shame to remain silent.

And now the insensitivity is in deeds as well as words. Once again we have to show the world how tough we are: The attitude of the teen-ager proving his manhood did not end with Richard Nixon's Presidency. Demonstrative violence is in fact a central element in Henry Kissinger's diplomatic philosophy. But how long must it be our country's?

How disheartening, too, to see the Mayagüez affair evoke from Congress the old jingo talk and calls for Presidential action. Senator Clifford Case, co-author of the 1973 ban on military action in Indochina, lived down to his reputation as a pusillanimous liberal by telling President Ford that he could ignore the law. Have we learned nothing from Vietnam about law and the Presidency? Have we forgotten that America had the world's respect when she stood for patience and magnanimity in human affairs?

WASHINGTON STAR - 14 MAY 1975 Pg. 13 (15)

Pentagon to Probe Hunting Trip Reports

By Peter Gruenstein
Capitol Hill News Service

A Civil Service Commission official says the Defense Department will investigate charges that military officers and Pentagon officials used a duck hunting lodge owned by Northrop Corp., in apparent violation of an executive order.

Anthony L. Mondello, CSC's general counsel, said yesterday: "That smells. People shouldn't be doing that."

"Northrop is a recognized defense contractor," Mondello continued. "They should not be in the business of entertaining military and civilian officials. It's as simple as that."

Rep. David Henderson, D-N.C., chairman of a House civil service subcommittee, said he would ask the Defense Department and the Civil Service Commission for a timetable on the investigation. "If we're not satisfied with their investigation and if it's not prompt enough, then I'm sure the subcommittee would want to get into it."

MONDELLO SAID that, under civil service procedures, federal agencies bear primary responsibility for investigating allegations of ethical misconduct.

As previously reported by Capitol Hill News Service, trips to Northrop's hunting lodge by 123 military officers and 21 Pentagon officials between 1971 and 1973 were in apparent violation of an executive order prohibiting the acceptance by federal employes of anything of "monetary value" from a company doing business with the government.

During the time the trips were made, Northrop was competing for a multi-billion dollar contract to build a lightweight air combat fighter, the F17.

The Pentagon yesterday released a strongly worded letter written by Deputy Defense Secretary William Clements on Jan. 15, reminding military officials of the gift prohibition rule.

CLEMENTS cited a Defense Department directive defining gifts as including "any tangible items, intangible benefits, discount, tickets, passes, transportation, and accommodations or hospitality given or extended to or on behalf of the recipient.

"These prohibitions are not a matter of degree. There will be absolutely no relationship with defense contractors which violates or appears to violate the provision . . ."

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THURSDAY MORNING, 15 MAY 1975

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER 15 MAY 1975, Pg 1

Why Ford Shifted To Military Tactics

By JAMES McCARTNEY

WASHINGTON—President Ford switched from diplomatic to military tactics in the crisis over the captured merchant ship Mayaguez because of fear that some of the 39-man American crew might be taken out of reach, where they could never be rescued.

But well-placed government sources said late yesterday that some members of the crew may already have been moved to the mainland. And others may be on a nearby island, called Koh Tang, under guard by a small Cambodian naval garrison.

The President ordered what White House Press Secretary Ron Nessen described as "an inhibiting action" late Tuesday after a National Security Council (NSC) meeting.

The situation was tense.

The ship lay motionless, about a mile off Koh Tang, which is about 30 miles from the Cambodian port of Kompong Som.

The President had put his word on the line. He had labeled the seizure of the ship by the new Cambodian Communist government "an act of piracy." He had demanded its "immediate release" and declared that failure to release it "would have the most serious consequences."

U. S. warships from throughout the Pacific were steaming to the scene to back up the presidential statements. Combat-equipped U. S. marines were en route to Thailand from Okinawa, Japan.

But as the NSC met Tuesday afternoon, the military possibilities of saving the crew appeared in danger of slipping away.

U. S. reconnaissance planes were reporting that some crew members might have been moved onto the island, and that some already might have been taken to the mainland.

The President stood the risk of finding himself in a situation — so frequent in the Indochina war — where vast U. S. power might appear impotent.

At some point in the late afternoon the President gave the Pentagon authority to "isolate" the ship, and the island, so that no more Americans could be taken beyond reach.

It was what one White House source described as a "preventive tactics," chosen after initial diplomatic efforts to free the ship and crew had failed.

The President's initial decision to resort to force was not designed to rescue the sailors.

It was designed, instead, sources said, to try to keep as many men as possible in a position where they might be rescued, if a decision should be made later to try to do so.

"Obviously, the President wanted to take the diplomatic route," said one White House official.

"But if the men were moved, we'd lose control. The option of trying to extricate them would be diminished. They'd be out of reach."

Once arriving at the decision, the President instructed his Congressional liaison staff, headed by Max Friedersdorf, to contact key members of Congress to let them know.

Calls began to go out between 5 and 6 p.m. Tuesday, on a "classified" basis, to top Democratic chairmen and ranking Republicans on the Armed Services, Foreign Relations and Appropriations committees.

They were told that the President had ordered the military to use "minimum force" to isolate the freighter and keep the gunboats from removing the crew. According to the White House, none of the congressmen or senators objected.

The White House described this process as "consultation." But Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield complained that he wasn't "consulted before the fact," but was "notified after the fact."

NEW YORK TIMES 15 MAY 1975, Pg 1

Sadat Says He'll Ask U.S. For Aid on Debt to Soviet

BY HENRY TANNER

Special to The New York Times

BEIRUT, Lebanon, May 14—President Anwar el-Sadat said in an interview published today that he would seek financial aid from the United States to settle Egypt's large debts to the Soviet Union.

Mr. Sadat, in an interview in the Lebanese weekly Al Hawadess, was quoted as having said that aid would be one of the topics he would discuss with President Ford in Salzburg, Austria, on June 1 and 2.

Mr Sadat arrived in Bagndad tonight from Kuwait, where he spent three days in conversations with Emir Sabah al-Salem al-Sabah, the Kuwaiti ruler. Mr. Sadat will visit Jordan and Syria before returning to Cairo early next week.

In the interview, President Sadat reiterated his frequent complaint that the Soviet leaders had refused to agree to requests for a rescheduling of Egypt's debts.

Estimates of these debts stemming from military and economic assistance including construction of the Aswan High Dam, range from $4-billion to $7-billion.

"The Soviet leaders won't give me even a grace period," Mr. Sadat was quoted by the weekly. "We are contacting Arab countries for speedy action to straighten out Egypt's economy and to enable her to honor her commitments to the Soviet Union and others. These contacts are not confined to Arab countries but will be extended to the United States."

Financial talks between the United States and Egypt have been conducted in Cairo in preparation for the Salzburg meeting of the two Presidents.

The interview was the first time President Sadat indicated so clearly that without immediate help Egypt would not be able to honor her commitments to foreign governments including the Soviet Union.

Mr. Sadat's four-nation tour is regarded by informed diplomats as a reflection of a subtle but fundamental policy change decided upon by the Egyptian President after the failure of Secretary of State Kissinger's "shuttle diplomacy" in March.

For the last 18 months, since Mr. Kissinger's first visit to Cairo after the war in October, 1973, Mr. Sadat has been acting with deliberate independence as far as other Arab leaders were concerned.

Now, while still relying on the United States as the key to the Middle East conflict Mr. Sadat has resolved to operate strictly within the Arab context and to seek an Arab consensus before making a move.

According to Egyptian officials the present tour has three main objectives:

¶To seek an Arab consensus on what the Arab countries should expect from the United States in the coming stage of negotiations.

¶To mediate local disputes between Arab states, notably between Iraq and Syria over the waters of the Euphrates River and between Iraq and Kuwait over their border which has never been formally delineated.

¶To seek financial and military support from the oil-producing Arabs.

At a news conference in Kuwait President Sadat conceded that he had discussed Egypt's "enormous" economic difficulties with the Kuwaiti Emir.

In his news conference remarks and in the interview with the Lebanese weekly, Mr. Sadat reiterated a challenge to the Ford Administration to state clearly and publicly that the United States wanted Israel to withdraw from Arab territories seized during the war of tories seized during to war in 1967.

"The time has come for the United States to say whether it protects Israel within its borders or with the Arab territories that the Israelis seized by force," he said.

This apparently will be his key request to President Ford.

WASHINGTON POST 15 MAY 75, Pg 1

Algeria Seeking Viet Assets Here

Associated Press

The United States has received three diplomatic notes from Algeria seeking to assume the administration of South Vietnamese assets in the United States, including the former Saigon government's embassy.

All the notes said essentially the same thing, State Department spokesman Robert Funseth reported. That is, the Provisional Revolutionary Government in Saigon has asked Algeria to take over operation of the asset Funseth said the American response has been that the matter is under consideration.

WASHINGTON POST 15 MAY 75, Pg 4

• Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) said he expects to schedule a floor vote next week on controversial legislation to lift the embargo on military aid to Turkey before Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger visits Ankara.

WASHINGTON POST 15 MAY 1975, Pg 7

Hairy Guardsmen Reinstated in Neb.

LINCOLN, Neb., May 14 (UPI)—Two Army National Guardsmen whose hair was ruled too long to satisfy regulations have been reinstated, Gen. Francis Winner, Nebraska adjutant general, said.

Douglas Mosier was terminated several weeks ago, and William McClatchey was due to be separated from the service. Both have been retained as helicopter mechanics, Winner said.

The state attorney general advised that guard regulations concerning uniform standards were not clear enough to enforce.

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WASHINGTON (UPI) -- THE TEXT OF A STATEMENT ISSUED BY DEFENSE SECRETARY JAMES R. SCHLESINGER AT A 3:30 A.M. EDT NEWS CONFERENCE ON THE RESCUE OF THE MAYAGUEZ CREW:

"THE SUCCESSFUL ACTIONS OF THE U.S. FORCES, ASSOCIATED WITH THE RECOVERY OF THE SS MAYAGUEZ AND ITS ENTIRE CREW HAVE A SIGNFICANCE FAR GREATER THAN THAT REPRESENTED BY THIS UNWARRANTED AND ILLEGAL HIJACKING EPISODE.

"IT REPRESENTS A MUCH-NEDEDED AND TIMELY REAFFIRMATION OF THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS -- AND PEACEFUL TRANSIT.

"MOREOVER, IT REPRESENTS A FIRM AND MEASURED RESPONSE TO THE HIGH-HANDED AND CRUDE USE OF FORCE.

"TO COUNTENANCE SUCH AN ACT WOULD MEAN THE WEAKENING OF INTERNATIONAL ORDER AND CIVILIZED COMMUNICATION.

"THIS SET OF OPERATIONS, SO EFFECTIVELY CARRIED OUT BY THE U.S. ARMED FORCES, IS AN ADDITIONAL TRIBUTE TO THE THEIR PROFESSIONAL SKILL.

"AS OF THIS EARLY HOUR THE MARINES REMAIN ENGAGED ON KOH TANG ISLAND WITH EXEMPLARY SUPPORT FROM THE NAVY AND AIR FORCE.

"THE PRICE THAT THE SERVICES HAVE PAID TODAY IS SIGNIFICANT, BUT IT REMAINS SMALL IN RELATION TO THE CONTRIBUTION TO THIS NATION AND TO THE CIVILIZED WORLD."

UPI 05-15 04:47 AED

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WASHINGTON (UPI) -- WITH OVERWHELMING FORCE, U.S. MARINES HAVE RECOVERED THE MERCHANT SHIP MAYAGUEZ AND RESCUED ALL 40 CREWMEN FROM THEIR CAMBODIAN CAPTORS.

PRESIDENT FORD SAID TODAY HE PERSONALLY ORDERED U.S. AIR FORCE FIGHTERS TO DRIVE AWAY THE CAMBODIAN GUNSHIPS THAT SEIZED THE UNARMED AMERICAN VESSEL ON MONDAY. MARINES RECAPTURED THE VESSEL WEDNESDAY, UNOCCUPIED BUT WITH FOOD STILL WARM IN THE GALLEY.

THE MARINES LANDED AT KOH TANG, A TINY ISLAND IN THE GULF OF THAILAND, IN THE FIRST STEP OF THE SWIFT RESCUE. SIXTY MILES AWAY, NAVY FIGHTERS SCREAMED OVER THE CAMBODIAN MAINLAND AND BOMBED AN AIRFIELD IN A FURTHER DISPLACE OF FORCE.

THE FIGHTING ON THE ISLAND WAS FIERCE AND CONTINUED INTO THE EARLY MORNING HOURS, WASHINGTON TIME. DEFENSE SECRETARY JAMES SCHLESINGER SAID AMERICAN TROOPS HAD BEEN KILLED, BUT REFUSED TO GIVE NUMBERS OR DETAILS.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, WASHINGTON TIME, A THAI FISHING BOAT CAME UP TO THE DESTROYER USS WILSON, WHITE FLAG FLYING. THE 40 AMERICANS WERE ABOARD.

THE MAYAGUEZ WAS TOWED OUT OF THE AREA. THE CREW REBOARDED AND FIRED ITS BOILERS, AND ITS HONG KONG-THAILAND VOYAGE RESUMED.

SCHLESINGER CALLED THE CAMBODIAN SEIZURE OF THE MAYAGUEZ "A HIJACKING," AND TOLD A PREDAWN NEWS CONFERENCE THE KHMER ROUGE HAD BUCKLED UNDER THE U.S. MILITARY MIGHT AND WERE FORCED TO RELEASE THE CAPTIVES.

FOR A FEW HOURS, AMERICAN TROOPS AGAIN FOUGHT IN INDOCHINA. FORD MUST, UNDER THE WAR POWERS ACT, EXPLAIN HIS DECISION TO CONGRESS, AND PREPARED LETTERS FOR DELIVERY TO THE HOMES OF CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS ABOUT DAWN TODAY. THE EARLY REACTION OF MANY LAWMAKERS WAS TO SUPPORT HIM.

THE WHITE HOUSE WAS PLEASED WITH THE LIGHTNING SUCCESS. SINCE THE COMMUNIST VICTORIES IN VIETNAM AND CAMBODIA, FORD AND SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER REPEATEDLY HAVE WARNED FOE AND BOLSTERED FRIEND THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD STAND AND FIGHT WHEN NECESSARY.

FORD HIMSELF MADE THE ANNOUNCEMENT.

"I HAVE NOW RECEIVED INFORMATION THAT THE VESSEL HAS BEEN RECOVERED INTACT AND THAT THE ENTIRE CREW HAS BEEN RESCUED," HE SAID. "THE FORCES THAT HAVE SUCCESSFULLY ACCOMPLISHED THIS MISSION ARE STILL UNDER HOSTILE FIRE BUT ARE PREPARING TO DISENGAGE."

FOR THE FIRST TIME, CAMBODIA'S COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT MENTIONED THE SEIZURE WEDNESDAY AND CLAIMED THE SHIP WAS IN ITS TERRITORIAL WATERS. THE RADIO BROADCAST HINTED OF "ESPIONAGE OR PROVOCATIVE ACTIVITIES."

THE MAYAGUEZ WAS BOARDED MONDAY BY THE CREW OF A CAMBODIAN GUNSHIP ABOUT 60 MILES OFF THE COAST. THE OWNER, SEA-LAND CORP. OF MENLO PARK, N.J., SAID ONLY 30 OF THE 266 CONTAINERS IN THE SHIP'S CARGO HELD MILITARY SUPPLIES -- AND NONE OF THESE WERE WEAPONS, MUNITIONS, OR CLASSIFIED MATERIAL.

KISSINGER SAID DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS WOULD BE EXHAUSTED BEFORE TROOPS WERE SENT IN. REP. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, D-MASS., SAID CHINA HAD BEEN ASKED TO GIVE CAMBODIA A 24-HOUR ULTIMATUM. NO REPLY WAS RECEIVED, AND THE DEADLINE PASSED BEFORE DAWN IN THE GULF OF THAILAND, TUESDAY EVENING WASHINGTON TIME.

EIGHT CAMBODIAN GUNBOATS BEGAN LEAVING KOH TANG HEADED FOR THE CAMBODIAN PORT OF KOMPONG SOM. THEY WERE FIBERGLASS, ABOUT 30 FEET LONG -- LIKE SMALL OCEAN-GOING PLEASURE BOATS IN THE UNITED STATES -- AND ARMED WITH A SINGLE MORTAR OR MACHINE GUN.

THEY WERE STRAFED BY A7 AND F4 FIGHTER PLANES FROM U TAPAO AIR BASE IN THAILAND, EACH ONE ARMED WITH WEAPONS MORE SOPHISTICATED THAN THE BOATS. THREE VESSELS SUNK.

UPI 05-15 04:24 AED

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CURRENT NEWS

PART II - MAIN EDITION - 1130

THIS SUPPLEMENTS PART I-EARLY BIRD EDITION

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WEDNESDAY, MAY 14, 1975

WASHINGTON POST - 14 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

South Korea Bans Dissent, Curbs Travel

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Foreign Service

TOKYO, May 13—South Korea's President Park Chung Hee issued a sweeping presidential edict today banning virtually all internal dissent on threat of prison terms of up to 15 years.

The new measure, one of series of off-again, on-again restrictions on domestic opposition over the past 16 months, also contains a ban on unauthorized departures of people and money from South Korea.

In a brief statement Park said he had issued today's lengthy decree "to consolidate national unity, coalesce national opinion and enable all people to prepare themselves thoroughly for an impregnable posture of national security" in the face of "a growing danger of miscalculation" by Communist North Korea.

To a large decree, public and political opinion recently had been coalescing behind government policy, following the fall of Indochina and the recent visit to Peking by North Korean President Kim Il Sung. Park's latest "emergency decree" runs the risk of refueling the opposition, even if its expression is suppressed for the time being by presidential power.

See TRAVEL, Pg. 2

WASHINGTON POST - 14 MAY 1975 Pg. 14

U.S. Said to Plan Cutback in Laos

From News Dispatches

VIENTIANE, May 13 — There were reports today that the U.S. embassy has decided to evacuate some Americans, as several more army units formerly aligned with the Laotian rightist faction pledged their loyalty to neutralist Premier Souvanna-Phouma and the Pathet Lao official named acting defense minister yesterday.

According to an authoritative source who told of the evacuation plan, the United States is also considering closing down American operations in some parts of Laos following the collapse of the rightist side in the tripartite coalition.

The source said it has not yet been determined how many of the approximately 820 American officials and their dependents in Laos would be sent out.

The source said those de-

See LAOS, Pg. 2

BALTIMORE SUN - 14 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

U.S. weighs options on seized ship

By PETER J. KUMPA
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—President Ford called the third meeting of the National Security Council in two days last night to consider options on how to recover the merchant ship Mayaguez, seized Monday by Cambodia and still held in the Gulf of Thailand 30 miles from the coast.

Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State, flew back from a Midwest speaking trip to attend the extraordinary top-level policy meeting, which also was attended by James R. Schlesinger, Secretary of Defense, and William E. Colby, director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

A White House spokesman denied reports that the ship had started moving during the day. "We have no information that the Mayaguez is moving," Ronald H. Nessen, presidential press secretary, said. He stated that it was still in the same place that it had been in the morning, near Koh Tang Island off the Cambodian coast.

American warplanes kept a constant watch on the ship and the fate of its crew remained a mystery. There was no hard information on whether the American crewmen had been taken off the ship or were still aboard as hostages. It was understood from informed sources that it was fear for their lives that delayed any quick naval action to recover the ship.

One U.S. Navy P-3 Orion reconnaissance plane dove through a heavy cloud cover early yesterday for a better view of the ship. It took one round of small-arms fire in the tail, but no one was injured. Other surveillance planes included jet fighters and Air

See SHIP, Pg. 2

BALTIMORE SUN
14 MAY 1975 Pg. 2

'Nothing we can do,' Teng says

Paris Bureau of The Sun

Paris—Chinese Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-ping said yesterday that China could do nothing in the event of American military reaction to the Cambodian seizure of the U.S. merchant ship Mayaguez.

"If the United States intervenes, there is nothing we can do," said the 71-year-old leader, who is in France on a six-day official visit.

Mr. Teng, No. 3 in the Peking hierarchy and heir apparent to Premier Chou En-lai, told reporters that he was unaware of China's reported role as intermediary in diplomatic negotiations between America and Cambodia for the ship's release.

The Chinese deputy premier is here on a visit basically aimed at improving Chinese-European relations and foster-

See TENG, Pg. 2

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TRAVEL ... CONTINUED

Park noted in his announcement that some nations have expressed uneasiness or misgivings about U.S. defense commitments following the Indochina collapse. "However, our government continues to place trust and confidence in the U.S. commitment based on the Korea-U.S. mutual defense agreement, and will endeavor to further strengthen the traditional ties of close friendship and cooperation with the United States," he said.

There was no recognition in the statement of the possible adverse impact in the U.S. Congress or executive branch of the new moves to suppress internal opposition.

Park's statement called on North Korea to desist from what he called 'the daydream of communizing the whole of the Korean peninsula" and to move toward early resumption of the now-frozen North-South dialogue.

He warned that if North Korea launches another invasion, "We shall then take the occasion to eradicate their threats once and for all. I solemnly warn, therefore, that any reckless adventure by the North Korean Communists will only lead to their destruction."

The South Korean leader did not explain the basis for his unusually strong threat of retaliation against the North.

Park, who first took power in a 1961 military coup and was elected to three terms as president in popular balloting, seized nearly total control under martial law in October 1972.

As opposition to one-man rule began to grow, he issued "emergency decrees" against domestic dissent in January and April 1974. He repealed the decrees last August in the face of foreign and domestic criticism, and released most of the 200 political prisoners from their cells in February.

In effect, today's edict reinstates the previous ban on opposition to Park's rule and in some respects goes further than before.

Among other things, Emergency Measure No. 9 makes it a crime, punishable by prison terms of one to 15 years, to:

- Advocate or petition for revision or repeal of the martial-law constitution under which Park assumed unchecked power.
- Broadcast or publish any news report of any opposition to the martial-law constitution.
- Stage any student demonstration or assembly that "interferes" with politics.
- Move any Korean-owned property out of the country "with intent to perpetrate a property flight."
- Publicly oppose the new emergency edict, or report on any such opposition.

The new decree gives government ministers sweeping power to close down universities, broadcasting stations, newspapers or other enterprises, or dismiss any member of their staff or administration, in enforcing the strictures. No judicial review of such measures is permitted.

The decree also explicitly permits arrests, detention, search and seizure without warrant — all of which have been commonly practiced in recent years in South Korea.

Last year's decrees, one of which authorized the death penalty for dissent, prescribed trial by closed military court. The new decree calls for trial by civil court. No ground rules for the conduct of the trials were specified.

SHIP ..... CONTINUED

Force AC-130 gunships that have range and staying power.

Officially, the White House, the State Department and the Pentagon declined to say what military and diplomatic efforts were being made to recover the American merchant ship, which was seized by Cambodian gunboats while en route from Hong Kong to Sattahip in Thailand.

But, according to informed sources here, the People's Republic of China was being used to apply diplomatic pressure while a number of Navy warships led by the carrier USS Coral Sea headed for the scene and marines in Okinawa were placed on alert.

President Ford, who had labeled the seizure "an act of piracy" and demanded the immediate release of the Mayaguez, was awakened twice in the night for reports on the incident. Yesterday morning, he presided for nearly an hour over the second National Security Council meeting considering what steps to take on the captured vessel.

Whatever action the President may decide to take, he seemed to have strong backing in Congress, where demands for military action were growing. Emphasizing the word "if," Mr. Nessen said that if there were any decision for military steps, Mr. Ford would consult fully with Congress.

Senator Robert C. Byrd (D., W. Va.), assistant Senate majority leader, urged the President to set a 48-hour deadline for the release of the ship. If it were not met, he said, the United States should take "whatever action is necessary" for its return.

According to two legislators who had meetings with the President on other matters, Mr. Ford was acting coolly and deliberately in the crisis. Said Senator Jacob K. Javits (R., N.Y.): "My feeling is the President is determined the ship and crew must be returned [but] he's keeping his shirt on." Representative John B. Anderson (R., Ill.) also was convinced that Mr. Ford would consult with congressional leaders before leaving diplomatic channels to get the ship back.

Mr. Ford was awakened at 2.25 A.M. and again at 5.20 A.M. for reports on the incident. He also talked with Secretary Schlesinger at 7 A.M., with the White House declining to say what was discussed.

One report had the President ordering 150 marines to fly to Thailand in a show of strength while alerting another 1,000 marines on Okinawa. But informed sources explained that it was standard procedure to alert troops in such instances. The possibility of using marines from nearby Thailand may be moot, for in Bangkok, Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj of Thailand said his country would not permit bases there to be used for military action against Cambodia.

Mr. Nessen refused to comment on the Thai position

Early yesterday, the White House reported that the Mayaguez was anchored close to the island of Koh Tang, about 30 miles from the port of Kompong Som, now renamed Sihanoukville, which is about 30 miles northeast of the point where it was seized by two Cambodian gunboats, about 8 miles from the rocky island of Paule Wai.

During the night, it had been escorted by the Cambodian vessels and had not gone to port as originally believed. There was no explanation for the stop, although a Pentagon spokesman said it was "apparently dead in the water."

From the last messages from the ship—given before the Cambodian boarding party reached the radio room—it is known that none of the crew of 39 had been injured during the takeover despite some gunfire.

Whether the crew had been moved off the vessel could not be determined. No spokesman here would even say whether any of the men had been sighted. There were, however, reports that more than two Cambodian vessels were in the area.

Late yesterday, there was a report that the ship had begun a slow movement. It was not headed away from the coast but it was not clear if it was headed for Sihanoukville. Later, informed sources said, the erratic movement had stopped.

American aircraft kept the ship under continuous surveillance, which was made difficult at times by the cloud cover.

There was no confirmation that the Cambodians had been reached through diplomatic channels. And there was noting but speculation on the motives in seizing the ship.

TENG ... CONTINUED

ing European unity as a means of forestalling Soviet attempts to spread the Kremlin's international influence.

He met Valery Giscard d'Estaing, the French president, yesterday and reported having "a very frank discussion on international problems which interest our two countries."

LAOS ... CONTINUED

parting would be in two categories: families who indicate a desire to leave and officials scheduled for reassignment this summer, who would leave earlier.

[In Washington, however, White House press secretary Ron Nessen said, "No evacuation has been ordered."]

With the action by 10 units today, some 13 military organizations in the Vientiane area have expressed support for the government following the resignation of four rightist Cabinet ministers and two key generals over the weekend.

The national radio broadcast a statement from the air force commander, Brig. Gen. Bouatha Phottivongsa, pledging support for the coalition and banning unauthorized movements of military aircraft. The grounding of planes and a prohibition against the movement of military equipment was decreed yesterday by the acting defense minister, Kham Ouane Boupha.

The staff of the Finance Ministry also expressed support for the coalition government today and demanded that Ngon Sananikone, a leading rightist politician who was one of the ministers who resigned, be replaced by the Pathet Lao deputy finance minister.

Three companies of cadets at the police academy took a stronger approach. After declaring their support for the coalition, they failed to do so by Thursday they would be considered to have abandoned their posts.

Thursday is also the deadline established by the tripartite police administration in Vientiane for merchants to submit inventories of their stocks. The inventory order was issued as part of a drive to end hoarding, speculation and rampant inflation.

barred their officers from entering the building and accused them of corruption and neglect. The cadets spread themselves on the academy's lawn with Sten guns trained on the entrance.

Souvanna appealed today to all police, soldiers and civil servants who have left Laos in recent days to return, adding that if they

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EDITORIALS

WASHINGTON POST 14 MAY 1975

The Mayaguez Affair

THE NEW CAMBODIAN government's seizure of the American merchant ship Mayaguez poses an unwanted and difficult challenge to the Ford administration. Obviously, the United States must protect its citizens and their property from arbitrary acts by foreign states. Particularly at this moment of post-Vietnam uncertainty, the government is bound to be worrying about whether its will is still being taken seriously in the world. And yet the facts of this incident are still very few and dim. Certainly the basic prerequisites for the use of force—that the facts be known, that the Congress and the public be informed of the choices and risks, and that diplomatic alternatives be exhausted—have not yet been met.

What we do know is that an unarmed merchant ship under charter to the U.S. military, carrying supplies but apparently not weapons to U.S. military bases in Thailand, was intercepted in what Cambodia claims are its territorial waters eight miles from an island sitting 60 miles off the Cambodian coast in the Gulf of Siam. Whether this was an act of "piracy," as the administration at once claimed, is not clear to lawyers. In the absence of any explanation from the new, uncommunicative and intensely nationalistic government of Cambodia, one can only speculate on what its purposes were. To be tough and anti-American? To assert a territorial claim to an island also claimed by the Vietnamese? To take a chip for bargaining against the return of Cambodian property taken abroad by members of the former government? To protest the delivery of military supplies to American military installations on the territory of a neighboring state, Thailand, with which Cambodia has poor relations?

The United States has approached Peking for help in obtaining the release of the ship and its crew of 39. But there are no visible results as yet, and it is far from certain that China could do very much, even if it wanted to. Some approach to the United Nations Secretary General might also be appropriate. What would certainly not be appropriate, however, would be the policy recommended by Sen. James L. Buckley (Con.-R-N.Y.): "immediate punitive air and naval attacks." That he could toy so cavalierly with the lives of the 39 hostages, without having any way of knowing what actually had happened, and without considering what the targets or costs or risks of renewed bombing might be, suggests a truly astonishing inability to learn anything from Vietnam. The appeal by Sen. John Sparkman (D-Ala.) to retrieve the ship "any way we can" was only slightly less ill-considered.

The administration itself has threatened Cambodia with "the most serious consequences." It would have done much better first to build its case. As it was the administration last night found itself in the awkward if not untenable position of making plans to fly marines into American bases in Thailand, despite the Thai government's publicly stated refusal to permit use of those bases for military action against Cambodia. In fact, a more gratuitous display of American helplessness would be hard to conceive. The administration should not be raising the specter of force until it can supply the American people with convincing evidence of the rightness of its case as well as an explanation of why there is no effective alternative. American honor is being tested. But so, after Vietnam, is American common sense.

BALTIMORE SUN 14 MAY 1975

Dealing With Gunboat Diplomacy

The safe and speedy retrieval of the merchant ship Mayaguez with its crew and cargo should be the overriding concern of Washington in dealing with the incident. It was seized by boats from a Cambodia in the throes of transformation under a violent revolutionary regime that is consolidating control and spurning foreign contact. In the face of provocation by a little-known adversary, a great and self-confident power should move calmly and rationally. The first step before contemplating any action must be to find out why Cambodians did what they did, both through monitoring their broadcasts and through diplomatic lines in Peking. American bluster is unlikely to retrieve the Mayaguez, and precipitate violence might get the 39 seamen killed. Whatever a handful of marines can do, they cannot protect hostages in hostile custody.

There are some reasons to think the Mayaguez may have been seized as part of Cambodia's assertion of sovereignty over islands also claimed by South Vietnam and over waters in a 12-mile radius from them. This in turn would be part of an attempt to get economic control over a fair share of the Gulf of Thailand. Although Cambodia has a large coast, the boundaries with Vietnam and Thailand could be extended seaward in such a way as to deny it much seabed. The second session of the United Nations Third Law of the Sea Conference broke up in Geneva last week with the sea still in anarchy. There is no internationally respected way to resolve disputes over islets and over competing claims of mainlands and adjoining islands to continental shelfs.

The Mayaguez was at least the third vessel harassed by Cambodians in the same location this month. The waters are international under American doctrine but claimed by Cambodia since 1969. One puzzling aspect of the affair is why the owners of a merchant ship carrying military cargo allowed it to go so near a trouble spot involving a virulent government. The Gulf of Thailand is wide. A ship bound for Thailand need not go so near Cambodian-claimed islands.

If the assertion of territoriality was the motive, the Mayaguez is a pawn in a dispute not directed at the United States and its return should be easily managed. If another motive is involved, however, such as the acquisition of hostages for leverage in a dispute with the United States over something else, the incident could prove ugly and difficult. Dispatching marines to Thailand, where the United States already has considerable forces, only endangers Thailand's relations with the new Cambodia, and with this country. Clear communication between Washington and Phnom Penh is the first requisite and the only hope for the seamen now in Cambodian hands.

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WALL STREET JOURNAL - 14 MAY 1975

Retrieving the Mayaguez

Coming as it did on top of the other reverses U.S. policy has suffered in Southeast Asia, the Khmer Rouge seizure of the U.S. ship Mayaguez is a kind of last straw. With the 40 American crewmen now being held by Cambodia, we are confronted with all the doubts and dilemmas that surround the terrorist and hijacking incidents we have already come to know too well.

No blanket laws can be laid down to deal with such situations; judgments must be made by responsible authorities in light of the particular circumstances of each incident. We do not yet know what the appropriate method will be in this incident, but in dealing with it President Ford will be the responsible authority, and he will need the broadest possible latitude. The least Congress can do is to make clear that he has the authority to use U.S. military forces if the occasion demands.

Naturally, the President's first step must be to make some intelligent appraisal of Khmer Rouge aims. Specifically, did the new Cambodian government make a misjudgment that can be resolved with diplomacy, or was this a deliberate provocation by an "outlaw" government, a declaration that the new Cambodian regime will not abide by the normal standards of international conduct?

The Mayaguez was some 60 miles from the Cambodian shore, but only eight miles from a small rock island claimed by both Cambodia and Vietnam. Possibly the Cambodians are merely interested in making a point about ownership of the island and their 12-mile limit. They recently had fired on a South Korean ship and stopped a Panamanian freighter in the same waters. If they are willing to release the Mayaguez and its crew, it would be well worth a U.S. pledge to give their rock a wider berth.

If, however, there is really a question of "piracy" on the high seas, as President Ford declared, it becomes a different issue. Given the behavior of the new Cambodian regime so far, there is every reason to suspect that the seizure is intended as an act of defiance of foreign nations in general and the U.S. in particular. If so, the next step is hard to predict. It could be the release of the Mayaguez crew, along the lines of the release of refugees from the French embassy in Phnom Penh. But something worse is also easy to imagine.

Congress has legislated against the use of American military power in Indochina and the Mayaguez incident points up the difficulties in such limitations on American power. White House counsel thinks the President can legally use force in this instance and Senator Case says the limitations do not preclude "police actions" (like the one in Korea in 1950?). Secretary Kissinger says the President has "certain inherent powers" to act. But the very ambiguities of present law are an inhibition to quick action.

Beyond that, there is the question of the *next* Mayaguez. One of the big questions about this incident is, since the Cambodians had already assaulted two other ships, where was the U.S. Navy? The Navy is now moving into the Gulf of Siam. If the Cambodians move against another U.S. merchantman, should the Navy stand by pending a congressional resolution?

Freedom of the seas, and more broadly freedom of Americans to travel and trade in the world, is one of the bedrocks of American foreign policy. We learned from the Barbary pirates that sometimes enforcing this right requires the use of force. We are now back to that simple bedrock, and are learning again that there is no withdrawal from the world.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
14 MAY 1975

Cambodia turns to piracy

In a matter of a few days, the new government of Cambodia has shown its utter contempt for the principles of humanity and international law. First it uprooted millions of city people, including the aged, the wounded, and the ill—and herded them out into the countryside to toil in the fields. Now it has seized the United States merchant ship Mayaguez and its crew on the high seas. We seem to be witnessing the birth of a miniature monster.

The United States must secure the release of the ship and its 39 crewmen, most of whom are Americans. President Ford has denounced the seizure as an act of piracy, and Secretary Kissinger has called it unacceptable.

The diplomatic approaches being made to Cambodian leaders thru other governments are a correct first step. Cambodia, like an individual, is entitled to a chance to explain its behavior and correct it before any more damage is done.

But Mr. Ford quite rightly warned of serious consequences if Cambodia fails to return the ship and crew promptly—and promptly should mean hours, not weeks. Having issued this warning, he is preparing to carry it out. Naval vessels and Marines have been ordered into the area.

Liberals like Hubert Humphrey are right enough so far in warning that we should "stop, look, and listen" before using force. But if we know Mr. Humphrey, he will still be chattering on long after the crisis has turned to another humiliation like the one that lasted for a year after the Navy's Pueblo was seized by the North Koreans in 1968. That we cannot tolerate.

Another thing we must do right away is to stop playing coy about what the Mayaguez was carrying. If our cause is as just as it appears, the last thing we need is evasiveness. If the ship was carrying arms to Thailand, there is nothing improper about that. It was traveling in international waters and its seizure is plainly unacceptable. If unpunished, it will surely become the first in a series of intolerable harassments thruout Southeast Asia.

Flushed with their success in taking over Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge seem to be trying to taunt the United States, perhaps to prove that they can exact payment from us for our alleged transgressions against them. This is what was known in the days of Britain's might as "twisting the lion's tail." The British Empire never allowed the twisting to become intolerable. Neither can we allow Uncle Sam's beard to be this badly singed.

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER - 14 MAY 1975

Shooting is a last recourse

In a characteristic reaction to the seizure of a U. S. merchant vessel by a Cambodian gunboat, Sen. James Buckley demanded that the U. S. shoot first and ask questions later.

"A failure by the United States to react swiftly and clinically will only invite further outrages against the persons and property of American citizens," the New York Republican-Conservative declared. "I therefore urge the President to order immediate punitive air and naval attacks on appropriate targets in Cambodia."

That would assure the slaughter of a lot of Cambodians, but would it not also assure the slaughter of the 40-man crew of the Mayaguez?

The right course is to think first, and then perhaps we need not shoot at all. What happened, and why, in the Gulf of Siam are not at all clear, and the parallels with events in the Gulf of Tonkin 11 years ago are not so remote as to be brushed off entirely.

This is not to excuse what President Ford called "an act of piracy" by the new Cambodian regime, whose aims so far are as ambiguous as its behavior toward its own populace has been odious. Nor is it to rule out force in every and all circumstances.

Still, there is at least considerable room for doubt that the new Cambodian regime, having triumphed after years of war, is anxious to provoke a war with the U. S., and there is scarcely any room for doubt that a new round of hostilities in the Far East would not be in the American interest.

This nation's first recourse should be diplomacy, and its second and third recourse as well. That may not satisfy hawks like Sen. Buckley, but it is the best way of getting the results this nation wants.

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NEW YORK TIMES
14 MAY 1975

To Halt Nuclear Spread

The threat of nuclear energy to mankind, recognized for three decades but still not adequately controlled, lies in its dual nature. Like fire, it can be used beneficially or destructively. No task confronting the United States, the Soviet Union and other advanced nations—which supply reactors, fissionable materials and other peaceful nuclear equipment to the rest of the world—is more important than heading off an accompanying spread of atomic weapons.

The energy crisis is stimulating interest in nuclear power the world around. In addition to 221 nuclear power plants operational or on order in the United States, there are now 274 power reactors operating or planned in 26 other countries. By 1980, they are expected to produce annually as a by-product more than 40,000 pounds of plutonium that, extracted from spent fuel rods, could provide enough weapons-grade fissionable material for more than 2,000 Hiroshima-size bombs.

The first line of defense against this horror is the 1970 nuclear non-proliferation treaty, which is now getting its first scheduled review at a month-long United Nations meeting in Geneva attended by most of its 91 parties, including the five Euratom countries which have just ratified—West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg.

Efforts will be made to urge ratification by 17 other signatory countries, including Japan and Switzerland. But it is increasingly doubtful that some, such as Egypt and Turkey, any longer have that intention. And the nations which have refrained from signing include such potential weapons-states as India, Brazil, Argentina, Israel, Pakistan and South Africa.

Some treaty adherents are also suspected of nuclear weapons intentions. Iran is said to be seeking an American or French license to build a chemical reprocessing plant capable of extracting weapons-grade plutonium from spent fuel rods. So too, reportedly, is South Korea, feeling more insecure than ever in the wake of the United States withdrawal from and the subsequent collapse of South Vietnam.

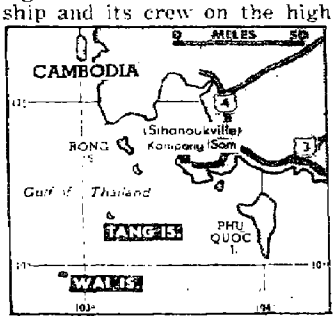
This trend can be slowed and possibly halted only through concerted action by the supplier nations to withhold such critical equipment as reprocessing plants and to tighten safeguards over the sales of other nuclear materials to parties to the non-proliferation treaty and, even more so, to non-treaty countries.

No sales at all should be made to non-treaty countries that fail to accept these tighter international safeguards. The International Atomic Energy Agency might be given responsibility for conducting peaceful nuclear explosions for non-nuclear countries—but only if an I.A.E.A. study shows such explosions to be environmentally and economically feasible, something American experts increasingly doubt.

NEW YORK NEWS
14 MAY 1975

A BRAZEN ACT OF PIRACY

President Gerald Ford has reacted with commendable vigor to Cambodia's seizure of an American merchant ship and its crew on the high seas, an indefensible and open violation of international law.



The unarmed Mayaguez was boarded by the Red brigands as it sailed past the island of Poulo Wai, 55 miles from the Cambodian mainland. The vessel and its crew were later taken to another island — Koh Tang, 25 miles away.

The facts of the incident speak for themselves. They add up to naked, provocative banditry on the part of the new Communist rulers of Cambodia in defiance of rules all civilized nations have followed for the protection of peaceful ocean-going commerce for three centuries.

In the circumstances, Mr. Ford has shown forbearance in choosing diplomacy as the course of first resort in attempting to pry the Mayaguez and its crew from Communist clutches.

But we hope he has made it abundantly clear to Cambodia—directly or through intermediaries such as Red China—that neither he nor the American people will tolerate protracted palaver.

If the ship is not speedily released and sent on its way, Mr. Ford has indicated a readiness to act decisively and retake the Mayaguez by force, using whatever military measures are necessary to carry out the task.

He should not hesitate to do so. Any faltering on our part will further diminish respect for the U.S., and give every tin-pot tyrant in the world the idea that he can prey on American shipping with impunity.

NEW YORK TIMES
14 MAY 1975

The Men and the War

To the Editor:

I should like to make a partial reply to the April 7 Op-Ed article by Gloria Emerson, my experience in Vietnam being at least equal to hers and my knowledge of some of the individuals she assailed being hardly less. Loose libels, as Edmund Burke said, are to be passed by with silence and contempt. With that I agree, so long as it is an attack upon one's person. But when it is an envenomed and unsupported calumny of one's friends, that is a wholly different matter.

The late Creighton Abrams had been my personal friend since war days in Europe. Ambassadors Ellsworth Bunker and Sam Berger I came to know through personal contact in Vietnam. Others in the group hit by Miss Emerson are obviously in her view more birds of a feather.

But I speak first of Abrams. True, nothing ill was said of him, but his likeness was there conspicuously midway in the graphic gallery so arrayed as to strike the eye like a police line-up. The collective character was presented as if "from its horrid head sprang pestilence and war."

Abrams was a highly disciplined, self-contained professional. Few civilians got to know him very well, and certainly no female correspondent ever found the approach to his innerliness. I knew his character, his devotion to country, his concern for his fellow man, his passion for justice, his conviction that abuse of power was an evil beyond excuse.

Out of a few trivial episodes Miss Emerson faults Ambassador Bunker as a "man unmoved by life itself." He is somehow villainous because he liked to be with other Yale men and sing the Whiffenpoof song. Nothing said of Ambassador Bunker or implied of Sam Berger was to me in any degree recognizable. I rated them as sympathetic individuals, possessed of a large humanity, dedicated to duty amid tasks of utmost difficulty in posts where personal danger was a fact of life.

Miss Emerson wonders what these men now dream. There is no answer, so I will tell her what I dream. By extension, she would damn all of us who tried to serve our country in Vietnam. Now that the checkered flag is down and it's open season on those who tried among the losers, we need only wallow in this kind of garbage, and we'll make of the United States a land that nobody cares to serve.

S. L. A. MARSHALL
Brigadier General (retired)
El Paso, Tex., April 22, 1975

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 14 May 1975

WASHINGTON STAR - 13 MAY 1975(14)

Takeover in Laos

The Communists are on the verge of taking over power in Laos. The event, which has been pending for the last 20 years, is causing little stir in the world — or for that matter in Laos itself. So far, the collapse of the coalition government of Communists, neutralists and rightists and the quiet takeover of the key government posts by the Communists has proceeded with a merciful lack of violence. In the wake of Vietnam and Cambodia, it seems almost like the inevitable outcome in the last of the Indochinese states.

What has happened, apparently, is that the rightist members of the government — including the ministers of defense and finance — read the handwriting on the wall and resigned. They are expected to be replaced by their Communist deputies or else by less powerful non-Communist figures. Meanwhile, several thousand wealthy, upper-class Laotians have fled the country into Thailand, along with many Vietnamese and Chinese businessmen. And neutralist Premier Souvanna Phouma has warned that 'some important changes are about to occur" which will bring Laos into "an accord with history." Most observers in Laos expect the change to be gradual rather than violent, with Souvanna perhaps remaining for a time as a figurehead. So far, despite some hostile demonstrations, the American embassy in Vientiane is sitting tight.

The effort to set up a coalition government in Laos was perhaps unrealistic from the outset. The first was installed after an international conference on Laos held in Geneva in 1961; the latest dates from the cease-fire and peace accords of 1973. But even during the long years of bitter fighting between the royal Lao forces (including units of hill tribesmen organized and equipped by the Central Intelligence Agency) and the troops of the Communist Pathet Lao, Communist detachments remained in the capital, maintaining the fiction of a coalition. As long as the outcome of the war in South Vietnam and Cambodia remained in doubt, the arrangement had a certain logic. Now that logic must give way to the general Communist victory throughout Indochina.

Who cares? Everyone has long since forgotten that Laos was where it all began: that it was the threat of a Communist takeover in Laos in 1961 that brought the first serious American intervention in Indochina, at a time when the danger to Vietnam was still considered remote. That threat inspired John F. Kennedy to send a detachment of Marines to Thailand and call for a meeting of the SEATO powers in Bangkok, where the United States received the firm backing of Britain — and the less enthusiastic backing of France — to prevent the impending Communist grab. This, in turn, led to the Geneva conference and the Rube Goldberg coalition compromise which the Communists immediately proceeded to ignore.

But that, of course, was long ago, when a good many countries in addition to the United States were seriously alarmed about the prospect of Communist expansion in Asia and still believed they could prevent it. Today, no one is likely to worry very much about a Communist takeover in Laos, except the Laotians themselves and perhaps the Thais, who do not relish the idea of still another Communist-dominated country on their indefensible northeastern frontier. And even the Thais at this point are far more likely to accommodate than resist. Truly, much has changed in the course of the last 14 years.

Guest Editorial: ARMED FORCES JOURNAL - APRIL 1975 (14 MAY)

NOT MANY PEOPLE REALIZE IT, but the United States has been supporting a costly and inefficient civilian army for many years. This army is 40% larger than all our uniformed services combined, and it costs the taxpayers 50% more to maintain. In sharp contrast to our real Army, it is growing rapidly all the time. It does not protect our Nation's interests abroad, and it does not always respect our liberties at home. It is not answerable to the public for its actions. It has been known to be lazy and arrogant, and to show excessive concern for preserving its own power and importance.

The institution to which I refer is the Federal bureaucracy, which currently numbers more than 2.9 million employees and costs more than $35 billion a year, 11% of the total Federal budget. The interests of the Country demand that it be reformed, reduced, and brought under control.

I do not wish to impugn the integrity or ability of individual bureaucrats. Most of them, like most Americans, are patriotic, loyal and well-meaning. However, the system of which they are a part is so cumbersome and disorganized that a complete overhaul has long been desirable. The present economic crisis has made such an overhaul not just desirable but essential.

President Ford recently asked Congress to limit Federal employees to a 5% increase in pay this year, in order to help reduce the Federal deficit. I support this proposal. However, I feel the President should go further. The President should immediately institute a program to eliminate all Federal jobs, in every Department and Agnecy, that are redundant, unproductive, or unnecessary . . . .

The Federal government is not obliged to provide any individual with a job. It *is* obliged to provide the entire Country with economic stability. To do this, it must cut back the mammoth Federal budget, which has more than tripled in a little over a decade. Surely one of the best places to start is the $35 billion that goes annually to support the bureaucracy.

Neither will this policy mean a necessary decline in the quality of government service. Far from that, a reduction in manpower is likely to produce a corresponding increase in efficiency. This is what has happened in our Armed Services, whose personnel is now at the lowest level since the Korean War. The Defense Department has proven that, properly equipped, it can do the same job just as well with fewer people. Civilian departments can and must follow its example.

There is a further benefit to manpower reductions beyond the savings in wages and salaries. A monstrous bureaucracy like ours has a vested interest in keeping government spending high. Government spending is a bureaucrat's livelihood. The larger the appropriations for his department or agency, the greater his power and influence. As a result, Federal officials who oppose increased government expenditures are few and far between. Those who favor reducing expenditures are practically nonexistent. Clearly, government spending can never be cut unless the government itself is cut back first.

There are now almost 3-million members of our civilian army, serving in 11 executive departments, the executive office of the President, and 80 independent agencies. A nation of free men and women does not need that much supervision. What is more, the Country cannot afford that much supervision. ■☆■

Senator Strom Thurmond, R-S.C.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 14 May 1975

FEATURES COLUMNISTS

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

THE WASHINGTON POST Wednesday, May 14, 1975

Ford Misled on Vietnam Collapse

Jack Anderson and Les Whitten

The swift collapse of South Vietnam badly surprised President Ford who was misled, according to White House sources, by the national intelligence estimates.

These estimates are supposed to provide the President with the best possible analysis of what is likely to happen.

He was assured, for example, that the South Vietnamese army should be able to hold off the advancing Communists for several months. Even after the Saigon defenses began to crack, the national intelligence estimate predicted that Hanoi would negotiate with Saigon and form a coalition government.

The beleaguered Central Intelligence Agency was the first, say our sources, to warn that a Communist victory was imminent. The CIA recommended that the United States use its leverage to persuade the Saigon leaders to form a "peace government," which could negotiate a truce.

This would have given the United States more time to arrange an orderly and dignified evacuation. The CIA was overruled, however, upon the advice of American Ambassador Graham Martin who called upon President Nguyen Van Thieu instead to form a war cabinet supposedly to stiffen the resistance.

Although the Joint Chiefs of Staff correctly predicted more than two years ago that President Thieu would not survive and that the Communists would win the final struggle for Vietnam, the Pentagon badly misjudged the South Vietnamese army's ability to hold the line.

The Pentagon estimate was that the South Vietnamese would battle the Communists to a standstill along the approaches to Saigon. The only exception was the Air Force intelligence chief, Maj. Gen. George Keegan, who warned that the defenses would collapse.

It was the Pentagon's assessment that the South Vietnamese infantry divisions on the line were as good as any American divisions. Then why did they buckle? From the secret cables, here is a thumbnail analysis

President Thieu was shaken by the capture of Banmethout in

(See FORD, Pg. 2-F)

WASHINGTON POST 14 MAY 1975

Kenneth Crawford

Why We Lost the War

Could we have won the war in Vietnam? Of course we could. Sen. Barry Goldwater and a few others are saying so but nobody is paying much attention to them and there is no good reason why anybody should. We had the power, as Gen. LeMay told us, to bomb North Vietnam back into the stone age.

Why didn't we do it? The answer usually given is that by doing it we would have risked Chinese intervention of the kind that forced us to settle for a divided Korea in our previous Asian war. But it was at least questionable whether China, preoccupied with its own cultural revolution and mindful of its historic antipathy to the Vietnamese, would have gone to the rescue of its Southern neighbor. The risk was nevertheless there.

Mr. Crawford is a former columnist for Newsweek.

A more compelling reason for our failure to win the war in the only way it could have been won was our unwillingness to accept responsibility for the degree of devastation and bloodshed this would have inflicted. Some call this squeamishness. Others call it a decent respect for the opinion of mankind. Squeamishness or respect for civilized standards—it amounts to the same thing differently stated and differently weighted.

Defeat in Vietnam has hurt us, worse probably than we are disposed to acknowledge. It has raised questions around the world about our dependability as defenders of our allies and even more of weak nations not our allies. It has cost us something in self-confidence. It has cast doubt on our competence to hold our own in a contest for advantage, if not survival, with authoritarian systems.

Even the limited war we fought sandpapered the sensibilities of many, perhaps in the end a majority of Americans. Just recently a respected columnist has referred to the "carpet bombing" of Hanoi. Had that been a carpet bombing there would now be no Hanoi to celebrate victory in its

(See WHY WE LOST, Pg. 2-F)

WASHINGTON POST 14 MAY 75

David S. Broder

The 'Lessons' Of Vietnam

It was not long after the Korean war ended in 1953 that the Vietnam war began heating up. The fall of Dien Bien Phu followed the Korean cease-fire by barely more than a year.

Now that Saigon has fallen and the Vietnam war is at an end, there is inevitable speculation about the outbreak of a second Korean war.

The United States is linked to South Korea by a formal treaty and by the presence of some 30,000 American troops south of the 38th Parallel. And yet, a recent national opinion survey sponsored by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations found American voters overwhelmingly opposed to U.S. intervention, should North Korea again invade South Korean territory.

These simple facts suggest why, desirable at it may seem to many people, the United States cannot declare a moratorium on foreign policy debate. President Ford and most Democratic leaders have joined in pleas that the nation be spared an orgy of recriminations over "who lost Vietnam."

That is sentiment to which all may subscribe. But the President presumes too much when he goes on to assert that the debate is unneeded because everyone has "learned the lesson" of Vietnam.

Different people have learned very different lessons from Vietnam, and

(See 'LESSONS,' Pg. 2-F)

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WHY WE LOST -- CONTINUED

well-ordered streets. It was selective bombing of military targets that wasn't quite accurate enough to avoid some civilian structures, including a hospital, which became exhibit-A in the tours conducted for visiting Americans determined to be appalled by their country's barbarism.

Hanoi could have been razed as Dresden was in World War II. The Red River dikes could have been cracked to release flood waters. At one point the rumor that they had been attacked set off an outraged cry of protest in this country. Unquestionably American power, had it been fully employed after the Tet offensive or at some other opportune juncture, could have won the war against North Vietnam and left its indigenous Vietcong cadres in the South unsupplied.

The question is whether we would have been better off winning that way than we are losing as we did. Probably not. Why, then, did our leaders take us into a war destined to harm us whether we won or lost? Because they thought we could win using only limited military means. Thus the Green Berets in Kennedy's scheme of things to beat the invaders at their own guerrilla game. And thus Johnson's determination to escalate enough to meet the challenge posed by the Russian and Chinese arming of North Vietnam. They both miscalculated. So hindsight makes wise men of their surviving critics.

American statesmen who warned this country over the years against enmeshment in land wars on this Asian continent doubtless recognized that a Western army fighting an Oriental army would be handicapped by Western conscience. Attitudes toward the value of life are too different. Even in the war against Hitler certain standards of military conduct were maintained. Prisoners of war, for example, were reasonably well treated over all.

In North Vietnam prisoners were sadistically abused. Civilian populations in the South were systematically terrorized, not by impersonal bombing and shelling, which were bad enough on both sides, but by night marauders on the ground kidnapping and murdering thousands whose only offense was that they sympathized with the Communists' enemies. The Phoenix operation, an attempt to fight fire with fire, never burned with enough conscienceless vigor to accomplish its purpose.

We cringed at pictures of Vietcong and North Vietnamese prisoners being kicked around by their South Vietnamese captors and at exposes of tiger cages for Saigon's political prisoners. If our people on the scene tried to moderate the conduct of our Asian allies the attempt was not well enough publicized and in any case seems to have been largely unsuccessful. Rough stuff on the battlefield occurs in every war. Continued abuse after the battle is over is unforgivable. At least, our side opened its prisoner-of-war camps to Red Cross inspection; the other side never did and we never learned until their release how savage its treatment of our men had been.

We keep hearing that the Paris accords, which were to end the war with honor on both sides, were violated by North and South alike. This is to equate cannon balls with bird shot. It became apparent that the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong never had the slightest intention of abiding by the treaty's terms. The South's violations were minor by comparison, maybe because he South lacked the resources to violate them as much as it would have liked. Whatever the reason, the equal division of blame is a distortion of the evidence.

How we Americans will weather the defeat in Vietnam is not yet clear. The immediate signs are depressing. Resistance to the succor of refugees is indecent in a nation of immigrants and refugees. The number is so small that assimilation should be fairly painless even in a time of economic recession. Perhaps it is only a first spiteful reaction of a people unaccustomed to defeat. Hopefully it will change as we get used to the loss.

More troublesome for this country's future is the burgeoning of extreme pacifism. A wave of antiwar sentiment follows every war but it seems more than usually virulent this time for understandable reasons. If there is a sure way for the United States to lose its influence in this world it is to convince friend and foe that American public opinion will never again stand for use of military force in any circumstance.

Another phenomenon of this immediate post-war period is complaisant acceptance of communism as an unobjectionable alternative to democracy. We are invited to be ashamed of our anti-communism during the cold war. it was, we are told, irrational demonology. Anyway Stalin is dead, and detente is in force. What if all Asia follows the Vietnamese example? What if Western Europe is Finlandized? We will find out when and if these things happen that there was something not to regret in our cold-war attitude—and perhaps even something to regret in our failure to use our full power against North Vietnam.

'LESSONS' -- CONTINUED

until those conclusions are tested in debate, there can be no hope of agreement on a set of premises from which post-Vietnam policy can begin. Nothing makes that plainer than their differing views of the Korean situation.

Some have concluded from Vietnam that the United States should "never again" intervene on behalf of a regime which maintains power through repressive policies, which is marked by corruption and which commands only a dubious loyalty of its own subjects—even if that regime is attacked by a Communist government of no more savory character.

They argue that the U.S. treaty commitment to Korea shoud be abrogated and the American troops withdrawn as quickly as possible.

Others think the lesson of Vietnam is that the United States should never again be asked to fight a *limited* war on the mainland of Asia. They would support American intervention in Korea only if we were ready to go "all out for victory." Echoing the late Gen. Douglas MacArthur, they say there must be no "privileged sanctuaries" for the aggressor, or the United States should not fight again.

A third group concludes that the lesson of Vietnam is that we have been blinded by a fear of monolithic communism which has lost its relevance, if it ever had any. They argue that regimes like North Vietnam or North Korea, which maintain considerable autonomy, even as they derive support from both Peking and Moscow, are more worrisome to the Communist superstates than they should be to us.

Their view, of course, is that the United States should make it clear now that we no longer have a strong interest in who controls the Korean peninsula, and let the rival claimants settle their own quarrels.

A final group believes that a Communist Korea would put intolerable flank pressures on Japan, a linch-pin of the entire non-Communist economic and political world, and would force that country either to change its basic world orientation or to rearm—neither of which is desirable for American national interest.

From their perspective, the United States should make it clear in advance, not only to Pyongyang but to Moscow and Peking, that the United States cannot accept, and therefore will resist, a military move aimed at South Korea.

If detente is not to become a license to fish in troubled waters, they argue, the Communist giants must show their capacity for self-restraint. And if they do not, then let us disabuse ourselves of the myth of detente and reckon with the risks of the real cold war world.

All four of these views are held by people who firmly believe that they have properly assessed "the lesson of Vietnam." It is not too soon now for Congress and the President to open the debate on what that lesson really is. Tomorrow may be too late.

FORD -- CONTINUED

the central highlands last March. He concluded that his troops were spread too thin and ordered a strategic withdrawal.

But Thieu was indecisive. He would issue orders, than cancel them. He couldn't decide where to make a stand.

Finally the commander of the Second Military Region, after a meeting with Thieu, returned to his men and announced: "We're pulling out tonight."

They, not only abandoned their heavy equipment but left the First Military Region outflanked. What was supposed to be an orderly withdrawal, thereafter, turned into a pell-mell rush for the coast. Panic spread, with every man for himself, until the hasty retreat became a total rout.

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WASH POST 14 MAY 75

Teng Criticized

PARIS—The French Communist Party newspaper L'Humanite sharply criticzed visiting Chinese First Vice Premier Teng Hsiaoping for his invective against the Soviet Union.

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NEW YORK TIMES - 14 MAY 1975

What Kind of Dominoes?

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By C. L. Sulzberger

PARIS—The only thing we know so far about the validity of a dominoes theory in Southeast Asia is that South Vietnam and Cambodia have been conquered by revolutionary armies and Laos is falling over the brink.

The incidence of guerrilla violence in Malaysia and Thailand has increased —but not drastically. North Korea seems preparing for another go at South Korea but that pertains to the domino game only in the broadest sense.

If some states—notably Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand—are straightening out their relations with Peking, that is not astonishing. So is the United States. And, somewhat unexpectedly, an initial (perhaps temporary) result of the abrupt new look in Asia is a rise of Chinese influence, weakening Leonid Brezhnev's publicized hope to outflank southern China.

Saigon's Provisional Government has taken pains to insist it won't choose sides in the Sino-Russian quarrel. Since Saigon's sponsor, Hanoi, is believed more subject to Moscow's influence than Peking's, this assurance by Gen. Tran Van Tra seems inferentially friendlier to China.

Even Kim Il Sung, North Korea's redoubtable bullyboy, is advertising to everyone that among "evil spirits" his "ideological battle" hopes to eradicate is "feudal Confucianism." "Confucianism" is a dirty word in China, not Russia. This is significant because North Korea borders both.

The relatively tolerant appearance Saigon seeks to give the world may or may not endure. Logically it would seem improbable in view of the Indochinese dominance by Hanoi's disciplined spartan system which, after all, made the South Vietnam conquest possible.

As for Cambodia, it is very hard to judge its ideological future by its revolutionary present. The latter seems, by all accounts, to be the work of a kind of fanatical jacquerie whose early actions make Russian Bolshevism look conservative and make Chinese Maoism look like a ceremonial tea.

All one can say at this stage of the great dominoes game is that the United States has lost a great deal of influence but it is by no means certain that either Russia or China has gained much or even that Communism, as most people understand the word, will end up triumphant in the newly revolutionized areas.

Although it experienced certain unsuccessful heresies like Trotskyism, Marxism was considered a monolithic doctrine until Marshal Tito's Yugoslavia fought Stalin down on a combination of ideological and national issues. The crack Tito caused in the monolith was merely the first of many. Eventually the old Russian idea that Communism abroad could be used as an obedient servant of Kremlin dictates at home began to appear absurd.

Since Tito's rebellion, varieties of

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NEW YORK TIMES - 14 MAY 1975

Promises, Promises!

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, May 13—The United States isn't very good at handling defeat, probably because it hasn't had much practice. It has been excessively self-critical about the collapse of Vietnam and Cambodia, and now our officials seem obliged to go around reassuring everybody that Uncle Sam is a stout and dependable fellow after all.

Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore came here the other day, after turning back shiploads of Vietnamese refugees who sought safe haven in his country, and lectured us on how to be a reliable ally and regain the confidence of Asia. Nevertheless, President Ford gave him a big splashy dinner at the White House, where the Prime Minister turned his toast into a stump speech, and then went on "Face the Nation" and implied that the United States had not only been unreliable but maybe even dishonorable in Southeast Asia.

Some of this sort of thing was probably unavoidable, but confusing the American record in Southeast Asia with the American record in the world over the past thirty years is a little silly, and if the world is in doubt about how the United States will react to any serious challenge to its vital interests, the postwar record is fairly clear.

Washington reacted to the Soviet threat to Berlin with the airlift; to the Soviet Sputnik challenge in outer space by going to the moon; to the disaster of the Cuban Bay of Pigs with the blockade of Khrushchev's Cuban missiles in the second Cuban crisis; to the Communist threat to Greece and Turkey with the Truman Doctrine; to the economic wreckage of Europe after the last World War with the Marshall Plan; to the Soviet pressure on Japan with a security pact and the most generous and imaginative economic and political settlement ever offered by a victorious nation to a defeated nation.

The revisionist historians are having a field day now, but in the postwar era, the United States has been at its best when confronted by serious trouble and at its worst when it was sweet-talked into dreams of a phony perpetual peace.

Moscow misjudged Dean Acheson's Pacific "defense perimeter" speech, which left Korea out of the protected area, but found an American Army in Korea soon after the North Koreans attacked the South, at the Soviet Union's urging.

The Russian threat to dispatch airborne divisions to the Middle East produced an immediate American worldwide alert and a compromise ceasefire—not a very good one—but the Moscow threat or bluff or whatever it was, got the usual stern American re-

See PROMISES, Pg. 4-F

NEW YORK TIMES
14 MAY 1975

Taiwan's Future

By George T. Chang

KEARNY, N.J.—President Ford is scheduled to visit China this fall. Undoubtedly the Taiwan issue will again be raised at the highest level, and a compromise might be worked out in the process of improving diplomatic relations between the United States and China.

The reaction of the majority of Taiwanese toward the rapprochement between the United States and China has been mixed. They welcome the emergence of new pragmatic policy on both sides. But on the other hand, they resent that the right and existence of 16 million Taiwanese have been totally ignored.

Strong desire prevails among the Taiwanese to have a decisive say about their political future. In view of the current conditions outside and inside Taiwan, one may conceive no circumstances under which the application of the principle of self-determination of people is more pertinent and urgent.

To deny 16 million literate citizens the right to decide their own political future as well as their own form of government is to violate every principle of contemporary law and politics.

Given a free and honest referendum today on Taiwan, the overwhelming majority of the people of Taiwan would choose to establish a democratic and independent state of Taiwan, both in fact and in law.

Despite uncertainty about the possible impact of the Presidential trip on future United States-China relations, one of the trip's outcomes is certain and predictable. The trip will constitute another serious blow to the present regime in Taipei.

Full diplomatic recognition of China by the United States, if reafized, would mean, among other things, complete diplomatic isolation of the Nationalist regime.

This international isolation, coupled with the deteriorating internal economic situation, would push the regime to the brink of collapse. To prevent internal turmoil or even bloodshed, the regime must immediately take the following measures as the first steps toward a more revolutionary change of its structure and character.

First, announce Taiwan as a new political entity, thereby severing *de jure* and *de facto* its linkage with past Chinese internal conflicts and

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DEFENSE SPACE BUSINESS DAILY - 12 MAY 1975(14)

MCGOVERN SEES U.S. SEEKING UP TO 5000 CRUISE MISSILES. Sen. George McGovern (D-S. D.), in seeking a ban on U. S. cruise missiles (Defense/Space Daily, April 30), said that the Navy could seek to deploy as many as 2000 cruise missiles and the Air Force, between 2000 and 3000.

He asserted that Congress should first consider a prohibition against "any new long-range cruise missile of any kind." He said a "lesser, but still meaningful prohibition," would be to allow the more verifiable air-launched long-range cruise missiles, on the condition that all above a certain range cutoff point would be counted against the 2400 delivery vehicle ceiling set at Vladivostok, but to ban any sea-based long-range cruise missiles.

He said the cutoff point above which sea-based cruise missiles would be banned and air-launched cruise missiles counted could be 100 kilometers, or roughly the range of the Harpoon anti-ship missile.

Noting that the Administration indicated at Vladivostok that air-launched missiles with a range above 600 kilometers should be counted under the 2400 vehicle ceiling, McGovern pointed out that a cruise missile with a nominal range of 600 kms "could be altered to go over 2000 kilometers, or perhaps more."

TAIWAN -- CONTINUED

proclaiming its intent to live in peace with all neighboring countries, including China.

The majority of the Taiwanese believe that China's vow to "liberate" Taiwan is motivated by the fact that the Nationalists remain a party to the Chinese civil war, continue to claim the title of "Government of China," and adopt "recovery of the Chinese mainland" as a national policy.

The Taiwanese also believe once the provocation is removed and a more representative government expresses its nonhostile intention, the tension in the area will be greatly diffused, paving the way to create a more favorable atmosphere in which a peaceful coexistence could be worked out between the people of Taiwan and China.

Second, end the quarter-century-long martial law. The so-called Chinese civil war has long dwindled down to a verbal war without significant military action on either side.

The indefinite state of siege maintained by the Nationalists on Taiwan has long lost its justification. It now serves only as a cynical device for the rulers to suspend indefinitely civil liberty and suppress political opposition. Return to democratic normality of political life is a prerequisite for a socio-political change essential to the island's stability.

Third, release all political prisoners, thereby providing a basis for genuine collaboration with opposition forces. Taiwan has been politically the most repressive area in the world. Many intellectuals and youths are being tortured and are languishing in military prisons.

Fourth, conduct general and free elections, thereby creating an open environment for a peaceful transfer of political power.

These measures must be taken urgently within Taiwan. Washington and Peking, too, must realize that unless and until the right of self-determination of the 16 million people of Taiwan is fully recognized by all parties concerned there will be no peace in the region.

George T. Chang is the president of World United Formosans for Independence.

PROMISES -- CONTINUED

sponse.

In short, whenever the United States has seemed to be wavering and the Soviet Union has probed and tested America's will and its strengths, the United States reaction has been clear and swift.

In fact, if there is a danger in the present mood of disappointment and failure in Southeast Asia, it is not that the United States will fail to react in the future but that, if pushed on the assumption of American weakness, that it will overreact, as President Kennedy did in Vietnam after his humiliating blunders at the Bay of Pigs.

The threat to the United States in the last decade was not primarily a military or strategic threat, unbalancing the power of the world, as the Pentagon insisted, but a philosophical and economic threat, dividing the American people and unbalancing their trust in one another and the dependability of their institutions at home.

To allow these divisions to go on, after the loss of 56,000 lives and over $150 billion in aid would really have raised serious and justifiable doubts about the judgment and reliability of the United States as the principal defender of Western civilization.

The allies of this hemisphere, in Europe, and in Japan and the rest of Asia will know they are in serious trouble and will know they are insecure when America is diverted from its primary interests by secondary considerations, and weakened by unemployment, inflation and mistrust.

Meanwhile, verbal assurances by President Ford and Secretary Kissinger that America is a faithful ally are not likely to do much good, and in any event, will not impress either our allies or our adversaries. If they have not learned how America reacts to adversity after Berlin, the Middle East, Cuba, and the Marshall Plan, they probably won't be impressed by Mr. Ford's apologies or Mr. Kissinger's promises.

The truth is that a united America, out of Southeast Asia, is stronger and more reliable than a divided America fighting for dubious goals around Saigon. And if the allies don't see that after the record of the last thirty years, no amount of rhetoric out of this city is likely to convince them.

DOMINOES -- CONTINUED

Communism quite independent of Moscow appeared in China, Albania, Rumania and also infected other parties out of power such as Italy's. Indeed, a revolt within a revolt occurred in Yugoslavia itself when Milovan Djilas, once Tito's Number Two, struck out at what he considered stifling bureaucracy.

Djilas spent years in jail as a consequence of his dissent and is still refused permission to travel or to print his writings. He discusses some philosophical aspects of what we now see in Asia in an anthology called "Parts of a Lifetime," just published by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

In a piece called "Bureaucratic Nationalism," previously unpublished but written less than four years ago, he says: "Communism is an ideology, that is, a complete, closed doctrine. It is impossible to remove one pillar without shaking the other pillars and the entire structure. . . . We are witnessing the birth of a very specific kind of pluralism: the pluralism of nontolerant, nondemocratic nationalisms."

He wrote in 1954 (hitherto unpublished): "What the term Marxism means today has no more connection with the real Marx and his theory than does the contemporary Church with the Bible." In November, 1971, he added:

"Communism is Communism only if it is realized; that is, if it struggles for power—its real and realizable goal. And power can be conquered and maintained only on real, national grounds. Exactly because of that . . . Communism must split apart and come into conflict on national grounds. . . .

"The contemporary world, which is becoming united through diversity and where each day science and art reveal anew the indefinable complexity of nature, society and man, will complete the decomposition of ideology, at least as we know it. This is the dramatic fate that awaits Communism, which was once the most scientific ideology, the ideal ideology, the sole world ideology."

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NATIONAL OBSERVER 17 MAY 1975 (14)

Admiral Moorer Looks Back at Vietnam

'The Ending Is Sad and Unfortunate'

THIS article is excerpted from an interview conducted by The National Public Affairs Center for Television last week. Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, a veteran of 41 years in the Navy, was chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the crucial Vietnam years 1970-1974; before that he was chief of naval operations. The interviewer was Henry Trewhitt, Washington correspondent for the Baltimore Sun.

Admiral, you just retired recently as the nation's foremost military commander and you're now free to speak as you wish, without the discretion that's required of a sailor on active duty. I'd like to look back at Vietnam.

We've just ambiguously lost our first war, and I wonder what you would say to the parents of the 40 some thousand American boys who died in that war. Did they die in vain?

No, not in my opinion, because we did, I think, do quite a bit in Southeast Asia to stabilize the area at the time. We indicated that we were willing to make such sacrifices of blood and treasure to support what we considered to be right.

I also think as a side issue, for instance, that there are other areas in Southeast Asia, such as Indonesia for instance, that wouldn't be in the stable condition they are today if the United States had not been willing to go into Vietnam.

On the other hand, of couse, I think that the ending is sad and unfortunate, and to me in particular, who spent about 10 years of what I consider to be my most mature and productive years, struggling with this thing, to see the little Communists driving tanks supplied by the Soviets and at the same time using rifles supplied by the Chinese in an area which at one time was occupied by U.S. forces, doesn't leave me very happy, I can tell you.

Admiral, that really leads us directly almost to the "domino theory," which was first articulated I guess by the late President Eisenhower in 1954, and what he said in effect was that the countries in Southeast Asia would follow in sequence and there would be strategic consequences throughout the area, and I think probably by implication, the globe, if the United States allowed Vietnam to fall to communism. Do you see the domino theory at work now? Has it proved out?

Yes, I think that in one sense it certainly has, and, of course, we don't know yet just what will happen. But I think there's clear indication, both in the Pacific, and for that matter in Europe, that nations do not have the confidence in our country that they have had in the past.

Furthermore, looking to the future, I think that the acquisition of all of Indochina will permit the Communists to use such things as the great rice resources to bring pressure to bear on other nations in that area, and, of course, you've already seen indications from the Philippines—today there was quite a bit of talk about withdrawing from Thailand, and world-wide, I think, you will see that the so-called uncommitted nations might have second thoughts, or at least more thoughts, about supporting the U.S. position than they have had in the past.

Let's review just briefly what's happened to the so-called dominoes. Now we have South Vietnam under Communist rule, Cambodia also under Communist rule, Laos is in a formally neutralist position, but certainly dominated by Communist forces, and the Thais are in the process of asking the United States to leave.

You mentioned Indonesia; I suppose there have been no direct consequences there, as far as I know, and the Philippines are talking about our leaving. Now do you see this as a hegemony sort of movement forward of communism, or is it really a matter of individual Communist parties at work here, and do we expect to see a unified Communist front in this area?

Well, I think, of course, each individual group has its own local objectives, but on balance, it is true that the Soviets and Chinese assisted the North Vietnamese. In other words, their interest they considered to be in confluence with those of North Vietnam.

I don't look at the domino theory as if we're going to have a situation that just goes click, click, click, like that. But it's the gradual erosion of the things that have made our country prosperous and strong that concerns me.

I don't think that this is going to happen overnight, but I think it weakens us, and of course many Americans understandably say, well, what in the world interests us in Southeast Asia? What does that have to do with my daily life? Well, it has quite a bit.

For instance, if one visits the Malacca Strait, he will see what's taking place down there in terms of commerce, and things of this kind. So our standard of living, our trade, our economic and political influence, all are certainly affected by the situation that's just developed.

Admiral, everything we've said leaves a fairly bleak outlook for Southeast Asia, taken in isolation [sic], and yet you said you didn't believe that those American forces had died in vain there. What do you think the United States accomplished in that 15-year enterprise?

Well, of course, as I said, we certainly didn't accomplish what I thought at the outset that we were going to accomplish. But at the same time, I think that looking back on the conditions that prevailed at the time that the commitment was made, it would have. . . .

. . . What are those, in your judgment, that determined the commitment?

At that time, of course, we were dedicated to blocking aggression in any part of the world that [it] happened to be taking place.

I see two anachronisms in the points you have made, Admiral, and I wonder if you would agree with them. One, with regard to public support of the war. Didn't the United States undergo that experience earlier in Korea when public support definitely, or the absence of public support really, definitely became a factor in the terms under which we ended the Korean War, and it certainly was a factor in which the French ended the first Indochina war, and doesn't the experience of the French indicate that United States political leaders and strategic planners should have taken into account the French experience more than they did?

Yes, I think so, but I think perhaps the thing that deterred them from really accepting that entire line of thought was that of course we felt that, you know, and quite probably, that we could do anything, and we could have done anything if we, in my view, had have brought that war to a close.

I think that quite a bit of the restraint that was placed on our military people was caused by the concern about what the Soviets and the Chinese were going to do. But, I don't think that they ever had any intention of involving themselves in Vietnam.

Let me come specifically to that point of what the United States should have done militarily in South Vietnam, not politically, but militarily, to bring that war to a successful conclusion. . . .

Well, I think that in the first case, the troops should have been landed in North Vietnam. They should have been landed in the Vinh area perhaps, or in an area where we could have had forces north of those passes that feed down into the Ho Chi Minh Trail. That's one thing.

I certainly think that Haiphong Harbor should have been mined at the very outset. Everyone was wringing their hands as to what the Russians would do if we mined Haiphong Harbor. Seven years later we mined it, they didn't do a thing, and they never would have done anything, in my view.

And then we should have put the pressure on the area of Hanoi, Haiphong, etc., and brought the thing to a close. I think that, we had the power, we had almost unlimited power. Now, we did all these things. We went into Cambodia in 1970, we went into Laos in 1971, we mined Haiphong in May of '72, and we bombed Hanoi in December of '72. All I'm saying is we should have done all those the same day.

Admiral, what about tactics on the ground. We had an air-mobile concept—the use of ground forces transported by helicopters with high mobility, with high flexibility. Did that work, in the short-term sense?

I think it worked, but I also think that you've got to remember that again, that the North Vietnamese were a highly disciplined army that had been fighting for years, that they were not too concerned about casualties. They did not have an identification problem. They didn't care certainly about killing the South Vietnamese. And they were in the jungle warfare context.

And consequently, it always takes far more forces to defend civilized areas than it does to attack from the outside. And that again comes back to my point about invading North Vietnam—we should have reversed it so *they* had the problem of defending the cities instead of having to defend the cities down south.

Admiral, let's come back to that December 1972 period in the bombing—the so-called Christmas bombing of Hanoi. Do you regard the Paris peace accords that were reached as a result of that

(See MOORER, Pg 6-F)

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 14 MAY 1975

'Never again' is not enough

Roscoe Drummond

Washington

The response of most Americans to the tragedy and cost of the Vietnam war is: "Never again."

But "never again" is not a sure guide to the future. It is not a policy, it is a hope.

The danger of "never again" is that the exact set of circumstances which drew us into Vietnam will not likely occur again. The need is to develop some settled and acceptable guidelines so that when another crisis confronts us we will be in a better position to stop, look, and listen before acting too quickly.

The premise of a very large part of America's role was well expounded by President Nixon before the fate of South Vietnam was visible. This was what the President termed the Guam doctrine.

Its essential thrust was this: While the U.S. should reduce its military presence in some parts of the world and must avoid any rash commitment of combat troops, it should provide material assistance to nations which show a resolve to defend themselves against outside aggression.

But there are caveats to such a policy. Are we going to aid nations indiscriminately whenever their frontiers are violated? Shouldn't the U.S. avoid open-ended commitments? Should we refuse to help countries whose governments are quite repressive and less democratic than our own?

All fair questions. Everyone will not give the same answers to them, but their validity seems to me to make it desirable that the President and Congress agree on basic guidelines in order to profit from the lessons of Vietnam. I would say that, at the very least, the guidelines ought to embrace four main reservations.

The U.S. should aid an aggressed nation only:

1. When there can be no appreciable doubt that the American interest is deeply involved.

2. When a recipient country shows persuasive evidence it will use such aid to good advantage.

3. When Congress is given the opportunity by the President to approve such action — and does approve it.

One of the most crucial of all the lessons to be learned from Vietnam is that we must never again allow any doubt to exist that when the government of the United States makes a promise, explicit or moral, it will fulfill that promise. The only way this can be assuredly avoided is when both the President and Congress are united in approval.

Otherwise, after Vietnam, it will not be a credible promise. America's word must be totally trustworthy. This is the way to make sure we do not repeat one of the great mistakes in Vietnam. That mistake came when in the peace agreement, the President made a moral commitment to continue aid without knowing whether Congress was willing to carry it out.

4. There is a further caveat and it deals with a matter which many of the critics of Vietnam view with the greatest concern. They ask: Why help any country where civil rights and individual freedom are under attack by the regime we are proposing to assist? These issues are not black and white. They are relative.

My answer would be that the U.S. should provide material assistance to a nation defending itself against outside aggression only when the prospect of achieving government by the governed will be enhanced by its successful defense.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 14 MAY 1975

The Kremlin eyes Europe

By Eric Bourne

Vienna

The Warsaw Pact — Russia's answer to NATO — completes its 20-year term this week and will be renewed automatically for a further 10 years.

Within a few months its seven members will meet with the NATO powers (the United States and Canada included) and the European neutrals in an East-West, all-European conference on security and cooperation.

A Soviet proposal for such a conference, tied originally to the "neutralization" of Germany, is older than the Warsaw treaty itself and has been the present Kremlin leadership's principal political goal in Europe since the mid-1960s. It might have come earlier but for Russia's use of force through the pact to crush the Czechoslovak reform movement in 1968. As it was, the West made the Kremlin wait another four years before agreeing to begin its preparation.

Now, in the new atmosphere of detente, it looks to be "in the bag" and this, together with the fact that the Russians are not prolonging their "NATO," prompts questions of what line Soviet policy for Europe may adopt after such a conference.

The Russians created their Warsaw Pact in May, 1955, as a response to Western European Union and NATO's enlargement by the admission of a rearmed West Germany. Like the North Atlantic treaty, it stipulated that an attack on one member would be an attack upon all and it was described as a defensive alliance of nations facing "the common danger" of a possible "rebirth of militarism" in West Germany.

This was the constant target over the years, until it was silenced first by the Soviet-West German nonaggression treaty and later by general European detente (though, in their current negotiations with NATO on force reductions in Central Europe, the Russians still harp most on West Germany's military potential).

The Warsaw Pact, however, provided also a very convenient new basis for keeping Soviet troops in Eastern Europe, over 10 years after the war had ended. And, although these were withdrawn in 1958 from Romania, the only East-bloc state without a border "open" to noncommunist Europe, they were retained elsewhere in the area as a sure means of control in an uncertain period when national self-interest had begun to make itself felt, as in Poland and Hungary.

Both the "domestic" raison d'etre for keeping the pact going and its value as an instrument of foreign policy opposed to NATO remain. But a new European situation will apply after the security conference is an accomplished fact, and the Warsaw treaty itself gives one clue to what may become the bloc's new political thrust for the future.

One of its concluding articles says that if and when a system of collective security comes about on the basis of a general European treaty, the Warsaw Pact "shall cease to be operative" the day that treaty enters into force. (The simultaneous dismantling of NATO, of course, is implicit.)

The 35-nation European conference is not concerned with such a treaty. But the declaration expected to emerge from the final "summit" will undoubtedly be interpreted and exploited by the Russians as a kind of "peace and security treaty by proxy," confirming inter alia the status quo for Germany and Europe.

It has taken the Russians 20 years to get the security conference. They doubtless reckon that now a treaty on collective security might not take so long. In any event, it will probably be much heard of in the next ten years of the Warsaw Pact.

Mr. Bourne is the Monitor's special correspondent in Eastern Europe.

MOORER -- CONTINUED

bombing as just simply a matter of capitulation on the part of the United States?

No, I don't think so at all. I wouldn't call it capitulation. I think that it was quite clear that the bombing in Christmas of '72 had a significant effect on the North Vietnamese, and it appeared at that time as long as they were faced with that possibility in the future, that they would in fact comply with whatever agreement they happened to make.

As you recall, they were very much readied to get back to Paris and talk about these terms. Because I think they were visibly shaken. They ran out of missiles, and if we had have really wanted to at that time, or taken the action against them, they would have been in a very, very serious position. So in nine days they were ready to go back.

As you recall, we had stopped the bombing back in the early fall, and there had been a lull there for a while, and they had been very difficult with respect to agreeing to any kind of final cease-fire. And I think this made "Christiens" out of them, if such a thing can be done in Hanoi, and consequently it was thought, I believe, by people in this country as well as in South Vietnam, that so long as they had the threat of a repetition of this kind of action, which in my view should have been taken years ago, they would in fact comply.

I think your remarks imply that you do not agree with the argument with some in this country that the Christmas bombing of Hanoi was undertaken as much to convince the South Vietnamese to sign those accords as the North Vietnamese then.

That was absolutely ridiculous, in my view. I think that one of the things that's missing in all these discussions is the grave concern so many of us had about the POWs, and I'll go to my dying grave and I'll never understand why the American people were willing to tolerate this medieval torture year after year and not get aroused over it.

And President Nixon was very much concerned about the welfare of these POWs. And I think one of the greatest satisfactions he got out of his term of office was having an opportunity to welcome these boys home.

And I think that if we had *not* bombed as we did in December of '72, that the POWs would still be in Hanoi.

Admiral, you mentioned earlier, the North Vietnamese concern for repetition of the Christmas bombing, in other words a respect for strategic bombing. . . .

. . .That was the first time they really got the treatment they should have had several years before.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 14 May 1975

BALTIMORE NEWS-AMERICAN - 13 MAY 1975(14)

Former NATO Chief Defends U.S.-European Ties

By KINGSBURY SMITH
Hearst Headline Service

ROME, May 14 — Europe is "terrified" by America's setbacks in Vietnam and by its own inability to control events in Portugal, Cyprus and the Middle East.

With the threat of Soviet military and political power increasing, the Atlantic Alliance and NATO are more vitally important than ever.

The Atlantic Alliance remains the bulwark of Western Civilization. If America abandons it, the United States will become a second-rate power; freedom — and probably peace — will be lost.

These are the views of one of Europe's outstanding statesmen, Manlio Brosio, former Secretary General of NATO and now a member of the Italian Senate.

In a written response to questions submitted to him in connection with President Ford's forthcoming visit to Europe, Senator Brosio warned that the free world cannot win the struggle to preserve Western Civilization, "nor save peace," if "we do not believe any more in the issues at stake."

Not long ago one of America's leading commentators wrote that the European allies would not be unduly alarmed by the defeat of American policy in Vietnam. Others have asserted that America's abandonment of Vietnam would be welcomed by its European allies.

The statements of Senator Brosio, one of the most respected political personalities in Europe, would seem to indicate that some American commentators have strange sources of information.

Following are the questions submitted to senator Brosio and his answers:

Q—To what extent do you feel the credibility of America's commitments to the European allies have been affected by recent events in Vietnam, by the attitude of Congress toward that problem, and by the public opinion poll indicating a majority of the American people would be opposed to the use of American troops to fight in defense of West Berlin, or even Western Europe?

A—No doubt European people, not only conservative ones, but also moderate, enlightened democrats and democratic socialists are today astonished and terrified by the setbacks of the United States in Vietnam, and its inability to control situations in Portugal, Cyprus and the Middle East.

They are also puzzled by the attitude of Congress and by certain trends in American public opinion. The prestige of the United States in Europe has lowered, due also to an excess of previous confidence, and of blind, lazy reliance on United States decisive might (military and diplomatic).

Q—What could the United States do to help restore confidence in the credibility of its commitments to the NATO allies?

A—To restore confidence, the United States should, first of all, demonstrate its continuing interest in the Atlantic Alliance, not only by words, but mainly by deeds, doing everything possible in the Atlantic Council and at NATO headquarters, to show its presence, its authority and its resolve.

The activity and the determination of the U.S. government are the decisive elements: Congress and public opinion are

See FORMER CHIEF, Pg.8-F

7-F

WINCHESTER EVENING STAR 12 MAY 1975 (14)

'Smart' Nuclear Warheads

FRANK VAN DER LINDEN

WASHINGTON — Sen. Thomas J. McIntrye has aimed a low blow at Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger by accusing him of promoting "nuclear warfighting doctrines which could lead to a terrifying new strategic arms race."

The New Hampshire Senator also assailed a fellow Democrat, Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington, who is also a leading aspirant for the presidency, for endorsing Schlesinger's proposals to improve this country's long-range nuclear missiles.

McIntrye said Schlesinger and Jackson "would not only dramatically increase the accuracy and yield of our current Minuteman missiles," but would also develop a new "terminally guided MARV" which would enable the warheads to change their course in flight and strike enemy targets with "virtually perfect accuracy."

"YOU'VE HEARD of "smart" bombs," McIntrye told a New Hampshire audience when he broke the news of the "MARV." "Well, this would be a 'smart' warhead."

The average American would be delighted for his country to have an improved reentry vehicle such as "MARV" if it would help to deter the Soviet Union from starting a nuclear war. McIntrye quoted a friend of his as saying, "When we go squirrel hunting back home we want to have the most accurate rifle we can get."

But the New Hampshire Senator isn't at all happy over the prospect of moving ahead of the Russians in missile technology. Quite the contrary. He charged that the Schlesinger-Jackson program would "actually dimish our national security by putting a hair trigger on nuclear war."

McINTRYE, WHO is chairman of the Senate Armed Services Subcommittee on Research and Development, arrived at his odd conclusion by following Alice-in-Wonderland logic. He reasoned that the Russians agreed to the "SALT" arms control deals of Moscow and Vladivostok only because of the central premise of "mutual vulnerability."

Translated into plain language, that means that neither of the two superpowers could be sure of knocking out the other's missiles without suffering a devastating counter-blow by the surviving weaponry. Thus, each is deterred from making an attack, and there is no war.

McIntrye and like-minded men fear that, if the United States Minuteman missiles could be equipped with a "MARV" that could kill the Soviet missiles with pin-point accuracy, the Russians would strike us first. Thus, their reasoning goes, improved U.S. weapons would "destabilize" the arms balance.

BUT SCHLESINGER recently assured the Armed Services Committee: "We are not interested in developing a disarming first-strike capability against the Soviet Union, and improvements in the Minutemen III force should in no way be construed as such.

"How far we go with our counterforce options, such as terminally guided MARV, and hard target capability in a new ICBM MX and the Trident II submarine missile, will depend upon the pace and extent of the Soviet counterforce developments.

The Secretary told McIntrye that the "MARV" is an "iffy" program, "there is no intention of deploying it at the present time" and final tests are "years in the future."

Despite these assurances, the Senator accused Schlesinger and Jackson of promoting "a terrifying new strategic arms race."

If there is to be such an arms race, the Russians will start it by developing their own larger nuclear missiles.

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SAN DIEGO UNION
28 APRIL 1975(14 MAY)

JOHN P. ROCHE

U.S. Should Reassess Strategy

In ancient times it was customary to execute the messenger who brought bad tidings. A century ago a Kansas weatherman was almost lynched when the tornado he predicted levelled a town.

Today we are seeing a revised version of this scenario: those of us who have emphasized the disastrous impact on America's world-standing of our walk-out in Southeast Asia are being blamed as the dominoes (yes, dominoes) fall.

Don't misunderstand me. I am not going to fight city hall: the American people have consciously or unconsciously decided against being a "Great Power." This does not for a minute mean that we are prostrate and helpless; it simply signals our unwillingness to play a major role on the world stage.

Moscow, for example, had no great intrinsic stake in Vietnam — the Indochinese contribution to the Soviet gross national product or to Russian security was nil, but the Politburo poured military assistance down the Vietnamese "rat hole."

Why? Because they correctly saw the outcome in Vietnam as a test of their will to be a "Great Power." And the message has gone out: Moscow doesn't let its allies down.

Symbolically, Vietnam has been their revenge for the 1962 Cuban missile crisis when, as Dean Rusk said, "We were eyeball to eyeball, and they blinked first."

Obviously I am profoundly unhappy about this national decision to go fishing, but on the practical level what worries me even more is that the President and the National Security Council may decide to demonstrate to the world that we have not lost our "machismo."

After the failure of the Bay of Pigs, enormous pressure was brought on President Kennedy to "do something." I visited the White House about two days after Castro had rounded up the last of the expeditionary force and everyone I talked with seemed to feel a need to demonstrate that we were not, as one put it, "a crippled giant."

Indeed, they scared me to death because the proposed ideal location for this display of muscle was Laos! I sardonically suggested they look at a map (I am a great believer in looking at maps), but this advice was spurned and I was politely told I just didn't have any guts.

Right now our main task is to caulk the boat. Because of our national and governmental focus on Indochina over the past decade, we have sadly neglected other vital matters. I have argued here for years — to take one instance — that there is no NATO strategy, and at the moment it is beginning to look as though the absence of a strategy will be matched by an absence of allies.

At this moment we are in limbo: the American people have signed off on the major premises of our policy since World War II, but no coherent substitute has been offered.

If it is to be continentalism, let us face that fact and make the necessary shifts in our commitments that will provide symmetry. And please, Mr. President, stop telling the world our credibility is undamaged: it merely makes you sound foolish.

FORMER CHIEF -- CONTINUED

important, but less impressive in European minds.

Unfailing loyalty to Israel, clear-cut attitude towards Portugal, firmness and balance on the Greek-Turkish controversy and on the energy problem are also essential.

Q—Why is maintenance of NATO still important?

A—The Atlantic Alliance and NATO are not only important, but more vital than ever. The threat of the expanding Soviet military and political power is increasing, slowly but steadily.

For Europe, the alliance is a question of life or death, freedom or servitude. For the United States it is a question of remaining a great world power or of declining to a second-rate power, retreated in isolation. The loss of Europe to U.S.S.R. supremacy would mean exactly that.

The Atlantic community remains the source and the bulwark of Western Civilization: If the Americans do not care for it any more, it will be lost for us all and for the world, alongside with freedom, and probably with peace.

Q—Has detente proved good or bad for the west?

A — Detente has always been a deceptive word. The Soviet Union has only understood and practiced peaceful co-existance — that is, a struggle of political and social power without actual fighting.

Peaceful co-existence in Europe has been useful. It has spared us the horrors of war. But the idea of detente, that is the relaxation of efforts and vigilance, and the illusion of an easy reconciliation of opposing and conflicting social systems, has done more harm than good. It is not a reality. It is a delusion which has greatly helped the advance of Communism in many countries — Portugal, Vietnam, Ethiopia, and maybe other countries in the near future.

"We are engaged in a struggle which we want to keep peaceful, but we cannot win it, nor end it with a draw, nor save peace, if we do not believe any more in the issues at stake."

DEFENSE SPACE BUSINESS DAILY

6 MAY 1975(14)

ZUMWALT SAYS U.S. WOULD LOSE WAR WITH RUSSIA

Calls For $8 Billion Boost In DOD Budget

Former CNO Adm. Elmo Zumwalt declared this weekend that if war were to break out between the United States and Soviet Union at this time, the U.S. would face "almost certain defeat."

He said, however, that he believes that the two countries are "too rational" to engage in war.

Zumwalt blamed Congress for the decline in America's defense capability, charging that Congress "has been so penurious in its budget, we do not have the capability to stand up to the Soviet Union today." He said that the U.S. naval capability has been dwindling since the 1962 Cuban missile crisis and now has only a 50 percent chance of retaining control of the waterways.

Sees Increased DOD Budget Inducing Detente

Zumwalt said the way to halt the Soviet Union's rush to arms superiority is to increase the U.S. defense budget -- a move which he said would encourage arms limitation agreement.

He said if Congress were to increase the DOD budget by as little as $8 billion in FY '76 over the $104 billion requested, "this would send a spike on the fever chart back to Moscow and they'll begin saying, 'hey fellas, let's cool it. The natives are getting restless.'"

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 13 MAY

Mideast prospects

Joseph C. Harsch (14)

There is one reason for thinking that just possibly this summer will bring a general settlement of the most dangerous unsolved international problem in the world today. That problem is, of course, the relationship between Israel and the neighboring Arab states. The one reason it might be solved is because the Soviet Union wants something this summer which Washington need not give without getting something of value in return.

Moscow wants to get a conclusion this summer of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The one and only thing of importance which can come out of that conference would be recognition of Moscow's control over the countries of Eastern Europe. Moscow has that control de facto today, but it has never yet had that condition recognized by the United States as de jure.

For example, if you look through a copy of the Congressional Directory you will discover that the U.S still recognizes a Latvian and a Lithuanian legation in Washington and an Estonian legation in New York City. There are charges d'affaires attached to each of these legations and they are listed in the official Washington diplomatic list published by the Department of State. In other words, the U.S. has never officially recognized the Soviet conquest and suppression of these three formerly independent Baltic states.

This fact has galled the Russians, just as the continued U.S recognition of Taiwan galls the Chinese. Moscow would like to have the whole world, including the U.S., accept the de facto situation in Eastern Europe as being legal and permanent.

There are substantial colonies of Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian people in the U.S. who care about their former homelands and have voting power. Hence Washington is reluctant to grant such recognition of Moscow's conquests. If it does, what would it get in return?

It may be conceivable that a Mideast settlement could be reached over Moscow's objection, but it is not likely. But with Moscow's full cooperation a settlement would come within the boundaries of realism. The settlement would not only be possible, it would even be probable.

That would require, however, a conscious decision in Moscow to give up the advantages it has enjoyed so far from continued Mideast strain and tension. It would probably require the formal and contractual recognition of permanent frontiers for Israel. It would mean full cooperation with American diplomacy at a reconvened Geneva conference this summer. It would require a joint Soviet-American settlement plan which the two would present at Geneva and, in effect, would impose on the Israelis and Arabs.

Obviously, Moscow is not going to give up the many advantages it enjoys from nonsettlement in the Middle East without getting something of value in return. But there is the possibility of the trade. There is some evidence that the Kremlin is moving in this direction. It would stand to gain something as well as losing much. It would gain security against the danger of another confrontation with the U.S. over the Middle East.

Soviet cooperation in reaching a Middle East settlement has always so far been the will-o'-the-wisp of the problem. It has always slipped away just when it seemed to be in hand. Can it be captured this summer? Just possibly. And if captured, where does it lead? It leads to Arab recognition of Israel within its pre-1967 boundaries with a guarantee of those boundaries by the Arabs and by both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. It also means a political future for Palestinians in West Bank Jordan and some form of joint or international control over the old city of Jerusalem.

It could happen this summer if American diplomacy could work out the terms of the settlement with Moscow. But it would mean getting going — now.

BALTIMORE NEWS-AMERICAN
12 MAY 1975 (14)

Diplomats Eye Mideast Pact

By KINGSBURY SMITH
Hearst Headline Service

NEW YORK — There is a mood of cautious optimism among some well-informed UN diplomats concerning the prospects for progress within the next two months towards a new Israeli-Egyptian military disengagement agreement.

It is believed that Israel and Egypt are prepared to make new concessions to bridge the gap that caused the collapse of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy peace efforts in March.

Whether the concessions will be sufficient to bring about a new agreement in the step-by-step negotiating process is uncertain but some of the UN diplomats closely associated with Middle East developments are inclined to believe they will.

This mild optimism is based partly on diplomatic reports from Jerusalem, Cairo and Washington, and partly on the belief that the Israeli and Egyptian governments realize there will be grave danger of a new war this summer if a new military disengagement agreement in the Sinai has not been reached by July.

It is expected Egyptian President Anwar Sadat will tell President Ford what new concessions he is prepared to offer during their meeting in Salzburg June 1 and 2.

The American government has been applying strong pressure on Israel to make greater concessions than it was prepared to offer in March; and it is assumed Premier Yitzhak Rabin will submit new proposals when he confers with President Ford in Washington June 11 and 12.

The Israeli government is pressing Washington for a resumption of talks on Israel's pending arms requests

to coincide with Premier Rabin's visit.

Israeli diplomats say it would be politically easier for Rabin to offer new concessions if the arms supply discussions were resumed. They were suspended in March when President Ford announced the U.S. intended to make a "reassessment" of its Middle East policy.

Suspension of the talks reflected the deep disappointment of the President and Secretary Kissinger over the Israeli government's refusal to make greater concessions for a deal with Egypt in March.

Continued suspension of the talks, which involved Israel's request for $2.5 billion in economic and military aid in the coming fiscal year, is viewed by Israeli diplomats as unfair pressure, especially since the State Dept. agreed early this month to supply Jordan with sophisticated surface-to-air-missiles, obviously intended to be used against Israel in the event of a new war.

While Rabin may discuss new concessions during his visit to Washington, Israeli diplomats believe it will be politically impossible for him to actually make them before the arms supply talks are resumed.

One of the reasons for moderate optimism in UN circles is yhe belief, based on diplomatic information from Jerusalem, that Rabin is prepared to drop Israel's insistence on a nonbelligerency pledge from Egypt as a condition for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Sinai passes and oil fields.

The Israeli leader is reported to be willing to accept "specific acts" which would demonstrate Egypt's peaceful intentions. Israeli insistence on the nonbelligerency pledge was a major factor in the breakdown of the March negotiations.

Among the "specific acts" that Israel had in mind are: Egyptian consent to extend the mandate for the presence of the UN peacekeeping force in the Sinai for three to five years; and establishment of early warning stations in the buffer zones to reduce the danger of surprise attack.

Another encouraging sign was Sadat's announcement last month at he would reopen the Suez Canal June 5. Israeli Defense Minister Dhimon Peres said that if Egypt did so and allowed ships to carry goods to and from Israel, the Israeli government would be willing to make "significant concessions."

Sadat actually gave such a commitment in a secrrt rider to the military disengagement agreement of January 1974. In this addition, which was not made public but was handed to Kissinger, Sadat said:

"As a first step, all cargoes destined for and coming from Israel would be permitted through the canal from the time of its reopening."

While the Egyptian leader is not prepared to allow ships flying the Israeli flag to pass through the canal until the state of belligerency os ended, his assurance that Israeli cargoes would be permitted was regarded by the American government as a major concession.

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT

19 MAY 1975 (14)

Word from top intelligence analysts is that North Korean Communist boss Kim Il Sung was told, in effect, to "cool it" when he rushed to Peking in late April to suggest to Chinese leaders that he exploit the Vietnam debacle by launching an offensive to reunify Korea under his rule.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 14 May 1975

WASH STAR 13 MAY 1975 (14)

A Pleading For Patience On Portugal

By Mary McGrory
Washington Star Staff Writer

Sen. Edward W. Brooke, R-Mass., is proposing a course of action towards Portugal which is not costly or destructive or irrational — and therefore, perhaps, unlikely to get off the ground.

He suggests that in dealing with the new left-wing government in Lisbon we exercise diplomacy, patience and understanding.

Portugal, which has been taken over by a radical military group called the Armed Forces Movement, has so far indicated that it wishes neither military aid nor increased economic assistance. What it wants of us, Brooke thinks, is to be left alone — with particular reference to the C.I.A. — to work out a new way of doing things after 25 years of strongman, one-man Salazar rule.

Brooke, who has always been interested in Portugese affairs — he has a fair number of Portugese constituents — was in Portugal in April, shortly after the military took over.

Point of View

He found a conciliatory and open-minded attitude among the new leaders. Prime Minister Vasco Goncalves, for instance, assured him that Portugal intends to continue in NATO. He is also willing to permit the U.S. air bases in the Azores — prohibiting only their use for resupply. Portugal, of all the European nations during the October war, permitted U.S. planes bound for Israel to refuel in the Azores, and thereby suffered from the displeasure of the Arabs.

"We had a dictatorship under Salazar for 25 years," Goncalves reminded the senator, "and the U.S. never expressed the slightest concern."

The leader of the Socialists, Mario Soares, explained to Brooke that the Armed Forces Movement was sparked by junior officers who learned anticolonialism in Angola and Mozambique, two outposts of the Portuguese Empire.

"This country was under the control of 100 families and three banks," Soares told Brooke. "It was inevitable that we would move to the left."

It is possible, as Brooke wrote to President Ford in a letter on his return, that Portugal could move to the left without going Communist. The Socialists emerged from the recent election — in which 92 percent of the voters exercised the novel franchise — with 33 percent of the returns.

The Communists got only 12 percent.

The accession of the left-wing dictatorship to power caused the usual growls of disapproval in the administration, which has always preferred to deal with more congenial right-wing military dictatorships and does not trust a country that is going left to stop at socialism.

Brooke found our ambassador, Frank Carlucci, exhibiting patience and understanding towards the new rulers, for which, it was said, he was denounced behind the scenes by the secretary of state for being insufficiently "tough" and "hardline." This report was subsequently denied by the secretary of state. Our previous ambassador to Portugal also failed in this regard and was dismissed. Carlucci, however, is still in place, perhaps due to Brooke's intervention.

Brooke fears that the weak showing of the Communists in the election will not calm the fears of the administration.

"Five percent would have been enough to unnerve them," he sighs.

The members of the constituent assembly are not the new representatives of the Portuguese people. They are charged only with drafting a new constitution in the next five years. The Armed Forces Movement will be in control, meanwhile, and will have the power to ratify the document.

Brooke has had no reply to an April 8 letter to the President, in which he suggested that by over-reacting we might be "accelerating rather than inhibiting a Communist takeover."

It is difficult to say if the administration's easily-activated fears are in this case real or imagined. The President and the secretary of state have created a climate where reasonable assessment is difficult. By magnifying the consequences of the defeat in Vietnam, they have encouraged the dire predictions now sweeping Europe. If they had expressed relief rather than dismay over the long-delayed resolution of our most draining and shaming overseas adventure, they might not be beset by the uncertainties and alarm they have generated.

Brooke points out that we have in every event very little bargaining power with the Portuguese. We alienate them only at the risk of losing a vital link in the Western alliance.

"What are we going to do?" he asks rhetorically. "Withdraw from NATO? Give up our bases in the Azores?"

It has been some time since the United States, which prefers to arm the right and straight-arm the left, has tried diplomacy. Portugal offers the best current example for us to prove that we learned something from our Vietnam experience.

WASHINGTON STAR 13 MAY 1975 (14)

CHARLES BARTLETT

Cooling Off on Marcos

In times when the Philippines take on fresh geopolitical significance for the United States, it is reassuring to find some diffidence in the State Department's posture toward the tainted regime of President Marcos.

This is a testing time in the paternalistc dealings between the United States and the Philippines, and one hint of the administration's readiness to play a strong hand is a shift of attitude toward the exile leader Raul Marglapus. He is a Stevensonian kind of politician who was a popular leader of the opposition to Marcos until he became an exile slightly before the islands fell under the mantle of martial law in 1972.

The police came to arrest Marglapus almost as soon as Marcos proclaimed the new ground rules, but he had fortuitously left the country on a speaking tour. Marglapus did not find a particularly warm reception in this country.

The State Department utilized its leverage with the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, partly financed by congressional appropriations, to block Marglapus's selection for a fellowship in 1974. The Filipino politician is applying once more this year, and happily the State Department has progressed to a passive position.

The significance of this shift is its implication that Henry Kissinger does not mean to get caught in another of those painful campaigns to stay close at any cost to autocratic Oriental leaders whose philosophy and actions cannot be justified by the yardstick of American ideals. The temptation to court despotic governments is enlarged by the evolution of the Philippines, South Korea and Indonesia as the outer line of American influence in the Pacific.

The treatment of Marcos's wife is another hint of healthy insouciance in Washington's view of Manila. Mrs. Marcos, swept by her jet plane to frequent rendezvous with the beautiful people, has come to the United States twice in the past six months without drawing any official notice. She was reported last fall to have been badly miffed when the State Department advised President Ford to give her no attention at all.

This requires some spirit. Clark Air Base, on Philippine soil, is the second largest American air base anywhere. The Subic Bay Naval Base is a key to Seventh Fleet influence in the South China Sea.

But the Philippines are no showcase for American democracy, and the bilateral treaty of 1951 has not produced an alliance to which a majority of Americans would rally with zeal. The benefactions of the past, including nearly $1 billion in military aid, big sweeteners in the purchase of sugar and a steady umbrella of defense against all comers, have proved no inducement to progress in a society sorely lacking in grace, charity and character.

Two assumptions govern U.S. dealings with the Philippines. One, fabricated in Washington, is that the Filipinos will never translate their feisty talk into actual pressures to evacuate the American bases. The other, originating in the islands, is that the Communist insurgency will never swell to the magnitude of a real threat to the established government.

Asia's changing character makes it possible to believe that both assumptions may prove wrong in the long run. The precedents and prospects suffice at least to discourage any strong inclination to cling tightly to another rotten regime.

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LOS ANGELES TIMES - 13 MAY 1975 (14)

The Danger in South Korea

This is not the time to be considering a reduction of U.S. military strength in South Korea or actions that could weaken Seoul's ability to defend itself. But it is the time for the U.S. government to begin using its considerable influence to force President Park Chung Hee to change his regime's repressive domestic policies.

President Ford has reaffirmed and indicated that he intends to strengthen U.S. ties to South Korea. The bonds that exist are much different from those cited to justify American involvement in Indochina. They derive from a formal defense treaty, growing out of the Korean war. They derive from the costly American effort in that war, and the successful preservation of South Korea's independence. And they derive from the important geopolitical fact of Korea's proximity to Japan. That fact was the main strategic rationale for U.S. intervention in the Korean war in 1950. It has not changed since then.

Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) is one of those calling for a gradual withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Korea in the wake of the Vietnam debacle. We think he is wrong. But he and other members of Congress are not wrong in their concern about what has been happening in South Korea. The Ford Administration should act on that concern for the sake of both Korean and American interests.

The danger, quite simply, is this: that the autocratic policies of the Park regime—the intolerance of political opposition, the stifling of press and public criticism, the attempt to insure conformity by police-state methods—will help create the very conditions of civil discontent and frustration in which subversion flourishes best.

The potential is there, and with it the unacceptable possibility that the United States could again become involved, directly or indirectly, in a situation inimical to its basic security responsibilities.

The chance of another cross-border invasion by Communist North Korea can't be entirely ruled out, though the possibility is slight so long as the U.S. defense commitment remains unambiguous, and so long as China and the Soviet Union are cool to such a venture, as they now appear to be.

The greater risk is one that North Korean dictator Kim Il Sung talks about openly—the launching of a new campaign of subversion in the south, of guerrilla warfare, sabotage and terrorism, this time counting on support from the local population that was not given in the past.

Last year we supported a proposal in Congress to begin a phaseout of U.S. aid to Korea in responsive protest to what Park has been doing. A military aid cutoff, we now believe, could mean only added burdens for the United States in view of the changed situation in East Asia, and might well result in miscalculations in North Korea about the durability of the U.S. commitment.

But that assessment does not diminish—indeed it enhances—the need for the United States to use its substantial leverage to promote changes in Park's antidemocratic activities.

The U.S. message should be clear. The defense commitment to South Korea will be maintained. But that commitment carries no obligation to support one-man rule based on repressive policies whose ultimate results are antithetical to American aims, interests and ideals.

LOS ANGELES TIMES - 13 MAY 1975 (14)

Korea A-Arms Use an Option, General Says

BY SAM JAMESON
Times Staff Writer

SEOUL—The United States would consider using tactical nuclear weapons in case of an outbreak of war in the Korean peninsula, a top American military commander said here Monday.

The U.S. officer, who asked not to be named, made it clear in an interview that he did not expect North Korea's Communist dictator, Kim Il Sung, to launch an all-out attack upon South Korea at this time.

But he also indicated that if such an attack should occur, a recommendation urging use of tactical nuclear weapons would most likely be made by the U.S. command here to the White House.

The highly placed commander was asked what role "the most powerful of American weapons" played in U.S. contingency plans against an all-out attack by North Korea. Although the question was worded indirectly to allow the officer to avoid violating American policy forbidding the discussion of the location of nuclear weapons, the commander replied:

"I'm an 'attack nuke' man myself."

Then he elaborated:

"The United States armed forces has kept a whole array of tactical nuclear weapons in its inventory, recognizing that the decision as to whether they will ever be used is a decision only the commander-in-chief can make, recognizing that more emotion surrounds this in the whole military equation than anything else, and recognizing there is a school of thought that persists today that the first use of nuclear weapons starts an uncontrollable spiral.

"Having said all that, the tactical nuclear capability consitutes one option available to U.S. and allied decision makers."

The officer pointed out that "as good military professionals, we plan against the contingencies we may be called upon to exercise." But he said an all-out war on the Korea peninsula in which either China or the Soviet Union—or both Communist giants—participated directly would "really pose some tough decisions for Washington to make."

"If you are going to fight in Korea—and for objectives possibly larger than the Korean Peninsula itself—you then have to face a decision (as to whether) you are going to deploy a lot of U.S. divisions over here, or (whether) you are going to consider something else first."

He made it clear the "something else" was tactical nuclear weapons.

Unlike strategic nuclear weapons, which would wreak destruction over huge areas, tactical nuclear weapons are designed to destroy specific targets and localize damage.

The senior officer painted two scenarios for an all-out war, neither of which, he said, he expected to occur now.

In the most likely kind of all-out attack upon the south, North Korea would probably rely upon its own armed forces to launch a massive strike at Seoul, seeking to invest the city, and then solidify its gains through negotiations.

"It would be a very violent and short conflict" in which U.S. ground forces stationed here would be kept out of battle, he said. American air power and army artillery and missile units, however, would play a major role, he added. The U.S.-South Korean aim in such a war would be "to stop that guy virtually in his tracks" at the Demilitarized Zone.

A second possible kind of attack would be one in which either China or the Soviet Union, or both, committed some of their own forces—perhaps air or naval—to battle along with the North Koreans "to go for it all."

Such a war probably would turn into a long, drawn out truggle, directly involving all U.S. forces here.

Use of the American nuclear option probably would be considered most seriously in the second kind of war, the commander said.

The officer said he thought that neither China, which

See A-ARMS, Pg. 12-F

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR - 14 MAY 1975

How to release U.S. ship?

Show of force and cool diplomacy

By Dana Adams Schmidt
and Guy Halverson
Staff correspondents of
The Christian Science Monitor
Washington

The U.S. Government is combining a show of force with cool diplomacy as it tries to get back the cargo ship and its 39-man crew seized by the new Cambodian Government.

It is still not clear, however, what leverage Washington has to force the Cambodians to give up the ship and crew without risking the lives of the men.

A U.S. Navy reconnaissance plane was hit by gunfire as it flew over Cambodian gunboats, government sources said.

President Ford has said that he would consult with Congress before taking any military action. This raises questions to observers here: (1) A rescue mission would doubtless need the cover of secrecy — yet can such secrecy be maintained if Congress is to be told in advance? (2) If Congress is to be consulted, can the President make a speedy move? (3) Is it possible that Mr. Ford now sees progress in negotiations with Cambodia, and that he feels no such consultation will be necessary?

Meanwhile, State Department and nongovernmental experts are studying political and legal implications.

It is recalled here that while in Congress, President Ford called U.S. options "very, very limited" once the spy ship Pueblo and its crew had been seized in 1968.

It is also said that the legal situation is by no means as clear-cut as the administration has indicated by saying the seizure was a clear-cut violation of the right of innocent passage.

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger said in Missouri, where he was visiting, that the U.S. will "wait a bit to see what diplomacy can achieve." While asserting that the U.S. would take the measures necessary to obtain the ship's release he declined comment on reports of troop movements.

The government has:

1. Reportedly ordered the amphibious assault ship Okinawa with up to 800 marines aboard to put to sea from Subic Bay in the Philippines, allegedly in the direction of the South China Sea and the location of the Mayaguez. The aircraft carrier Coral Sea was presumably operating in the South China Sea. Another 150 marines were reportedly flown from Subic Bay while 1,000 marines at Okinawa were reported on alert.

The Mayaguez has been escorted by the Cambodians to an anchorage off the island of Koh Tang, 30 miles from the Cambodian coast.

2. Sent a protest and warning to the new Communist Cambodian Government via the Government of China in Peking, and via the French Government which remains in touch with the Cambodians in Paris and is trying to keep open its embassy in Phnom Penh. State Department sources say the note threatened "serious consequences" if the ship was not set free.

Politically, White House sources admit, a vigorous "send in the marines" ploy seems attractive, especially after the distressing end of the Indo-China war. But then they cite Mr. Ford's caution in 1968.

Meanwhile, the Premier of Thailand, Kukrit Pramoj, had said earlier that his government would not allow any use of Utapao for operations connected with the seized ship.

Legally nongovernmental experts make these points:

1. From a legal point of view this was not an "act of piracy" as stated by the President. Under the Geneva Covenant of the High Seas of 1958, piracy is an act by private persons for private gain. This, however, was an act by Cambodian Government gunboats.

2. Most authorities consider that a coastal state has the right to determine whether a ship in its territorial waters is engaged in operations threatening its health or safety. In this case the ship was captured eight miles off the rocky islet of Poulo Wai within the 12-mile limit claimed by the Cambodians who probably still consider themselves at war with the U.S. Its cargo, according to American official sources, included some military supplies destined for Thailand.

3. On the other hand, there are differences of opinion as to whether territorial waters apply to tiny islets in the sea. The islet, about 50 miles from the coast of Cambodia, is furthermore claimed by South Vietnam as well as Cambodia.

4. The case of the Pueblo in 1968 is not a valid precedent because the Pueblo was a naval vessel engaged in electronic espionage. The Mayaguez, allegations by the Soviet news agency Tass notwithstanding, appears to be a genuine U.S. registered merchant ship which happened to be carrying some military supplies.

5. At the conference on the law of the sea that has been meeting in Geneva, the U.S. has sought to get international acceptance of a more clear-cut right of innocent passage for all ships through territorial waters regardless of their cargoes. But the generally accepted standards at present give the coastal state the "subjective" right to decide whether or not to seize a ship in its waters.

The Pentagon May 13 declined any comment on the freighter or the movements of U.S. ships in the China Sea, and some observers thought the blackout might be a cover for forceful action already under way.

Pentagon officials did disclose, however, that the position of the Mayaguez had been ascertained by aerial surveillance. Privately some Pentagon officials pointed out at this writing that if the U.S. is to act it had better act quickly, before the crew is landed and taken deep into the interior.

Monitor correspondent Godfrey Sperling Jr. reports from Washington:

The President's spokesman, Ron Nessen, has said flatly that the President will not take any military action on the seizure without first consulting with congress.

Asked if the President were "now consulting with Congress about an alert or precautionary acts," Mr. Nessen said "no."

Under questioning, he seemed to be ruling out the use of the loophole in the War Powers Act which says: "In every possible instance" the President shall consult with Congress before introducing U.S. Armed forces into hostilities.

He seemed to be saying that this was definitely not an instance when the President would act first and then ask for permission simply because it was "not possible" to ask first.

Asked it the President had set a deadline for release of the prisoners, Mr. Nessen said, "No, he has not." He said the controlling presidential words were his demand for "immedate release." He said: "The President has not set an hour or minute deadline."

Asked if the President has received "even the slightest glimmer of hope" in his negotiations, Mr. Nessen paused and then said, quietly, "I don't think I will take that question."

Asked if "there is any evidence the ship was carrying anything except cargo?" Mr. Nessen said: "No, a simple no."

Rep. Joe D. Waggonner (D) of Louisiana told reporters after meeting with the President May 13 that Mr. Ford said to him: "I've got a very tough decision to make on the ship."

Mr. Nessen also disclosed that there had been a previous comparable incident in roughly the same area.

"Ten days ago," he said, "a Korean ship was fired on. It was not hit. It was not detained. It was fired on by what appeared to be a Cambodian ship."

Mr. Nessen offered no help to questioners who wanted to know if the U.S had known about this incident — information that might have been used as a warning.

LOS ANGELES TIMES
11 MAY 1975 (14)

Air Force Study Suggests Halt to Homebuilding

From a Times Staff Writer

RIVERSIDE—An Air Force noise study recommends a halt to residential construction in Riverside's exclusive Canyon Crest development west of March Air Force Base.

Base commander Col. Stan Brown says that although the study is not binding on local officials, it should be seriously considered in light of urban encroachment around the sprawling base. The report also recommends land use restrictions for various noise zones around the base.

Canyon Crest, one of Riverside's fastest growing areas, lies in a path where the Air Force discourages residential development.

A-ARMS ..... CONTINUED

Kim Il Sung visited April 18 to 26, nor the Soviet Union, which Kim is expected to visit soon, were prepared to back any all-out attack by North Korea.

"But in the gray areas—infiltration, probes and incidents in which who did what would remain unclear—I'm not so sure," he said.

If the North Korean dictator—encouraged by the U.S. Congress' failure to vote aid to South Vietnam in its 11th hour and by Communist successes in Indochina—provoked some kind of aggression against the south, "it would be to test the water to see whether earnestness behind the fine statements of the (Ford) Administration and, to a certain extent, of Congress was really there."

Such a probe, he said, probably "would be on the lower end of the spectrum" of aggression.

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RADIO - TV DEFENSE DIALOG

RADIO TV REPORTS INC. WASH., D.C., SUMMARIES NOT TO BE QUOTED.

THURSDAY, MAY 15, 1975 (BROADCASTS OF MAY 14, 1975)

SUMMARY OF NETWORK NEWS IN THIS ISSUE

John CHANCELLOR, Charles QUINN, Tom BROKAW, Catherine MACKIN and George LEWIS, all of NBC News, report on Mayaguez related events. QUINN reports on Secretary LAITIN's statement of the sinking of three Cambodian boats and also on the amended statement released later. QUINN reports a helicopter operation might be in the works. BROKAW reports on meetings at the White House of the NSC and on Presidential authority to use troops to protect American lives and shipping. MACKIN reports on the reaction of the Congress to the military action and includes statements by Senators JAVITS and TOWERS and by Rep. RHODES and other comments by Senators MANSFIELD, JACKSON and KENNEDY. CHANCELLOR reports on the sinking of the ships and that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee endorsed the military move. CHANCELLOR also reports that the Thais publicly stated they want the recently arrived U.S. troops to leave Thailand. LEWIS reports on the arrival of the new Ambassador and on Thai reaction to U.S. plans to attack from Thailand. CHANCELLOR reports that two AID centers in Thailand have been looted and that three AID officials are being held hostage by Laotians, and that the Embassy staff will be cut. Jim RUDDLE, NBC, reports on memorial funeral services for Corporal Darwin JUDGE who was killed at Tansonnhut Airport before the evacuation.

Bob SCHIEFFER, Ike PAPPAS, Phil JONES, Peter COLLINS and Marvin KALB, all of CBS, report on Mayaguez related events. PAPPAS reports on Secretary LAITIN's statement concerning the sinking of the Cambodian ships; on the planes involved in the attack; on the revised Pentagon statement; and on U.S. warship movements towards Cambodia. JONES reports on the question of Presidential consultation with Congress over the military action; and on White House meetings. COLLINS reports on the presence of the 1,000 Marines at Utapao and the Thai reaction to that presence, including a threat of drastic action to be taken. He then reports on the implications that a shutting down of U.S. bases in Thailand would have. KALB reports on the administration's view of Thailand and on the failure of U.S. diplomacy in trying to secure the release of the Mayaguez. SCHIEFFER reports on the nuclear test blast in Nevada and that no radiation leaks were reported. Bernard KALB, CBS, has a report on defense spending and on the controversy between spending money on social programs versus defense needs. He includes statements by two congressmen who take opposite sides -- Sen. TOWER takes the defense side -- gives estimates of future defense budgets; estimates of present defense programs, B-1, Trident; and includes a statement by Secretary SCHLESINGER concerning the need to increase defense spending in order to maintain the worldwide military balance between the U.S. and Russia.

Harry REASONER, Frank TOMLINSON, Howard K. SMITH and Jim BENNET, all of ABC News, report on Mayaguez related events. TOMLINSON reports on the attack on the Cambodian boats and on the U.S. planes that carried it out; on ship movements towards that area; and on options available to U.S. forces to secure the Mayaguez and its crew. REASONER reports that U.S. U.N. Ambassador SCALLY requested U.N. help in getting the ship back; and asserted the right of the U.S. to protect its people and property. BENNET reports on the Thai reaction to Marine arrivals in Thailand and includes a statement by the Thai Prime Minister demanding the removal of those Marines. SMITH has a commentary on the chances for war in Korea in light of Kim Il SUNG's desire to start a war; repression and dissension in S. Korea; U.S. retreats from Indochina; China's willingness perhaps to stop the North Koreans from warring; and measures the U.S. can take to discourage the North Koreans.

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NBC NIGHTLY NEWS NBC TV
7:00 PM MAY 14

American Planes Sink Cambodian Ships

JOHN CHANCELLOR: Good evening. The crisis involving the seized American ship Mayaguez deepened today as American airmen went back into Indochina combat for the first time since 1973. American planes based in Thailand sank three vessels of the Cambodian Navy after repeated warnings when it looked as though the Cambodians were planning to take crewmen from the ship to the mainland. This took place near Koh-Tang island. Our correspondent Richard Valeriani has learned there is now definite evidence that some of the Americans are on that island. And Valeriani says there are indications that some of the Americans had been taken to the Cambodian mainland. Senator Barry GOLDWATER is quoted as saying he was told that some of the men are on the mainland now. There was a lot of activity in Washington today, a meeting of the NSC at the White House and briefings at the Defense Department. Charles Quinn has the Pentagon story.

CHARLES QUINN: Pentagon spokesman Joseph LAITIN had a statement saying that the first American warship, the destroyer escort Holt, had arrived in the area, but the heart of the matter was the American attack.

JOSEPH LAITIN: Beginning at 8:30 PM yesterday evening there were indications that the Cambodians appeared to be attempting to move captive U.S. crewmen from the ship and from the island of Koh-Tang to the mainland. After giving warning U.S. aircraft began efforts to block this movement. Three Cambodian patrol craft were destroyed, about four others were damaged and immobilized. One boat succeeded in reaching Kampong Som.

QUINN: LAITIN refused to answer any questions but later he amended the statement to say that there was not now sufficient evidence to indicate that any of the Cambodian boats had been damaged. Forces here said it was a four hour operation, that the Cambodians were warned extensively and repeatedly, that it only takes minutes to destroy a handful of patrol boats. The planes came from Thailand, sources said. None was hit, although a Navy reconnaissance plane took a bullet in its tail. Sources said the military was led to believe that the Cambodians might move the Americans to the mainland through intercepted radio messages, rather than visual sightings. They said that some American crewmen might have been on one of the patrol boats, the one that made it to port, and that it was deliberately allowed to escape.

CHANCELLOR: Chuck, so where it stands now is that American planes sank three Cambodian ships?

QUINN: Right.

CHANCELLOR: But we just don't know about the others?

QUINN: He says now after rereading intelligence reports he doesn't have sufficient evidence to indicate that any others have been damaged.

CHANCELLOR: Do you have any idea how many Americans might have been taken to the mainland?

QUINN: No, sir, there's no indication of that here, John, just that one boat perhaps if any.

CHANCELLOR: And what's next militarily?

QUINN: I've been told by a very reliable source here that a helicopter operation is in the works -- it's just in the works. It may be imminent, but decision on that will take place in the White House not here at the Pentagon.

CHANCELLOR: Charles Quinn briefing us from the Pentagon. At the White House the luncheon meeting of the NSC broke up late this afternoon and after that happened congressional leaders of both parties were asked to the White House. Tom Brokaw has more on that story.

TOM BROKAW: President FORD is meeting with congressional leaders of both parties at the White House this evening following a two hour meeting of the NSC, where military options were discussed. The President has promised to consult with Congress on military actions in the Mayaguez situation. In addition to the congressional leaders and the President in the meeting there is the Secretary of State, Henry KISSINGER, Secretary of Defense SCHLESINGER, and Vice President ROCKEFELLER. No members of the military JCS were seen at the room at the beginning of the meeting. Some congressional leaders are complaining about the nature of these consultations, but White House spokesmen say the President has a clear constitutional authority to use military force to protect American lives and property without congressional permission. Presidential advisers argue that the War Powers Act doesn't apply in this case. As one put it, this is not a case of sending a half million troops into SE Asia. So, in effect, the White House is

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calling it consultation, but the President is telling Congress what he'll do and he is telling them tonight here at the White House.

CHANCELLOR: Tom, what are they saying at the White House now about the safety and the whereabouts of the crew?

BROKAW: The whereabouts is still an extremely sensitive situation at the White House, John. Administration spokesmen are reluctant to talk about it, however, some high level White House officials have said they've received no reports of any casualties of the crewmen aboard the Mayaguez. But that is about as much as they'll say at the White House on that subject.

CHANCELLOR: Tom Brokaw briefing us from the White House. In the Congress there was general support for the President. The White House said strong consensus and no objections. But there were questions asked and some difficulties about whether congressional leaders were consulted or only informed. The White House says SEnate Majority leader MANSFIELD was told before the fact, but he said it was after the fact. Here's more on the Congress from Catherine Mackin.

CATHERINE MACKIN: Senator MANSFIELD was one of several prominent Democrats who at least raised questions about the action President FORD took. As for press secretary Ron Nessen's statement that there were no objections among the leaders of Congress, MANSFIELD said no objections is a highly technical phrase. MANSFIELD said you can't object after decisions already are made. He said there was no consultation, just notification only after the fact. Henry JACKSON, a Democrat running for President and a Vietnam hawk, said he hopes the United States is not going down the same road followed after the 1964 Tonkin Gulf incident which led to major involvement in Vietnam. JACKSON said this is a time for cool heads, not a time to exercise the use of force. Senator Edward KENNEDY said it appears the United States may have acted with undue haste. He questioned whether every possible diplomatic effort had been made before military force was used. But there was a lot of support for the President, many said what he did was a justified act of self defense and said he was acting fully within his power as commander in chief.

SENATOR JACOB JAVITS: I believe a President has the right to act against piracy on the high seas in respect to the U.S. vessel and there's no question about that.

SENATOR JOHN TOWER: Well I think in the past in a similar situation we've failed to act with sufficient haste.

REP. JOHN RHODES: It would be my hope that the Cambodians would realize that the situation is one that we do not intend to tolerate and that it might be well for them to release the ship and the crew.

MACKIN: All afternoon officials of the State Department and Defense Department circulated on Capitol Hill briefing the members of the House and Senate Foreign Relations Committee on what the President did. Under the 1973 War Powers Act President FORD will have to file a written report to Congress on the Cambodian action within the next 48 hours. Catherin Mackin, NBC News, Washington.

CHANCELLOR: And late today the Senate Foreign Relations Committee endorsed the President's action. Throughout the day, however, despite different kinds of messages to the Cambodian government the United States has not been given any signal in return from Phnom Penh, not even an acknowledgment that its messages were received.

***(Commercials)

CHANCELLOR: The Prime Minister of Thailand, Kukrit PRAMOTCH, today was protesting the sudden arrival overnight of 1,100 American Marines who were flown to an American airbase in Thailand. He was not given notice of that, nor were American civilian officials in Bangkok. And the government of Thailand has given the American government until Wednesday night Washington time to get the Marines out of the country. The Marines, of course, could be used if necessary in a rescue mission for the crewmen of the Mayaguez. But that deadline stands. All this took place on a day when a new and somewhat bewildered American Ambassador, Charles WHITEHOUSE (?) arrived in Bangkok. George Lewis has that story by satellite.

GEORGE LEWIS: The new Ambassador was greeted by a small group of student demonstrators carrying anti-American signs, chanting and singing anti-American slogans. The demonstration was noisy but non-violent, as Ambassador WHITEHOUSE and his wife walked through the crowd. He arrived as the Thai government was protesting the reported movement of 1,100 U.S. Marines into the country. According to one account the Thai Prime Minister was threatening to break relations with the United States. But there was a polite official welcome, flower garlands from a protocol officer. In a brief statement Ambassador WHITEHOUSE had little to say about the Cambodian capture of the merchant ship Mayaguez, about any U.S. military response or about the problems

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between the U.S. and Thailand.

AMBASSADOR CHARLES WHITEHOUSE: I recognize that there is a problem with regards to the ship Mayaguez, with which at this moment I'm afraid I'm not familiar. My wife and I have been travelling for three days and I'm afraid at this time I'm not in any position to comment with regard to this problem. At least I should also state that until I've had the honor of presenting my credentials to his majesty the king, it would be very inappropriate of me to comment on anything that effects Thai-American relations.

LEWIS: So the new Ambassador will contend with a government which says it is angry at the U.S. There are signs here the anger is not unanimous, that some Thai leaders favor a continued military presence here. It seems to be a delicate balancing act, trying to placate the Communists while holding them at bay with U.S. military men here. And the big question is whether the Thais can pull it off. George Lewis, NBC News, Bangkok.

Anti-Americanism in Laos

CHANCELLOR: Anti-American feelings arose today in Laos as the coalition government there continued to move closer to Communist control. In the Laotian town of Savannakhet a student mob broke into the compound of the Agency for International Development, sacked it and made hostages of three American AID employees. They are believed to be unharmed. And in the royal capital of Louangphrabang the AID compound also was broken into but the four Americans there are believed safe. And in Washington the State Department said the United States would begin to cut the size of its Embassy staff in Vientiane by the end of the week.

Report on Killed U.S. Marines

CHANCELLOR: Two American Marines, Lance Corporal Darwin JUDGE of Marshaltown, Iowa and Corporal Charles McMAHON of Wilburn, Mass., were killed in a rocket attack at Tansonnhut airport two days before the Saigon government surrendered to the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese. And in the rush of the American evacuation from South Vietnam their bodies were inadvertantly left behind in a Saigon hospital. Last night in Marshaltown a memorial service was held for Lance Corporal JUDGE. Jim Ruddle reports.

JIM RUDDLE: When he was 15 he became an Eagle Scout. He like to work with his hands, to make things. He graduated from Marshaltown High School May 31st last year and enlisted in the Marines. Marshaltown H.S., now the flag at half staff, and a memorial service for Darwin JUDGE, dead at 19 in South Vietnam, one of the last two Americans killed there by enemy action. Darwin's parents learned of his death two weeks ago and their grief has been compounded. The memorial service had music, flowers and flags, but no coffin, Darwin's body was left behind in the confusion of the American evacuation of Saigon.

MINISTER: In a way tonight the whole nation is evesdropping on this place -- not out of disrespect mind you -- but perhaps as a final guest of grief. Maybe this is one of the last opportunities to collectively weep over the tragedy of the Vietnam war.

RUDDLE: So in many ways it was like all those other memorials for other American servicemen whose bodies were never returned from Vietnam. And it was a different kind of memorial to the Vietnam dead because this could be one of the last. Jim Ruddle, NBC News, Marshaltown, Iowa.

CBS EVENING NEWS CBS TV
7:00 PM MAY 14

U.S. Planes Sink Cambodian Ships

BOB SCHIEFFER: Good evening. United States warplanes have sunk three Cambodian gunboats in the Gulf of Thailand about 30 miles off the coast of Cambodia. U.S. officials said the attack was ordered to prevent the Cambodians from taking the crew members off the Mayaguez, the captured American merchant ship. The air strikes occurred as more than 1,000 U.S. Marines were arriving in Thailand. The Thai government protested both the troops arrival and the sinking of the boats, which it called madness. More on the story from Ike Pappas at the Pentagon and Phil Jones at the White House.

IKE PAPPAS: It was 16 hours after the attack that the Pentagon informed the nation it had occurred.

SECRETARY LAITIN: Beginning at 8:30 PM yesterday evening there were indications that the Cambodians appeared to be attempting to move captive U.S. crewmen from the ship and from the island of Koh-Tang to the mainland. After giving warning, U.S. aircraft began efforts to

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block this movement. Three Cambodian patrol craft were destroyed.

PAPPAS: The original Pentagon statement said four patrol boats were also damaged. Later the Pentagon said its information may have been erroneous, that it is not clear how many, if any, of the patrol boats were damaged. At least three types of American aircraft took part, the A-7, a medium range fighter equipped with 20mm gattling guns; the F-4, an all weather fighter-bomber fitted with 20mm cannons; and the AC-130, a converted turbo-prop cargo plane carrying gattling guns. The destroyer Holt arrived on the scene this afternoon, the aircraft carrier Coral Sea is due there around midnight eastern time. Pentagon sources said pilots took some precautions to determine if any of the crew members of the ship were on the patrol boats before they attacked. However the sources said they could not rule out the possibility some of the crewmen were on the Cambodian boats. They added that some survivors were seen on rafts in the water. Some crew members may have been on the one boat that got through.

Indications here are more military force will follow unless the Khmer Rouge Communists act swiftly to release the ship and its men. Pentagon sources said that action could come within 24 hours. Ike Pappas, CBS News, the Pentagon.

PHIL JONES: The President started leaning towards military reaction late yesterday afternoon, congressional leaders were then telephoned. According to the White House this was consultation as required by the 1973 War Powers Act. However CBS News has learned that those telephone calls consisted of a Presidential aide reading a statement on President FORD's plans. The congressional leaders were not asked for a reaction or advice. White House officials say there were no objections raised. Then Mr. FORD held a meeting with his NSC. That session lasted until after midnight. Secretary of State KISSINGER was back for his regular meeting with President FORD this morning and again this afternoon for the fourth emergency security council session. KISSINGER indicated that there is still a good chance that the American crewmen are on the island near where the Mayaguez is anchored. Publicly the President has still not stated a deadline for the return of the vessel and crew. However it has now been two days since he issued that stern warning calling for the immediate return of the vessel and its crew or the Cambodians would face serious consequences. Phil Jones, CBS News, at the White House.

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SCHIEFFER: In response to the Cambodian capture of that American merchant ship more than 1,000 U.S. Marines were airlifted today to Utapao, the U.S. base in Thailand. But the troop movement has created new friction between the Thai and American governments. No sooner had the Marines arrived then Thailand gave them 24 hours to get out of the country. We have reports now from Peter Collins in Thailand and Marvin Kalb in Washington.

PETER COLLINS: The Marines were brought into the big Utapao Airbase aboard Air Force jet transports from Okinawa. There was little for them to do except to wait for orders. The Marines said they were under instructions not to discuss their mission. But their presence on this base is building toward a diplomatic collision between the United States and Thailand. With the collapse of the American position in Indochina, the Thais have been increasingly nervous about having large U.S. forces in their country as they try to patch up relations with the new Communist governments of Vietnam and Cambodia. And now Thailand's Prime Minister Kukrit PRAMOTCH says he doesn't want to be dragged into a new dispute between the U.S. and Cambodia. The Prime Minister has told the U.S. he will not permit the Marines to use Thailand as a base for any move to free the captured freighter Mayaguez by force. And beyond that he has ordered the Marines out of the country by Thursday or Thailand will take "drastic action." What that action might be is open to speculation, but one option could be simply to close this and the other three American bases in Thailand. That would be a heavy blow to the United States which keeps 25,000 troops and a variety of aircraft on the bases, including B-52 bombers such as this one. If the Thais want to close the bases they could easily cut off their supplies or even move in military force, although such a step is unlikely. Peter Collins, CBS News, at Utapao Airbase, Thailand.

MARVIN KALB: The administration thinks Thailand is unreliable and it's been in the process of pulling American troops out of the country for the past few months, a process unrelated to the current crisis. The old anti-Communist alliance between Bangkok and Washington is dying as the Thais try desperately to strike up new friendships with the triumphant Communists of Cambodia and Vietnam. In this climate the U.S. did not feel that it had to inform the Thai government that

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the Marines were coming, and it did not, thereby further inflaming an already bad situation. Actually the Marines went to Thailand for only one purpose, as part of the rescue operation of the captured freighter. This episode only underscores the fragility of American diplomacy in SE Asia. For example, when the freighter was seized the U.S. found itself in the awkward position of being forced to turn to China for help, there was no other country the U.S. could turn to. And when, predictably, China turned a cold shoulder towards the U.S. the administration felt it had no alternative but to use military force. Marvin Kalb, CBS News, the White House.

Nevada Bomb Test

SCHIEFFER: In the ground 2,500 feet below Peyute Mesa, Nevada today the government exploded a nuclear device 50 times as powerful as the WWII atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The ground shock was felt 110 ten miles away in Las Vegas where the buildings swayed and doors rattled for about 30 seconds. Monitoring planes reported no radiation leaks.

Report on Defense Spending

SCHIEFFER: Earlier this week CBS News in its special series, Defense, Diplomacy and Detente, has explored American treaty obligations throughout the world and how the United States stands militarily with its potential adversaries. Tonight in the final report Bernard Kalb takes a look at U.S. defense spending.

PRESIDENT FORD: However good their intentions, those who claim that America is overarmed and overspending on defense are dead wrong.

CONGRESSMAN: I concur with that statement, I don't think that we are overarmed. (Senator TOWER (?))

CONGRESSMAN: Absolutely not, I think that we are overspending and we're not getting our money's worth.

BERNARD KALB: That clash of views is just the opening skirmish in the annual battle over just how much the United States should spend on defense, and it's expected to get a lot more intense this year. The guns versus butter controversy, sharpened by disagreement over national priorities at a time of unemployment, inflation and uncertain economy. For the first time the Pentagon has asked for more than $100 billion in appropriations, $104.7 billion to be exact, for fiscal '76 -- reflecting the climbing cost of defense, that's a $15.7 billion increase over last year. The money for such expenses as operations and maintenance, military personnel, the acquisition of hardware. Among other objectives the record budget is aimed at accomodating inflation now and improving weaponry later. Of the grand total, about $93 billion is for actual or estimated outlays in fiscal '76. Part of the remainder represents a down payment on future growth, thereby laying the groundwork for a steadily increasing defense budget. The Pentagon estimates it could go as high as $148 billion in 1980. What has drawn the fire of congressional critics are the requests for continued funding of such highly controversial items still in the development stage, such as the B-1 bomber $84 million each; and the giant new Trident nuclear missile submarines a billion and a half dollars each, the most expensive single weapons system on the drawing boards.

CONGRESSMAN: These glamor items get into the defense budget because that's what the services want to put in there, I mean, that's what they really like to have. The Air Force loves bombers, and the submarine -- Navy wants to have a new Trident submarine, and the Army likes a new main battle tank. Those are very, very expensive pieces of equipment and not worth the cost.

KALB: An opposing view from Senator John TOWER, who sees the present defense budget as a bare bones budget and is willing to consider cuts in other programs if necessary to support it.

SENATOR JOHN TOWER: Well I think what we have to do is look at some of the social programs that we enacted during the '60's that have locked in a lot of obligatory federal spending, and perhaps go back and modify some of these programs or reduce them. But again we have to order our priorities. And I think that we have to simply take a hard look and see where we can effect cuts in the lower priority programs.

KALB: Congress has only so many dollars to work with. National defense is down for 27 percent of the federal budget. But critics argue that if the Pentagon gets that percentage other programs will suffer.

CONGRESSMAN: I think you can do that, just write down environment, health care, educational needs, job training programs. All these social and domestic problems, of course, are relatively going to suffer when we waste money over and above the needs of an adequate defense in one sector of our budget.

KALB: At the Pentagon, no defensive-

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ness about (?) the record defense budget from Secretary James SCHLESINGER.

SECRETARY SCHLESINGER: This is a record budget only in terms of the gradually diminishing value of the dollar. Now the main point behind our defense budget is the necessity, given the U.S. foreign policy in the world, of maintaining adequate forces to retain a worldwide military balance so that the Soviet Union does not by an automatic process become the dominant power in the eastern hemisphere. With regard to the guns versus butter issue, I think I indicated that the real value of the DOD budget has been shrinking, that our percentage of the federal budget has been cut almost in half in the last -- in recent fiscal years -- so that more and more has been made available for social programs against shrinking tax revenues by real reductions in defense. The question is whether that process has not gone too far and whether it now threatens the worldwide military equilibrium which it is necessary for us to maintain.

KALB: Some congressional critics have been talking about record budget cuts the Indochina defeat has made them back away. Still not every requested dollar is regarded as untouchable. The question being asked is whether the final cuts will be only symbolic or whether the controversy over national priorities will cut deeper into the Pentagon budget. Bernard Kalb, CBS News, Washington.

SCHIEFFER: Both the Senate and the House today passed a resolution to hold federal spending this year to $367 billion. This ceiling encompasses a deficit of about $69 billion.

ABC EVENING NEWS ABC TV
7:00 PM MAY 14

U.S. Planes Sink Cambodian Boats

HARRY REASONER: The United States has begun military action to gain the release of the American merchant ship Mayaguez now held by Cambodia. When diplomatic efforts to free the ship failed and it became apparent the Cambodians were about to move the crew members, U.S. planes attacked the gunboats guarding the Mayaguez, at least three of the Cambodian boats were destroyed. We have reports detailing the attack and related events first from Pentagon correspondent Frank Tomlinson.

FRANK TOMLINSON: The attack against the Cambodian boats was carried out at 8:30 last night our time by American aircraft flying out of Thailand after there were indications that the Cambodians were trying to move the captured crewmen off the freighter Mayaguez and off Koh-Tang island. Fifteen hours after the AC-130 gunships and the A-7 fighter-bombers made their attack the Pentagon made a terse announcement saying that three Cambodian patrol boats had been sunk. That original announcement also said four other Cambodian patrol boats had been damaged and immobilized. Now the Pentagon is backtracking, saying, that there's insufficient evidence to prove that those four boats were damaged. One Cambodian boat did make it to the port of Kampong Som. It was not attacked because it was feared American crewmen were onboard. Meanwhile, the Mayaguez is still at anchor off Koh-Tang island, 30 miles off the Cambodian coast and is under constant surveillance by U.S. aircraft. The first of several Naval ships headed for the Gulf of Siam has arrived in the area, it's the destroyer escort Holt. Three aircraft carriers, the Coral Sea, the Hancock and the Midway are in the western Pacific apparently headed for the Gulf of Siam. A reinforced Marine battallion landing team of 1,200 men is in Thailand, it could move at any time the order is given. Officials say there are several options open to the Marines. One of those options is to put Marines on the deck of the freighter Mayaguez. Another is to land Marines on Koh-Tang island. The best bet is to recover the Mayaguez they'll take both options simultaneously. Frank Tomlinson, ABC News, the Pentagon.

***

REASONER: Ambassador John SCALLY called on United Nation's Secretary Gen. WALDHEIM today to formally request U.N. help in securing the release of the Mayaguez and its crew. In a letter presented to WALDHEIM, SCALLY said the U.S. reserves the right to take such measures as may be necessary to protect the lives of American citizens and American property.

***

HOWARD K. SMITH: When those 1,200 Marines sent by President FORD arrived in Thailand the Thai reaction was strong. They demanded the Marines be withdrawn immediately. There was also a popular protest as the new U.S. Ambassador to Thailand arrived. ABC's Jim Bennet reports.

JIM BENNET: ***But even as he spoke (Ambassador) Thailand's Prime Minister was expressing other ideas on the American presence here.

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PRIME MINISTER PRAMOTCH: We have made a protest to the U.S. Government, together with the demand that the troops be withdrawn immediately. And if that's not done, if our request (unintelligible) there will probably be a deterioration in the good relations between this country and the United States.

REPORTER: Do you mean that Thailand is going to break relations with the United States?

P.M. PRAMOTCH: We will have to wait and see the results.

BENNET: Ambassador WHITEHOUSE left the airport amidst derisive shouts that the entire U.S. military presence in Thailand should leave immediately. What the Thais want now are not U.S. Marines on their territory poised to perhaps strike again into Indochina, but assurances of neutrality with their aggressive Communist neighbors. And there are those who believe that they are even prepared to break relations with America seeking that assurance. This is Jim Bennet, ABC News in Bangkok.

REASONER: An official of the Thai Foreign Ministry criticized today's U.S. military action as piracy and madness. He said the U.S. gave no thought to the consequences for Thailand. What if Cambodia decides to retaliate, he asked? It can't retaliate against the Americans, they are too far away, but it can retaliate against Thailand which is right next door.

Commentary: Howard K. SMITH

HOWARD K. SMITH: It may not happen, but with the general downgrading of the United States by Asians we ought to give it some thought. I mean a move by North Korea against South Korea. There's a logic favoring such a move: a) Kim Il SUNG of North Korea has indicated often and openly and recently that it has never left his mind; b) his opponent General PARK of South Korea has applied repression -- though nothing like KIM's in the North -- repressions which have disunified and weakened South Korea, and c) South Korea's main support, the United States, has just lost its first war ever and has little stomach for another land war in Asia at present. But if KIM doesn't act soon we may somehow regain stomach. There's a countervailing logic also, China may oppose an adventure by KIM that might cause the U.S. to lose interest in Asia and leave China alone on the Asian continent facing a hostile Russia and also possibly facing a Japan going nuclear because of lost confidence in the U.S. Also the U.S. mood is unpredictable, it is such that one more nasty slap might just cause a quick change of heart in favor of blowing KIM to kingdom come, especially since unlike Indochina our interests should be clear in this case, the Korean Peninsula points straight at Japan. I don't know which logic will prevail but it might influence things if we made up our minds soberly, now and indicated our thoughts to KIM early. Congress would have to do that. I had the impression President FORD has already made up his mind, he would be for fighting.

Due to insufficient space items of relevance to DOD from the CBS Morning News and the Today Show NBC News of May 14, 1975 have not been included.

PLEASE NOTE: Complete transcripts of the following are available:

Special Report: Phnom Penh After the Fall CBS Radio May 8, 1975.

Evening Edition EE TV May 12, 1975 Ambassador Basheer, spokesman for President Sadat.

Evening Edition EE TV May 13, 1975 Ambassadors of Thailand and Australia.

CBS Morning News CBS TV May 13, 1975 Ike Pappas and Phil Jones discuss the Mayaguez.

Tomorrow NBC TV May 13, 1975 Senator McGovern.

First Line Report CBS Radio May 13, 1975 Daniel Schorr comments on the last days of the Nixon presidency.

Walter Cronkite CBS Radio May 12, 1975 Substitute Hottelet on Cambodia.

News WAVA Radio May 12, 1975 Report on Rep. Aspin charges against Army regarding nuclear security.

UPI World Desk UPI Radio May 13, 1975 Statement by Capt. Hill.

News WAVA Radio May 13, 1975 Report on Marines on the alert.

The World Tonight CBS Radio May 12, '75 Report on the Mayaguez.

News WAVA Radio May 13, 1975 Marines flying back to Indochina.

Radio Net Alert News Report CBS Radio 5/14 Statement by Secretary Laitin.

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CURRENT NEWS

PART I - EARLY BIRD EDITION - 0730

PART II - MAIN EDITION - PUBLISHED AT 1130

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WEDNESDAY, MAY 14, 1975

WASHINGTON POST 14 MAY 1975 Pg. 21

Spain Stiffens Stand on Bases

By Miguel Acoca
Special to The Washington Post

MADRID, May 13—Spain has put in question basing rights for American nuclear submarines during deadlocked negotiations with the United States about renewing the bilateral defense agreement, according to authoritative sources.

Spain's hardened stand over the continued presence of U.S. Polaris submarines in Rota, a nuclear naval station in southern Spain, followed earlier requests that the United States abandon Torrejon air base near Madrid and give up the presently inactive Moron air base in the south.

Because of its strategic location at the western entrance of the Mediterranean, Rota is considered vital to anti-Soviet defenses. The number of Polaris nuclear missiles at Rota have been the subject of negotiation between the United States and the Soviet Union at the SALT talks.

(See BASES, Pg. 2)

GENERAL NEWS SUMMARY
FROM THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
MAY 14, 1975
World-Wide

CAMBODIAN GUNFIRE hit a U.S. plane flying over a seized American ship.

The U.S. surveillance plane suffered minor damage and landed safely after being fired on while observing the merchant ship in the Gulf of Thailand. That vessel, previously believed taken to a port, is lying 30 miles off the coast guarded by two Cambodian gunboats. Pentagon sources said 1,000 Marines on Okinawa had been alerted and 150 would be flown to a U.S. base in Thailand. But Thailand said it wouldn't permit its bases to be used in attacking Cambodia.

President Ford met with the National Security Council and again demanded immediate release of the cargo ship and its 39 American crewmen. But he didn't set a deadline.

Ford would consult Congress before taking any military action to retrieve the ship, although he has "certain inherent powers"

(See NEWS SUMMARY, Pg. 3)

NEW YORK TIMES 14 MAY 1975 Pg. 17

Japanese Fearful of Conflict in Korea

By RICHARD HALLORAN
Special to The New York Times

TOKYO, May 13—A Japanese official, asked what the long-run impact of the fall of Indochina would have on Japan, jabbed the air slightly with his chopsticks and shot out a one-word answer: "Korea."

"Indochina is of no real concern to us," he continued a moment later. "We are sorry about the refugees and all that. But it is a long way from us. Korea is our neighbor next door."

All over Tokyo, conservative politicians, officials, businessmen, and foreign diplomats and businessmen produced the same answer with the same speed. All were concerned that Korea would be the next battlefield in Asia and that this would have unhappy, if unpredictable, consequences for Japan.

The Japanese and Foreigners noted the basic objective of Communist North Korea to take over the South, the example of Communist successes in Indochina, the recent trip to Peking by President Kim Il Sung of North Korea seeking Chinese support, and reports that he would travel to Moscow soon for similar reasons.

Repression in South

The sources further suggested that President Kim might be tempted by the unrest in South Korea caused by President Park Chung Hee's political repression. "If there was only a way to replace Park Chung Hee," one Japanese sighed. "There are so many people who could run that country better and be more effectively anti-Communist."

Beyond Korea, politically aware Japanese have shown since the fall of Saigon that: ¶The confusion of their relationship with the United States has become accentuated. They fear that the United States will abandon them and want reassurances on the American security commitment. At the

(See CONFLICT, Pg.2)

NEW YORK TIMES 14 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

U.S. Alerts West Pacific Forces After Cambodian Ship Seizure

By PHILIP SHABECOFF
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 13—United States marines, warships and planes have been placed on alert in the western Pacific following the seizure of an American merchant ship yesterday by Cambodian gunboats, Administration officials said today.

The officials said a 1,000-man Marine battalion on Okinawa had been alerted for possible participation in operations to rescue the vessel, the unarmed container ship Mayagüez.

One source said that about 100 marines had been sent to Thailand for possible use as a boarding party to rescue the crew of the ship.

Ron Nessen, the White House press secretary, said President Ford would consult with Congress before ordering the use of force to retrieve the vessel. Mr. Nessen briefed reporters after Mr. Ford had met with the National Security Council.

Crew of 39 Aboard

The White House would make no public statement on either military or diplomatic efforts to obtain the release of the ship and its crew of 39 Americans. But officials said the basic strategy under consideration involved the use of air or sea power to prevent the ship from being taken into a Cambodian harbor.

High-ranking sources familiar with military strategy and planning said privately that the seizure of the vessel might provide the test of American determination in Southeast Asia that, they asserted, the United States has been seeking since the collapse of allied governments in South Vietnam and Cambodia.

The Mayagüez was fired on and seized by two Cambodian gunboats early yesterday 8 miles off the Wai Islands, a group of rocky islets 60 miles from the Cambodian coast.

Was Not Taken to Port

Yesterday, White House spokesmen said the ship had been taken to the port of Sihanoukville, known as Kompong Som under the previous regime. But by this morning it was evident that the Mayagüez and the gunboats had halted off Tang Island, 30 miles from the port.

With the ship 30 miles from the coast, American officials said, there was hope that military power could be interposed to prevent it from being taken to the mainland. The officials conceded that there were serious military and political problems in any such operation.

The Government of Thailand has stated publicly that it would not allow the use of Thai bases by planes, ships or troops for a military operation against Cambodia.

Actually United States aircraft based in Thailand are already being used for around-the-clock surveillance of the Mayagüez, administration sources disclosed privately. Publicly, the Government will not say where the planes are coming from, for fear of exacerbating the delicate political

(See ALERTS, Pg. 2)

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WASH POST 14 MAY Pg. 35

Japan Asks U.S. To Control Forces

Reuter

TOKYO, May 13—Japanese Foreign Minisger Kiichi Miyazawa today asked U.S. Ambassador James Hodgson to take necessary mearsures to prevent recurrence of an incident in which a U.S. Marine is alleged to have raped two teenage girls in Okinawa last month, Foreign Ministry sources said.

Police said Pfc. Sammy Flores of a Marine Corps unit at Camp Hansen in Okinawa had been sent to the district prosecutor's office on a charge of raping the two girls, aged 15 and 13, after knocking them unconscious. Hodson repled that he would ask the U.S. forces in Japan to maintain discipline, they said.S

CONFLICT -- CONTINUED

same time, there is considerable gloating over the American defeat in Indochina.

¶They are worried about Communist infiltration into Thailand, a good trading partner and site of Japanese investments, and later into Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia, thus threatening sources of supply as well as the shipping and oil lifeline that extends through the Strait of Malacca.

¶They are prepared to carry on their relationships with North Vietnam and South Vietnam pragmatically. The Japanese Ambassador to Saigon and his staff were accidentally left behind during the evacuation but have established initial contact with the new Government there.

¶At home, trends toward greater awareness of their own security needs, toward resistance to the treaty to halt the spread of nuclear arms and toward revision of the Constitution to enhance the status of the small Self-Defense Forces have accelerated slightly.

It is equally clear, however, that Premier Takeo Miki's administration has done little to formulate a new policy to act on the new Japanese perceptions of the region around them.

Japanese officials suggested that their Government might increase its cc economic aid to South Korea and Southeast Asian nations to shore up their anti-Communist posture. But inquiries about political initiatives drew only polite smiles or blank stares.

The speed with which a consensus on Korea and its dangers seems to evolved has been striking. The Japanese, in their innate caution and groping for agreement, usually take plenty of time. In this instance, proximity and history appear to have dictated a swift reaction.

Ever since the turn of the century, the Japanese have considered Korea "the dagger pointed at the throat of Japan." That concept was used to justify Japanese colonial rule from 1905 to 1945.

Today, the Japanese fear that turmoil in Korea, where national interests of the United States, the Soviet Union, China and Japan are involved, could further unsettle the uneasy balance of power in Asia.

Moreover, they fear that a unified Korea, whether under the Communists or non-Communists, would be a potential threat since there are more than four times as many men under arms on the Korean peninsula as in Japan.

More immediately, South Korea is a major Japanese trading partner and recipient of Japanese investment and loans. Turbulence there would almost certainly jeopardize those economic interests.

Second only to Japanese anxiety over Korea is an emotional thrashing about as the Japanese ponder their relations with the United States. The confusion was illustrated in a series of articles in Asahi Shimbun, a major daily newspaper.

Shortly before Saigon fell, a columnist in the Asahi said: "More than anything else, the Vietnam war was a defeat for American civilization."

Several days later, however, the columnist asked: "Can the United States really be depended upon in the case of an emergency?" Answering, he said: "The curtain is gradually being rung down on the age when one was safe if one depended on the nuclear umbrella of the United States."

The column concluded: "There is need for further strengthening of friendly relations with surrounding nations," an allusion to China and the Soviet Union.

More recently, another commentary in the same newspaper said: "Despite the widespread demands in Japan for moving away from the United States, the time may be here for examining more realistically what the options are."

The commentary went on: "Bluntly, talk of moving away from the United States is unrealistic if this means severing the massive Japan-United States ties that have been developed." These include immense trade and investment, and a mutual security pact.

Premier Miki and the governing Liberal-Democratic party seem unable to move in this situation because of diplomatic inertia that has built up over the years. Japan's foreign policy has been to stay out of conflicts of any kind, to maintain good relations with as many nations as possible and to rely on the United States diplomatically and militarily.

Within the governing party itself, there is no fundamental consensus between the conservatives and liberals or between the older, senior men and their juniors. Between the liberal Democrats and and the leftist opposition is an evidently unbridgeable chasm.

Thus, said an Asahi commentary, "neither side has answers for what Japan must do now in Asia."

ALERTS -- CONTINUED

situation.

One of the Thailand-based aircraft, a Navy P-3 Orion reconnaissance plane, was hit by small arms fire as it swooped low over the merchant ship today, officials reported. They said that the unarmed plane had been forced by cloud cover to fly at a low altitude. It reportedly was not seriously damaged and was able to complete its flight.

The original operations plan, the officials said, was to airlift the Marine battalion to U Taphao air base in Thailand. But when word of the alert leaked out and Premier Kukrit Pramoj said in Bangkok that Thailand could not be used as a staging area, the use of the battalion became doubtful. American officials said privately that the Thai warning might be intended chiefly for domestic consumption.

Meanwhile, the aircraft carrier Coral Sea, which had been en route to Australia to celebrate the anniversary of the World War II battle of the Coral Sea, has been diverted and is now sailing toward the Gulf of Siam. Other ships from the Seventh Fleet, including destroyers, have also been ordered to move toward the gulf.

The Coral Sea was said to be one day's sail from the Mayagüez and none of the other ships is in the immediate vicinity.

Comment by Kissinger

Secretary of State Kissinger, answering questions at a news conference in Kansas City, said diplomatic efforts were also in progress. He said the Government was proceeding "with deliberation and determination" and would not make any decisions under pressure.

Several members of Congress who saw Mr. Ford privately today came away with the impression that he did not intend to order the use of force in the immediate future.

Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican of New York, told reporters after having emerged from the White House that the President had not decided at this point to take military action.

"He is keeping his shirt on," Senator Javits said.

At today's White House briefing, Mr. Nessen reported that air surveillance showed there were Cambodians aboard the Mayagüez. When asked whether Americans were still aboard, Mr. Nesse replied, "I can't go into that."

When asked whether the Mayagüez had been engaged in spying or any activity other than carrying cargo, Mr. Nessen replied, "The answer to that is a flat no."

The Globe and Mail, Toronto

PEKING, Wednesday, May 14—Diplomatic efforts to obtain the release of the Mayagüez are believed to have included contacts yesterday between the United States Liaison Office here and the office of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, titular head of state of the Cambodian Government. Spokesmen for the mission and for the prince both declined to comment in response to newsmen's queries.

George Bush, chief of the liaison office, spent the morning visiting the Great Wall and the Ming Tombs north of Peking in the company of Secretary of Commerce Rogers C. B. Morton, who is here as his personal guest. Mr. Bush returned to the office shortly after noon, possibly to supervise the relaying of messages from Washington to the Cambodians.

A channel for contact with Prince Sihanouk was opened last month when the liaison office relayed a cease-fire proposal from the then Cambodian Government to the prince, who rejected it. The Communist-led insurgents captured Phnom Penh shortly afterward.

Western diplomats thought it likely that United States efforts to retrieve the ship would also include representations to the Chinese Foreign Ministry, which maintains close contact with Prince Sihanouk and the Phnom Penh Government. The diplomats said the United States would probably ask Peking to use its influence with the Cambodians.

BASES -- CONTINUED

President Ford and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger are expected to try to break the bases deadlock when they stop here for an overnight visit May 31. Officials were not optimistic however.

Mr. Ford is scheduled to confer with Chief of State Francisco Franco. But sources familiar with the negotiations said that Franco will not yield on essential issues such as formal recognition of Spain's contribution to Western defense, new equipment for the Spanish armed forces and a general revision of Spain's security arrangement with the United States.

A sign that Spain is preparing to take a more independent course in defense issues came last week with the announcement that the government will develop a weapons industry and increase funds for new arms.

Spain has made it clear, sources said, that it expects Washington to upgrade the defense relationship between the two countries. The present agreement expires in September.

Sources said that, in explaining their stand, Spanish officers participating in the talks have told U.S. negotiators that unless they remain firm and obtain favorable terms the regime will have difficulty with young officers who are demanding a greater voice in defense affairs.

It is no secret that the Spanish military have been disdainful of the quality of U.S. war materiel received under the present agreement. The Spanish navy rejected three U.S. destroyers some time back and found that re-equipping a helicopter carrier cost more than building a new one.

In many respects, the Spanish position on the bases is obviously designed to increase their bargaining leverage, but there is no doubt that it is also an attempt to assuage public opinion. Some months ago a poll showed that 48 per cent of those questioned opposed U.S. military bases in Spain.

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NEW YORK TIMES - 14 MAY 1975 Pg. 3

Kissinger Firmer on Detente Line

He Seeks to Bolster Political Stand by Talks in Midwest

By LESLIE H. GELB

Secretary of State Kissinger has been off in the American heartland giving speeches in an attemp to fill a policy vacuum left by the setbacks in Indochina and to shore up his political position in Washington.

News Analysis

One speech indicated he was taking a tougher line on détente to reestablish closer ties with allies. He is noting that it has become increasingly difficult to pursue better relations with Moscow and at the same time keep alliances together.

The second speeech held out an olive branch to the developing world. Again, Mr. Kissinger is pointing out that it has become increasingly difficult to maintain the economic security of the industrialized world without also coming to terms with the new demands of the third world.

Mr. Kissinger's aides have been telling him that although he is under fire in Washington, his popularity is still strong in the countryside. It is time, in their judgment, to send this message back to the capital.

In St. Louis two days ago the subject was detente.

"The willingness of the Soviet Union to exploit strategic opportunities—even though some of these opportunities presented themselves spontaneously and not as a result of Soviet action —constitutes a heavy mortgage on detente," Mr. Kissinger said.

'Our Allies and Friends'

This Administration considers our allies and friends our first priort priority," he added.

If Mr. Kissinger acts on this statement of priorities, it will mark a shift in policy that has long centered on Soviet-United States relations.

In Kansas City, yesterday Mr. Kissinger said that the United States was ready to negotiate new arrangements on energy with the developing countries and, of special concern to them, commodity prices.

The first speech will help Mr. Kissinger with conservatives, particularly in the Republican party, who after years of relatively quiet under President Richard M. Nixon are now publicly accusing the Secretary of State of having sold out to detente with Moscow. Mr. Kissinger is telling them that he is as wary of the Russians as they are.

The second speech might help Mr. Kissinger with the liberals, particularly in the Democratic party, who have been charging the Secretary with neglect of the third world.

But here, he also drew the line for the conservatives by underlining that the United States would resist demands for "a totally new economic order founded on ideology and national self-interest."

"The expansion of Soviet military power and its extension around the world is a serious concern to us," Mr. Kissinger said in St. Louis.

"The United States is determined to maintain the hopeful new trends in U.S.-Soviet relations on the basis of realism and reciprocity. But it is equally determined to resist pressures or the exploitation of local conflict."

Mr. Kissinger noted progress in avoiding nuclear war and in achieving stability in Europe and added:

"If detente turns into a formula for more selective exploitation of opportunities, the new trends in U.S.—Soviet relations will be in jeopardy. If our contention in peripheral areas persists, even more if it becomes exacerbated, the progress achieved in other areas of detentewill ultimately be undermined."

This was Mr. Kissinger's linkage theme, stated so often in the early days of the Nixon Administration and then dropped.

Mr. Kissinger's public remarks in recent months have been edging ever closer to a tougher stance with Moscow, particularly on the Middle East, Portugal and Indochina. According to Administration officials, the Secretary's of underscoring these points at this time does several things.

It signals Moscow that the Ford Administration is going to expect more "pve" from Soviet lileaders in a whole rang of negotiations: the Middle East, strategic nuclear arms, the European security conference, and mutal force reductions talks in Central Europe.

Mr. Kissinger will meet with the Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei A. Grumyko, in Vienna next week to discuss these issues.

It signals Chinese leaders that Mr. Kissinger is not so committed to detente with Moscow as to let down the United States military guard or to neglect Chinese-American relations.

In recent months, Chinese leaders have reportedly been ignoring Mr. Kissinger and praising Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger for his hardline on Moscow.

Finally, Mr. Kissinger's new tone, if not new policy, on detente serves to reassure allies that their interests will not be sacrificed. Allies have been watching the Secretary of State walk the detente line with a mixture of admiration, anxiety and confusion.

WASHINGTON POST
14 MAY 1975 Pg. 23

* Radio Free Europe, the American-financed station broadcasting to Communist East Europe, announced in Munich that it will reduce its staff by 100 to save money.

NEWS SUMMARY ... CONTINUED

to use force to protect American lives, Secretary of State Kissinger said. It was understood that the administration has ruled out giving anything to Cambodia in return for the ship. Ford isn't expected to agree to a compromise or apology, as was done in 1969 to get the Pueblo crew from North Korea.

China's first deputy premier, Teng Hsiao-ping, said in Paris that he couldn't confirm reports that the U.S. had asked Peking to intervene with the Phnom Penh government to free the freighter.

* * *

Britain and Italy recognized the new government of South Vietnam, and United Press International reported from Saigon that the Communists are willing to establish diplomatic ties with the U.S. Hundreds of refugees who fled to Saigon during the last weeks of the war were reported returning to their home provinces.

Refugee assistance of $405 million was approved by the House Appropriations Committee. Congress was told that cumbersome security checks, along with dwindling funds, have slowed resettlement of Vietnamese refugees in the U.S. to only about 100 a day.

The U.S. has decided to evacuate some of the 1,000 Americans in Laos, a country increasingly dominated by the pro-Communist Pathet Lao, UPI reported. Meanwhile, a veteran diplomat, Galen Stone, was nominated to be U.S. ambassador to Laos.

* * *

Kissinger said industrial nations must adjust their food, energy and raw-materials policies to meet needs of poor nations, but he rejected the demand from some of them for a "totally new economic order." He said the U.S. disapproves of setting commodity prices by political means and indexing the prices to inflation.

* * *

Melvin Laird said Ford should give Republican conservatives a chance to dump Vice President Rockefeller at the GOP convention, thus perhaps making them less likely to dump Ford. Laird, who is a close Ford adviser, said the President didn't seem to favor the idea.

* * *

A meeting to revise the Rio Pact of 1947, under which the Cuban embargo was imposed in 1964, was proposed at the current Organization of American States foreign ministers meeting in Washington. The OAS is expected to set a meeting for July in Costa Rica at which delegates could remove legal barriers to ending the embargo with only a majority vote.

Sen. George McGovern (D., S.D.), who visited Cuba last week, said Castro has given clear signals that he is ready to improve relations with the U.S. McGovern suggested lifting the embargo on sales of food and medicine to Cuba.

* * *

President Park Chung Hee of South Korea revived a lapsed ban on all public opposition to his dictatorship and on publication of dissenting views. He cited what he termed a growing danger of invasion by North Korea.

* * *

A jailed Philippine politician whom President Ferdinand Marcos has charged with murder and subversion will end his 40-day hunger strike today, his wife said. The politician, former Sen. Benigno Aquino, is to go on trial shortly.

* * *

A new government of Chad was set up by Gen. Felix Malloum, who was freed from prison in a coup in the north central African nation last month. He holds the top posts.

* * *

School children whose native tongue isn't English should be taught chiefly in their primary language while learning English as a second language, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission said. Special instruction in English for such children already is required.

* * *

California repealed all previous prohibitions governing private sexual behavior by persons 18 years of age or over.

* * *

Four Lebanese ministers quit Premier Rashid Solh's cabinet, making his own resignation almost inevitable. They protested his handling of clashes last month between Palestinians and Phalangist rightists who claim the guerrillas' presence in Lebanon prompts Israeli attacks. Israel raided southern Lebanon yesterday for the second day in a row.

Israeli military censors confirmed a report that they had banned a book about Secretary of State Kissinger's peace mediation effort following the 1973 war. Sources in Jerusalem said the book contained quotes from Kissinger about Arab and Soviet leaders that would greatly embarrass Kissinger if published.

Syria closed its air space to Iraq's airliners in a worsening of their dispute based on use of Euphrates River water.

* * *

Turkish Premier Suleyman Demirel was punched in the nose in what the government described as an assassination attempt. It said the assailant, a leftist, used brass knuckles and broke Demirel's nose.

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WEDNESDAY MORNING, 14 MAY 1975

NEW YORK TIMES - 14 MAY 1975 Pg. 16

Asian Crises Raise Question of Risk for Reporters

By MARTIN ARNOLD

Since the days of Richard Harding Davis and young Winston Churchill, people have had the notion that reporters, and particularly foreign correspondents, live a life of dangerous glamour.

There are other less flattering notions, to be sure, but generally the movies and television have added to the swashbuckling image.

Sometimes the reality and the fantasy merge and a correspondent's life is in danger. The most recent occasion was the fall of the American-supported Governments in Cambodia and South Vietnam.

Unable to Send Reports

Those events raised questions for correspondents and news-gathering organizations: Were they important enough in terms of the public's interest for reporters to risk their lives to get out the news? Is there ever a news story of such importance that it is worth such a risk? Is the matter more complex than one of risk?

The New York Times ordered its correspondents out of Cambodia and South Vietnam just before each country fell to the Communists, but Sydney H. Schanberg, its correspondent in Cambodia, remained. He was unable to file dispatches from the time of the Communist take-over on April 17 until May 8, when he reached Thailand.

Was it worth the risk insofar as the correspondent was "ineffective"—not able to file for so many days? Many journalists, but not all, agree that the risk was justified, and nearly all agree that the articles that finally emerged would make it seem that those who stayed were far from ineffective.

It is the policy of The Times not to allow its correspondents to stay on in such situations on the ground that no story is worth a man's life. James L. Greenfield, foreign editor of The Times, said however, that "if we thought there was to be a negotiated steelement between the two sides or the formation of a coalition government or some sort of governmental situation, then we would allow a correspondent to stay."

Self-Imposed Embargo

Mr. Schanberg's last dispatch from Cambodia appeared in The Times on April 18. For 13 days he, with other foreigners, including a few journalists, was in refuge in the French Embassy; he then spent three and a half days on the road to Thailand.

Once out of Cambodia the correspondents agreed to a self-imposed embargo until all foreign nationals had been evacuated. Mr. Schanberg's report on the situation in Cambodia appeared in The Times on May 9, the day the embargo was lifted.

No news-gathering organization would order a correspondent to stay in an area or situation in which his life was seriously endangered, but the matter is not that simple.

Murray Gart, chief of correspondents for Time, Inc., said: "The question for the newsman is really, How long is a reporter useful? At what point does the risk overwhelm his usefulness? If the reporter is going to get clobbered or is going to be locked in an embassy, then the risk is too great for someone who is not going to be effective."

Cut to the Minimum

William Small, senior vice president and director of news for CBS, Inc., said that it relied on its reporters for guidance, telling them that if there was any real danger it did not want them to stay. "We leaned on them to get out of Cambodia, and they did," he added. Some of CBS's part-time correspondents stayed, however.

Associated Press correspondents left Cambodia before the end, but three Asociated Press reporters stayed in Saigon and are still there.

"I ordered them to cut our Saigon staff to the minimum," said Wes Gallagher, president of The Associated Press. "It was a calculated risk, and it's hard to make the evaluation, but from our point of view it was worth the risk."

He said he had communications from his correspondents in Saigon.

Subtle factors may lead a correspondent to stay in a dangerous spot—factors beyond whether the story is worth the risk. Many a good reporter comes to see the situation he is covering as the most important there is, and he believes that his readers or viewers or listeners should know what is happening.

"I was here at the beginning and I think it's worth the risk to be here at the end," said Peter Arnett of The Associated Press in a message explaining why he was staying in Saigon.

Then too, some reporters develop euphoria amid the drama and the danger.

On the other hand, many correspondents are married and have families, and must take their personal responsibilities into consideration.

WASHINGTON POST
14 MAY 1975 Pg. 15

Ford Picks Stone for Laos Post

United Press International

President Ford yesterday named veteran diplomat Galen L. Stone as ambassador to Laos, where Communists are daily increasing their control of the government.

Stone will take over the post in Vientiane from Charles S. Whitehouse, named earlier to be ambassador to Thailand. The Senate must confirm Stone's appointment, a key political move in Southeast Asia.

Stone, 53, is a native of Brookline, Mass., graduated from Harvard University and was an Army officer during World War II.

Since 1973, Stone has been deputy chief of mission in Paris. Before that, he held diplomatic posts in India and South Vietnam. From 1969 to 1973, he was deputy chief of the American diplomatic mission in New Delhi, where he had also served from 1965 to 1968 as an assistant. In 1968-1969, he was a political counselor in Saigon.

Mr. Ford accepted the resignation of Joseph A. Mendehall as ambassador to the Malagasy Republic, and the resignation of Duane K. Craske as attorney for the District of Gaum. No successor was named to either post.

BALTIMORE SUN - 14 MAY 1975 Pg. 2

Zumwalt says U.S. verbally assured Thieu

Washington (AP)—Adm. Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr. (Ret.) testified yesterday that the Joint Chiefs of Staff were instructed to prepare contingency plans for the use of force in case North Vietnam violated the Paris peace agreement.

He said it was "quite clear to me" in November, 1972, that verbal commitments had been given to South Vietnam and he assumed that congressional leaders also had been informed.

"But apparently they were not," said Admiral Zumwalt, who was chief of naval operations at the time of the negotiations for a truce in Vietnam.

He said he did not know that written commitments had been made by former President Nixon to former President Nguyen Van Thieu until the recent disclosure of letters by Mr. Nixon, written in December, 1972, and January, 1973.

In these letters Mr. Nixon told Mr. Thieu the United States intended to "take swift and severe retaliatory action" and would respond with "full force" if North Vietnam violated the peace agreement.

Admiral Zumwalt testified at a hearing of the Senate Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Separation of Powers that he had not known of these letters but that it had been clear that Mr. Thieu had "to be pressured and promised to go along" with the Paris accords.

The subcommittee is considering bills that would give the Senate or the House, or both, a veto over executive agreements made by the president with other nations.

Admiral Zumwalt testified that at a November, 1972, meeting in the White House Oval Office, the Joint Chiefs of Staff were instructed by Mr. Nixon to prepare contingency plans for the use of force if North Vietnam violated the peace agreement being negotiated.

NEW YORK TIMES
14 MAY 1975 Pg. 16

Kissinger Sees Atrocity In Events in Cambodia

ST. LOUIS, May 13 (AP)—Secretary of State Kissinger says that Cambodia is carrying out "an atrocity of major proportions" by forced marches and executions.

In a news conference here last night Mr. Kissinger said "very clear information" indicated that officers as low as the rank of second lieutenant in the defeated army and their wives were being killed and millions of Phnom Penh residents marched into rural areas where they will lack food before the November harvest.

Mr. Kissinger called the situation "a tragedy" where hospitals were emptied of the sick and wounded, who were forced to join in the evacuation.

BALTIMORE SUN
14 MAY 1975 Pg. 8

Train with missiles derails in Louisiana

Vinton, La. (AP)—A Southern Pacific freight train carrying antitank missiles and automobiles derailed here yesterday, forcing evacuation of three schools and a business district.

Two derailed cars slammed into the Orange Rice Mill beside the tracks and partially destroyed the building. An adjoining grocery was damaged.

The impact broke open doors of a boxcar carrying the missles, and boxfulls spilled onto the ground.

Gasoline leaked from wrecked autos on three derailed cars. Police said they feared fire would break out and explode the missiles. They evacuated a half-mile area in the center of town, including an elementary, junior high and high school.

Vinton is located along U.S. Highway 90 near the Texas border.

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U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT 19 MAY 1975 (13)

WHERE U.S. IS LEFT IN ASIA

SOUTH KOREA. U.S. has 42,000 troops in South Korea — including the only American ground-combat forces left on Asian mainland — as well as a stockpile of nuclear weapons. U.S. is major supplier of weapons for South Korea, is pledged to defend it in case of attack.

TAIWAN. Mutual-assistance pact links Taiwan with U.S., which has 5,000 servicemen based there, plus air base big enough to handle B-52 bombers.

PHILIPPINES. President Marcos is turning neutralist, proposes renegotiating U.S.-base rights and defense treaty that would bring U.S. to Philippines' aid in case of attack. U.S. has 16,000 servicemen there, plus major naval and air bases.

THAILAND. U.S. servicemen, now numbering 23,000, will be cut to 19,500 within two months. Thailand, which U.S. is pledged to defend against outside aggression, has asked all U.S. forces to leave the country within a year and is now going neutralist.

SINGAPORE. U.S. wants to use naval facilities in Singapore from which Britain is now withdrawing. It has no treaty ties with Singapore.

AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND. The two nations and U.S. are linked by treaties under which an attack in the Pacific against any one will involve all three. U.S. has major communications base in Australia, a token number of military technicians in each country.

JAPAN. U.S. has 52,000 servicemen at major naval and air bases in Japan and Okinawa — *the largest remaining* contingent in any one Asian country — and promises to help Japan resist armed attack.

MARIANA ISLANDS. U.S. has 11,000 men and major air and naval bases on Territory of Guam, as well as bases at Saipan and Tinian.

DEFENSE -- CONTINUED

commitments to protect Malaysia and Singapore has some teeth, even though the British intend to withdraw from the Singapore naval base by April, 1976. A New Zealand battalion is in Singapore, and Australia has two aircraft squadrons in Malaysia.

There is little if any chance that the U.S. will have any military links with this defense system. Australia and New Zealand have Labor Governments that are wary of involvement in U.S. military planning.

Malaysia is neutralist, while Singapore has said its port and naval facilities will be open to all comers—including the Soviet Union. The most the U.S. Navy can count on is use of Singapore as a refueling point for warships going to and from the Indian Ocean.

"Not anti-American." Australia's position is outlined in a cable from the *U.S. News & World Report* bureau in Sydney:

"Australians are not anti-American, and they do not want to drift too far from the American orbit. Yet they lack confidence in U.S. steadfastness.

"Key to Australia's defense is Indonesia. If that country can be kept peaceful while making economic progress, it will be a barrier to any aggression against Australia from the north.

"The Labor Party, which governs this country, resists dependence on the U.S., wants Australia to lead, not be led by others. At the same time, many Australians plead, in effect: 'Please, Americans, don't forget us.'"

Where will the first test of the Ford strategy take place?

North Vietnam, emboldened by victory and fat with U.S.-made arms captured in South Vietnam and Cambodia, is expected to step up assistance to Communist insurgents in Thailand and also in Malaysia. The U.S. is cutting back its force of 23,000 men in Thailand, but the Bangkok Government still has a claim on American military support. How the U.S. might respond would be seen as a test of American determination.

A more dangerous test could come in South Korea. Some experts believe North Korea's Communist dictator, Kim Il Sung, is convinced that "revolutionary" upheavals in the South, instigated by the North, would panic the U.S. Congress into ordering a withdrawal of the 42,000 American servicemen there as the only way to avoid U.S. involvement in another Asian war. [END]

FILIPINOS -- CONTINUED

The leases are due to expire in 1991. Now the Filipinos want to shorten this time span and obtain a greater degree of sovereignty over the bases and American personnel.

Furthermore, the U.S. pays no rent on the bases, although it does provide military assistance to this country—13.8 million dollars in 1974 alone. The Philippine Government, fighting a Moslem insurgency in the southernmost islands, wants more military aid, and economic assistance as well.

Wanted: respect. While President Marcos continues to feel out the possibility of recognition of Communist China, and talks about creating a "zone of peace" in Southeast Asia as an alternative to an alliance with the U.S., most Filipinos want America to stay here in any case. Says one senior diplomat:

"The trouble is the U.S. takes the Philippines too much for granted. The Filipinos want to be loved and respected as an important ally."

The foregoing was cabled by Wendell S. Merick of the magazine's International Staff, who is in the Philippines after being evacuated from Saigon the night before Communists seized the capital.

U.S. FORCES IN PACIFIC. In addition to nearly 150,000 servicemen, include eight carriers available for duty, the Seventh Fleet; 25 B-52 bombers in Thailand and Guam; 200 fighters and fighter-bombers scattered in Asia and 275 helicopters, most of them in South Korea and Japan.

NEW YORK TIMES 13 MAY

Camp Pendleton Full

CAMP PENDLETON, Calif., May 12 (UPI) — The refugee pipeline from Southeast Asia was closed today as far as this giant Marine base was concerned and will remain shut down until several hundred South Vietnamese and Cambodians are sent on to their new homes.

"We're completely full, more than full," a base spokesman said. "Our original capacity was 18,108, and we're way above that now. The pipeline is closed."

By this morning, 25,890 refugees had arrived here and 7,244 had been processed and sent on to their eventual destinations.

WALL STREET JOURNAL 13 MAY

Notable & Quotable

Charles, Prince of Wales, commenting on the fall of Saigon, as quoted in Women's Wear Daily:

Nobody seems to want to stand up against the Russians. The Russians have been sending so many supplies to the North Vietnamese. The Communists, after all, are dedicated to spreading their ideology over the world. This victory will give them encouragement and they will not stop there.

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FEATURES COLUMNISTS

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT
19 MAY 1975 (13)

"YANKEES, GO HOME"?— NOT YET, SAY FILIPINOS

MANILA

Threats by Philippine officials to cut defense ties with the U.S. and force Americans to abandon strategic air and naval bases here are based more on furious rhetoric than on irrevocable intentions.

The fact is, most Filipinos do not want the U.S. to pull out, leaving this country militarily naked. But the U.S. defeat in Vietnam, and particularly the American unwillingness to back Cambodia and South Vietnam to the end, has forced the Filipinos to take a new look at the U.S. commitment to them. And they don't much like what they see.

Assurances that the U.S. will protect the Philippines from aggression are considered inadequate. The mutual-defense treaty signed in 1951 carries the proviso that American support will depend on "congressional approval"—and that is worrying Filipinos who know what happened in Indo-China.

SEATO dead? As Filipinos see it, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization—set up by the U.S. in 1954—is dead as a joint-defense system. It failed to provide an "umbrella" for South Vietnam against the Communists, and three charter members—Britain, France and Pakistan—show no interest in giving it new life.

Says a top Filipino leader:

"What we really want is a guarantee, not by a U.S. President who can be overridden by Congress, but a treaty with no loopholes. We want a treaty that would make an American response to our need for help automatic, not one which can be blocked by a change of Administrations in Washington."

Why Marcos worries. Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos has been widely quoted as saying that he is afraid his country will be drawn into a war elsewhere in Asia if the U.S. keeps its bases here. That, officials say, is not his feeling at all. Rather, he is worried that the U.S. will not come to the rescue in a conflict involving aggression against the Philippines.

In addition to new defense guarantees "set in concrete," Filipino leaders are set on renegotiating agreements covering the two major U.S. bases—the naval installations at Subic Bay and the Air Force complex at Clark Air Base.

(See FILIPINOS, Pg. 2-F)

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT
19 MAY 1975 (13)

A NEW DEFENSE LINE IN THE PACIFIC

Goal of U.S.: Stay out of war but guard its allies and vital interests in Asia. Key question: Where will Communists test America next?

A vigorous U.S. strategy for dealing with a troubled new era in Asia began to take shape in early May.

This strategy is keyed to three basic realities:

1. There are now two Communist powers—China and North Vietnam—in Asia, and they, along with Russia, are likely to create mischief, if not a continuing crisis, throughout the region.

2. Many nations formerly dependent on American military might already are trimming their sails to adjust to the winds blowing out of Hanoi and Peking.

3. The U.S. itself will play a far less dominant role in Asia than in the past—and it will have strict priorities as to what its vital interests are throughout the vast region.

"Beneficial" to peace. In a nationally televised news conference on May 6, President Ford said: "It is my aim to tie more closely together South Korea with the United States, to reaffirm our commitments to Taiwan, to work more closely with Indonesia, with the Philippines and with other Pacific nations. These are the kind of, I believe, forward movements in foreign policy that will be beneficial in the maintenance of peace."

To counter uneasy feelings in Pacific and other world capitals that the U.S., in the wake of defeats in Cambodia and South Vietnam, can no longer be counted on to carry out its commitments to allies, the President also said this:

"The United States is strong economically, despite our current problems, and we are going to maintain our leadership on a worldwide basis, and we want our friends to know that we will stand by them, and we want any potential adversaries to know that we will stand up to them."

Experts attached special significance to the talks President Ford had with the Prime Ministers of Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Singapore in Washington on May 7 and 8.

There was no rhetoric on Mr. Ford's part about defending frontiers of freedom, no call for unity to halt Communist aggression at the borders of the Indo-China nations. Instead, the sessions with the Commonwealth Ministers focused on a quiet stocktaking of American capabilities—and intentions—in the wake of the first U.S. defeat in war.

Staying in Pacific. In broad outline, this is the direction in which the Ford strategy for Asia is moving:

- The U.S. is not quitting the Western Pacific and withdrawing to Hawaii and the West Coast. Instead, it has plans for a new defense line—based on island redoubts and, other than in South Korea, away from the Asian mainland. Sea and air power, not U.S. infantry, will be the American peacekeeping instruments in the region.
- Japan and South Korea are seen as vital to American interests—strategic, economic and political—and will be backed at all costs by American military might.
- The U.S. will stand by its other commitments to Asian allies. But the obligation cannot be a one-way street. If the Philippines and Thailand, for example, want to take themselves out from under the U.S. defense umbrella and move toward neutralism, that will be acceptable to the U.S., even if it leads to loss of bases in those key nations.
- America has continuing interest in the stability, security and well-being of such nations as Indonesia and Singapore but has no intention of extending its security blanket to them.
- Asian nations can no longer count on the U.S. to come to their support automatically. Congress has tied the hands of the White House as far as swift military response is concerned.

Strength: 149,000. The over-all impression given to the visiting foreign leaders—Harold Wilson of Britain, Gough Whitlam of Australia, Wallace E. Rowling of New Zealand, and Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew—was that the Administration is steering a middle course between a major withdrawal from Asia and all-out involvement in affairs of the region. To do that, it intends to keep U.S. military forces there at current strength of about 149,000.

Two basic U.S. defense systems in the Pacific are unraveling. The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, once a barrier to Communist expansion, exists on paper but is ineffective. The ANZUS Treaty linking Australia, New Zealand and the U.S. in common defense against any attack in the Pacific is in force, but there is no joint military planning.

A third defense system that involves British, Australian and New Zealander

(See DEFENSE, Pg. 2-F)

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WEDNESDAY MORNING, 14 MAY 1975

WASHINGTON POST
14 MAY 1975, Pg 1

PRG Hints At Links With U.S.

From News Dispatches

Officials of the new Saigon government have indicated in private discussions that the administration is prepared to accept diplomatic relations with the United States, UPI correspondent Alan Dawson reported Tuesday in a delayed dispatch from Saigon.

A broadcast by Hanoi Radio monitored in Hong Kong, said that the Vietcong's Provisional Revolutionary Government has claimed title to the South Vietnamese embassy in Washington and designated Algeria to take over the property.

Hanoi said the claim was made in a diplomatic note to the State Department May 10.

In Washington, a State Department spokesman said he was "unaware of any further message." He cited a similar request made last week by the Algerian charge d'affaires. The State Department at that time "took the matter under consideration," the spokesman said, and no further action has been announced.

In his report from Saigon, Dawson said Vietcong officials said privately that the initiative for establishing diplomatic recognition would have to come from Washington.

The officials said the Communist government would be willing to accept a small U.S. mission in Saigon, but the United States would have to agree not to meddle in Vietnamese affairs, UPI reported.

The report coincided with an announcement that Britain is recognizing the PRG; sources in Paris said France is expected to recognize the new Saigon government soon.

In Saigon, AP correspondent George Esper reported that hundreds of war refugees who fled to the South Vietnamese capital during the two months before the Communist takeover have begun returning to their homes.

He said Saigon is increasingly normal, as the refugees move back to the provinces and to the coastal regions of Quinhon and Danang.

The PRG has also sent notes to neighboring Asian nations asking them to inform Vietnamese refugees that they are welcome to come home, Esper reported.

The Foreign Ministry said the diplomatic notes, sent to the Philippines, Thailand, Singapore, Indonesia and Malaysia, said that a number of Vietnamese boats and ships in foreign waters had requested permission to return to Vietnam, and added: "Becuase we don't have representatives in your country, we request that you inform these Vietnamese ships we welcome their return home. Please tell them they can enter the ports of Vungtau, Danang, Quinhon or any other ports of South Vietnam."

Restaurants in Saigon are filled with people, AP reported, and business offices have reopened. Some airline agencies have reopened, but there is no word from authorities when Tansonnhut airport will resume commercial operations. Saigon radio said that more than 1,000 employees of the airport had been ordered back to work by military authorities.

There are daily flights from Hanoi, and one flight Monday brought in a group of about 30 foreign journalists, including East Europeans, Cubans, Chinese, two Frenchmen and an Italian. The reporters carried visas issued by the PRG.

The first cargo ship from North Vietnam was scheduled to arrive in Saigon Tuesday, and Saigon's Liberation Radio said an enthusiastic dockside welcome was being readied for the 10,000-ton vessel.

Broadcasts from Vietnam monitored in neighboring countries said that two major highways had been repaired and opened to traffic in the rice-rich Mekong Delta.

Although life in Saigon appears to be relaxed, signs of the war still crop up from time to time. Reuter correspondent Bernard Edinger described how children playing at the riverside shouted and pointed at a bloated human corpse that floated past a restaurant on the Saigon River.

The new government, concerned about law and order, said a thief who stole the briefcase of an American correspondent was apprehended and shot on the spot. Thieves, who abounded under the former Saigon government, are now judged immediately by a people's court, AP reported.

Reuter said that the new Saigon Communist newspaper was not available Tuesday, but loudspeaker vans moved through the city giving people instructions.

A former major in the deposed government asked Reuter correspondent Edinger to aid him in bringing his family back from the United States.

Nguyen Van Uyen, 38, said he believed that his wife, his parents and four children are in Los Angeles. "I believe my family are in Los Angeles, but they might still be in Guam or some other place," Uyen said. "I would like them to come back."

WASHINGTON STAR 13 MAY 1975, Pg 3

Some Refugee Costs Masked by Pentagon

By Vernon A. Guidry Jr.
Washington Star Staff Writer

The Pentagon is not totaling all allowable costs in its refugee bookkeeping because of its concern with adverse congressional reaction to the cost of the operation.

Defense Department witnesses appeared before Congress yesterday with projections on what the Vietnamese refugee operation would cost the Pentagon. The over-all estimate was $382 million based on sea and airlift costs, and the cost of maintaining refugees at military-operated facilities for an average of 90 days.

Defense Department expenditures for the operation will be reimbursed by the State Department.

ABSENT FROM the Pentagon estimate are personnel costs. Under the rules governing such interagency transactions, these costs should be included but are not, according to Donald B. Shycoff, director of operations for the Pentagon's comptroller.

There is a feeling in Congress that the "Pentagon has the money," Shycoff said yesterday following Hill testimony.

Had the additional costs, which were not estimated, been included, he said, "we would've been roasted, let's face it."

Shycoff told the House defense appropriations subcommittee that the cost of the military operation to evacuate Saigon last month was $10 million to $15 million above the cost of the routine operations planned for the forces involved.

THE DECISION has been taken, at least for the present, not to add these costs to the bill that will go to State to be paid from its appropriation.

Shycoff predicted that the absence of the personnel charges will stir controversy in the future when the figures are sorted out in a less emotional atmosphere.

The $382 million estimate includes $30 million for sealift, $132 million for airlift, $35 million for refugee facilities and $185 million for maintaining refugees.

The $185 million works out to about $15 per refugee per day with the assumption that refugees will spend an average of 30 days on Guam and 60 days at U.S. facilities.

THOSE ASSUMPTIONS seemed destined to be overtaken by events as bottlenecks appear in refugee processing.

Moreover, Maj. Gen. Maurice Casey, head of logistics for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told the subcommittee that planners now envision a "final stage" of refugee operations extending beyond the current 90-day average.

This stage will include longer-term housing and training for perhaps 10,000 to 15,000 Vietnamese who cannot be readily resettled in the United States.

The refugee operation started with $98 million and nearly all of that has been obligated, according to administration witnesses.

Shycoff said it is too late in the fiscal year to trim back expenditures and operational accounts in order to come up with additional money for refugee operations. He said without additional appropriations, the Pentagon might have to ask congressional committee approval to shift money from procurement accounts to refugee operations.

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WASHINGTON POST 14 MAY 1975, Pg 1

Jordan Gets Pledge Of Syrian Air Cover

By Jim Hoagland
Washington Post Foreign Service

BEIRUT, May 13—Syria has pledged to send its air force into Jordan to provide air cover for Jordanian troops in return for King Hussein's commitment to join any new war between the Arabs and Israel, Western sources reported today.

The Syrian pledge, which has been mentioned by King Hussein in recent talks to Jordanian army units, represents a significant upgrading of potential military coordination between the two previously hostile Arab states on Israel's eastern front.

The coordination, limited to the air-defense agreement falls far short of the establishment of a joint military command like the one that links Egypt and Syria, responsible sources say.

But the agreement and Hussein's success in getting a commitment for the supply of Hawk antiaircraft missiles during his visit to Washington earlier this month provide the clearest evidence yet that the king is planning to throw his 70,000-man army into any new fight against Israel.

[The U.S. decision to sell Hawks to Jordan "enables Jordan to pursue the kind of moderate policy we have sought to encourage . . . and to rely on its own resources, rather than on other countries," Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger said in a speech in Kansas City Tuesday.

["Jordan has been extremely restrained," he said. "We felt it is in U.S. interests that we continue to be the principal supplier of military equipment to Jordan."]

Citing Jordan's lack of an effective air force or antiaircraft missiles, Hussein did not take part in the October 1973 war. His units were badly cut up by unopposed Israeli jets in the June 1967 war.

Hussein has been reassuring his troops during recent morale-boosting trips to the field that they will not face a similar fate if war erupts again. "Thanks to our brothers," he has said, Jordan will have air defense.

The Syrian pledge to send Mig-21s to protect Jordanian units is effective immediately, the sources said. In the 1973 war, Egypt and Syria preferrred to rely more on their antiaircraft missile screens than on their combat pilots, who proved no match for the Israeli air force.

The United States and Saudi Arabia will evidently provide most of the financing for Jordan's purchase of the expensive Hawk missile system. The order is expected to run well over the $100 million figure cited in dispatches from Washington. Delivery is to begin in the fall.

Syria, which sent tanks into Jordan in 1970 to support a Palestinian uprising against Hussein but then pulled them out and allowed the guerrillas to be crushed, has steadily improved its relations with Jordan in recent months, partly to balance its strained relations with Egypt over U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's mediation effort.

Israeli Defense Minister Shimon Peres called attention to the Jordanian-Syrian "flirtation" today during a tour of Jewish settlements in the Jordan Valley. "Jordan is moving in the Syrian direction," Peres told the settlers, according to news agencies.

Peres asserted that such fluctuations in policies justified Israel's determination to keep the Jordan Valley. Charging that Jordan was moving troops toward the Israeli lines, he said, "It is lucky that the Jordanians aren't here or they would be moving their forces toward Jerusalem. At the moment they are moving their forces toward the Jordan."

Tension also increased along the Israeli-Lebanon frontier today after Israeli troops crossed into Lebanon at dawn for the second consecutive day and kidnaped three persons from the village of Aitaroun.

Supported by helicopters, the Israeli patrol damaged one house with explosives before withdrawing, according to a Lebanese Defense Ministry communique that claimed Lebanese troops fired on the invaders.

One, a woman, was returned to Lebanon today, according to Israeli authorities in Tel Aviv, and one of the four men was to be returned Wednesday.

On Monday, five persons were kidnaped by Israeli troops in a similar raid.

Diplomatic experts here report that Israel expects a terror raid to mark the anniversary this week of the Arab exodus from Palestine in 1948. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine announced tonight that its forces had been put on alert against a planned Israeli attack into Lebanon.

Iraqi Planes Barred From Syrian Airspace

From News Dispatches

DAMASCUS, May 13—Syria closed its air space to all Iraqi aircraft today in an escalation of the border feud between the two Arab neighbors.

A Syrian spokesman said the move was taken to protest "barbaric and inhuman treatment of Iraqi and Syrian personnel of Syrian airlines working in Baghdad as well as ill treatment of Syrian passengers passing through Iraq."

The order followed by three days a decision by Syria to call home a dozen Syrian airline employes in Baghdad and close the Iraqi airline office in Damascus.

The two countries, ruled by rival wings of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, have been engaged in a propaganda battle for weeks.

An Arab terrorist group believed to have links to the Iraqi government claimed today to have destroyed a Syrian intelligence office last night.

The Arab Communist organization said the attack in the White Bridge region of Syria was to avenge the torture killing by the Syrians of a commando last month.

Syria last month arrested scores of Baath Party members it suspected of cooperating with the Iraqi Baath.

Meanwhile in Beirut, four more Cabinet members resigned, leaving Lebanese Premier Rashid Solh's shattered government with only five ministers instead of the normal 17. Local newspapers predicted that Solh, caught in a dispute over his handling of riots between Palestinians and right-wing Phalangists, would resign soon.

In other developments:

- Sir Christopher Soames, vice president of the European Common Market Commission, began talks in Iran on the renewal of the EEC agreement with Iran.
- Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin, on a visit to Libya, had a second meeting with Premier Abdel Salam Jalloud.

WASHINGTON POST 14 MAY 1975, Pg 9

Asians See Hanoi Mood 'Promising'

KUALA LUMPUR—North Vietnam has asked foreign ministers of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, now meeting here, not to make public announcements of their current discussions of future relations with North and South Vietnam, ASEAN conference sources said yesterday.

ASEAN officials interpreted the request as a possible attempt by Hanoi to insure that no fixed association positions on relations with Indochina countries become known and create difficulties in future talks on cooperation.

Delegates to the meeting said if Hanoi's intention was to prevent difficulties arising in relations with Indochina, the plea was "promising" for future negotiations between ASEAN countries and Indochina.

Malaysian Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak opened the talks with an offer of friendship to Indochina and an invitation to the Communist countries to join ASEAN in working toward regional peace.

Tun Razak said the real lesson of the Indochina events was that the key to the future security and stability of the region — and of individual states — depends on a constructive response to the new realities. He did not spell out what the constructive response involves.

In Hanoi, authoritative North Vietnamese sources said a delegation of South Vietnam's Provisional Revolutionary Government will travel to Bangkok shortly. The report appeared to confirm an earlier statement in Kuala Lumpur by Tahi Foreign Minister Chatichai Choonhavan that the PRG would send a delegation to "recover South Vietnamese property," presumably a reference to goods brought by fleeing officials of the ousted Saigon government.

Thai Interior Ministry officials said an estimated 40,000 Vietnamese refugees who have lived in northeast Thailand for more than two decades after fleeing the anti-Communist government in South Vietnam will be repatriated within a year.

WASHINGTON POST 14 MAY 1975, Pg 21

Bases in Britain Tied To Talks' Outcome

LONDON, May 13—British Defense Secretary Roy Mason said in the House of Commons today that "It may be possible to seek removal of the United States Polaris bases in Britain as a first step in multilateral negotiations once the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the talks on mutual and balanced force reductions are concluded."

Mason stressed that the Polaris bases form part of Britain's alliance with the United States. Answereing a statement by Mrs. Winnifred Ewing, a Scottish nationalist member of Parliament, in which she said she considers the Polaris deterrent as "just old scrap iron," the defense secretary replied that he does not think the Soviet Union would regard it as scrap iron.

Mason said, "We regard it as a real deterrent. Because of it we have managed to maintain between East and West 30 years of peace."

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MONDAY, MAY 12, 1975

GENERAL NEWS SUMMARY

FROM THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MAY 12, 1975

World-Wide

THE PREMIER OF LAOS practically conceded the Pathet Lao have taken control.

Prince Souvanna Phouma, a neutralist who heads the year-old coalition of rightists and pro-Communist Pathet Lao, acknowledged the growin Pathet Lao, domination of the government following the resignations of four rightist ministers and the ouster of three rightist generals. Souvanna Phouma urged Laotians to "look at the facts" and avoid bloodshed by accepting the "important changes that have taken place all around the kingdom."

The government later appealed to the populace to remain calm and forbade anyone to leave the country, but many rightist leaders were believed to have fled.

Souvanna Phouma appointed a member of the Pathet Lao acting defense minister, succeeding one of the rightists who resigned.

* * *

In South Vietnam, the new Communist leaders said they intend to hold nationwide elections and eventually reunify the North and South. A radio broadcast said Saigon sent messages to Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines and Singapore asking them to advise all Vietnamese refugees that the new regime will provide transportation for any wishing to return.

The Khmer Rouge stressed Cambodia's strong ties with China and thanked North Korea, North Vietnam and Laos for their support. The Soviet Union wasn't mentioned in the statement.

* * *

The Pentagon may get much of the $35.8 billion it seeks for new weapons. Congress will start considering this week bills cleared by committee that leave most of the Pentagon's top projects intact. The Senate Armed Services panel has voted $30.3 billion for arms through Sept. 30, 1976.

* * *

The new F15 fighter plane is having engine problems, causing the Air Force to put a "temporary restriction" on its operation at top speed. The Air Force temporarily suspended flights May 1 because of cracks in certain blades of the jet engine.

* * *

Four Arab states took a major step toward establishing an arms industry, according to reports in Cairo newspapers. Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates reportedly each contributed $260 million to the joint agency, which will be headquartered in Cairo. The weapons plants may be established in Egypt.

* * *

(See NEWS SUMMARY, Pg. 3)

BALTIMORE SUN
12 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Bases are Spain's ace with U.S.

By FREDERIC B. HILL
Sun Staff Correspondent

Madrid—A host of recent developments, ranging from recent American humiliation in Indochina to growing anti-Americanism in Spain to Portugal's leftward swing, are giving Spanish authorities a strong hand in current renegotiations on U.S. bases in this country.

At the same time, a pervasive feeling among Spain's military leaders of being "taken for granted" too long lies behind the bolder stance of the once-pliant Franco regime.

And President Ford, who plans to visit Madrid later this month after the NATO summit talks to nudge the now-stalled talks along, only has to cast back over the last 18 months of his own stormy career in high office to prepare himself for a new Spanish attitude.

Eighteen months ago, the President visited Spain as a representative of the United States at the funeral of the former prime minister, Luis Carrero Blanco, assassinated by Basque terrorists.

Since then, not only the retreat from Vietnam and Cambodia, but the weakening of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and internal developments here have sharply strengthened the position of Spanish leaders who want major changes in the agreements that expire September 26.

A new agreement is widely favored by the Franco regime, and probably most moderate opponents. There is little desire to greatly loosen American ties in view of the presence of a left-wing government next door in Portugal and Spain's own less than fully professional armed forces.

But Spanish officials, realizing the ever-more strategic importance of the American bases

(See BASES, Pg. 2)

NEW YORK TIMES
12 MAY 1975 Pg. 14

A GUERRILLA WAR FEARED IN KOREA

But Seoul Leaders Stress Threat of Conventional Attack From North

By RICHARD HALLORAN
Special to The New York Times

SEOUL, South Korea—The South Korean analyst sat back with an anxious look and said: "Frankly, I am impressed by the sophistication of the training the North Koreans get for a Vietcong-type of war."

"The North Korean soldiers who have received training in guerrilla warfare and then have been incorporated into the regular army number about 80,000" said the analyst, who asked not to be identified. "They are organized into guerrilla units ranging from four or five men up through platoons and companies all the way to battalions."

"They have flexibility and mobility. We've seen them move from east to west, to strike while moving, to conduct surprise attacks, to fight in rear areas, to fight set battles. Their training is really impressive," he said.

The analyst, who tries to stay out of politics here, said that the potential North Korean threat to South Korea was from a gradually escalating "war of national liberation" patterned after that of the Communists in Southeast Asia.

Threat of Frontal Attack

His analysis, and that of American military officers here, contrasts with the emphasis on the threat of a frontal attack usually made by South Korean political leaders—an attack leading to a conventional war like that from 1950 to 1953.

But nonpolitical South Korean analysts and American officers expect more of the warfare of subversion that the North Koreans tried from 1967 to 1970. That was defeated largely because South Koreans turned North Korean suspects over to the authorities.

The danger today, it is felt, is that President Park Chung

(See KOREA, Pg. 2)

NEW YORK TIMES
12 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

CARRIER ARRIVES IN GUAM BRINGING SAIGON AIRCRAFT

By ANDREW H. MALCOLM
Special to The New York Times

APRA HARBOR, Guam, Monday, May 12—The aircraft carrier Midway arrived today to unload a controversial cargo of 99 repossessed South Vietnamese military aircraft. Meanwhile, the curtailment of refugee flights to the United States continued.

The aircraft, worth several hundred million dollars and carrying more than 1,300 refugees, were flown out of South Vietnam in the dying hours of the Saigon Government.

Some helicopters landed on the Midway's four-acre flight deck. However, most of the planes were flown by fleeing South Vietnamese Air Force pilots to a United States air base in Thailand. There, Thai officials eager to seek accommodations with their new Communist neighbor promised to return the planes to the new government.

U.S. Reclaims Jets

The United States, however, cited a clause in its military assistance agreement and reclaimed the jets. Some of the planes, which included F-5's and A-37's, were towed 10 miles down back country roads to reach the waiting carrier. Most of the South Vietnamese tail markings have been obliterated. More aircraft reportedly remain in Thailand.

The Midway also brought to Guam 94 more refugees, who were rescued from a sinking fishing boat in the Gulf of Siam. That brought to 84,389 the number of refugees who have passed through here since the airlift from South Vietnam began 19 days ago.

More than 37,000 refugees remained on Guam this morning as the island authorities

(See CARRIER, Pg. 2)

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BALTIMORE SUN 12 MAY 1975 Pg. 4

Singapore chief asks if U.S. would aid Korea

Washington (AP)—There is a question in the minds of Asians about whether the United States would fight to defend South Korea, Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore said yesterday.

Mr. Lee, appearing on the CBS program Face the Nation said a partial reason for this concern is the open debate in the United States on foreign policy.

"I'm not saying that a more closed society is a better society, but I think in certain security matters . . . you are at a disadvantage," Mr. Lee said.

Asked if people in Southeast Asia feel the United States would fight to defend South Korea, Mr. Lee said:

"There is a question mark. It will fight for 60 days. We all know in 60 days it goes to Congress." He referred to 1973 legislation requiring congressional approval within 60 days of the commitment of American troops into combat by the president.

Mr. Lee said there seems to be a concensus in Congress that Japan must be protected, but there is debate about South Korea and this can be misread by Asians.

BASES -- CONTINUED

here, are demanding something concrete in return—some kind of defense commitment from the U.S.

The current 1970 accord does not include a pledge to come to the defense of Spain in the event of hostilities. And Spain is not a NATO member—due largely to objections to the Franco dictatorship.

The lack of a mutual security arrangement has been a stumbling block in most negotiations since the bases were established in 1953. But developments in Portugal, the weakening of NATO along the Eastern Mediterranean and international pressures here give Spain a stronger case this year.

"With these bases, they feel they are subjecting themselves to nuclear attack," notes a diplomat. "They're holding out for a mutual security deal."

Public opinion in Spain seems to support—or be a stimulus for—the government's tougher position. A recent poll showed 48 per cent of the people opposed U.S. military presence here.

"With the press more open than ever before," one Spanish official said last week, "the issue is really being hammered. And even this government has to respond to public opinion."

Furthermore, doubts about American will and the prospect of more democratic government in Spain are leading some Spanish moderates to question the desire for an American presence openly.

Registering still largely unstated fears of what the future holds, a banker in Barcelona asked rhetorically: "If there is a pro-Russian government in Portugal, why should any Spanish democrat risk his neck?"

Spanish moderates, who are pressing ahead with plans to form political parties in the face of government opposition, are not not excited about President Ford's visit.

The two-day stopover is expected to include June 1, a day of celebration of Gen. Francisco Franco's uprising in the civil war. And any personal talks between Mr. Ford and the generalissimo, the moderates fear, will be seen as an American endorsement of his regime, which more and more Spaniards are anxious to bring to an end.

The American stance has not been strengthened by the recent refusal of the new Portuguese government to allow the U.S. to use its Azores base in the event of another Middle East war. Spain, always has been very pro-Arab and is unlikely to yield on this issue.

Outside of communications stations, the U.S. has three major bases on Spanish soil. There are two air bases, Torrejon, near Madrid, and Moron, plus a key atomic submarine and missile base at Rota.

The sensitivity of the Spanish today to the base question was illustrated last week when Greece announced its plans to limit American presence there. "Rota could be converted into a superbase," proclaimed a headline in the Madrid daily, *Informaciones*.

One item that President Ford and his hosts, Generalissimo Franco and Prime Minister Carlos Arias Navarro, may be able to agree on is new weaponry for Spain's weak and underequipped armed forces.

Oddly, in a country where the military won the 1936-1939 civil war, Generalissmo Franco has been stingy in paying and equipping the military. Spain, for example, with four times the population and six times the gross national product of Portugal, spends only twice as much on defense as the latter. Much of Portugal's huge per capita expenditure on defense—one of the highest in the world—was due to its many African colonies, now being let go, but Spain's defense spending has been considered low.

Perhaps taking note of the role low pay played in the left-wing military uprising in Portugal, the salaries of Spanish soldiers were increased substantially in the last year.

But military and foreign sources here report that while the Army still is considered loyal and conservative, morale, poor equipment and lack of activity is becoming a serious problem.

Two officers, a major and a captain serving in the Barcelona region, are now in jail for pushing demands for reforms in the military and the government.

KOREA (CONTINUED)

Hee's repressive political measures have alienated many city residents and some people in the traditionally conservative countryside. As a result it is uncertain to what degree they would resist North Korean subversion.

To stimulate anti-Communist sentiment, the South Korean Government sponsored a series of recent rallies calling for pledges of national harmony and defiance of the North Koreans.

Following Communist successes in Indochina, South Korean analysts look for low-level North Korean subversion and sabotage at first, then commando raids and finally North Korean guerrilla units operating in South Korea in the guise of South Korean revolutionaries.

Mountain Parachuting

North Korean paratroops, for instance, have reportedly been trained to drop into the mountains instead of in the usual flat areas, especially at night.

Both South Korean and American sources report that the North Koreans are training with an old airplane called the AN-2, which is usually used to spread fertilizer. It flies low and slowly to evade radar and to drop a few men and their light equipment.

The North Koreans have also been reported buying high-speed, manueverable boats in Japan for possible use in transporting agents down the coasts to South Korea.

South Korean and American officials also report that North Korean tunnels have been dug under the demilitarized zone that divides the North and South. Two tunnels have been discovered and there is evidence of 11 more, it is said. They are reportedly intended to channel small guerrilla units into South Korea behind front lines.

In addition to the potential for guerrilla warfare, South Korean and American officials said, there is the possibility of a quick, all-out conventional strike by North Korea across the DMZ.

The North Koreans in that case would be expected to throw their armor, artillery, infantry and air power into a drive for Seoul, which is only 30 miles from the DMZ.

Such an attack, however, would directly challenge United States forces, since one infantry division of the 38,000 American troops here is stationed on a main route to Seoul. For that reason, American officials tend to discount the possibility of such a drive, reasoning that neither the Russians nor the Chinese, North Korea's allies, want to risk a conflict with the United States.

CARRIER (CONTINUED)

braced for the imminent arrival of up to 20,000 more refugees on five chartered American merchant ships.

7,800 On Wake Island

An additional 7,800 South Vietnamese refugees were being processed on Wake Island and 2,500 in the Philippines; 1,200 are headed here aboard two South Vietnamese ships, and an unknown number are on ships that left Singapore for the Philippines.

That would put the total number of refugees from South Vietnam at more than 116,000.

Yesterday 5,000 refugees left here by plane. But most of them were being shifted to Wake to make more room in the crowded facilities here. Officials on Guam have been ordered to hold up transportation of refugees to the continental United States because the three refugee camps there—Camp Pendleton, Calif., Fort Chaffee, Ark., and Eglin Air Force Base, Fla.—are said to be filled.

That order has caused considerable concern because it means that camps built here in U.S. imperialism is the loser."

Reuters reported that the general said that his country would have friendly relations with all nations and would not take sides in the long-time dispute between the Soviet Union and China.

Of reported predictions by Americans that the Communist take-over of South Vietnam would be followed by a bloodbath, he said, "This is a very contemptible slander, as you can see." And, of Vietnamese who fled, he said: "We are sorry to see that a number of our people are living miserably in a foreign country."

The only Vietnamese who left of their own accord, General Tra said, were "a small number of ringleaders and reactionaries who scheme and plot and do harm to the people."

Defeated Generals Register

SINGAPORE, May 11 (Reuters)—Ten generals of the defeated South Vietnamese Army have registered at a Government center in Saigon, the Saigon radio said today.

In a broadcast heard here, the radio said that within half an hour of the center's opening last Thursday 400 colonels, more than 1,000 lieutenant colonels and 124 majors had registered. At other centers more than 10,000 air force, navy and police personnel had registered, it said.

The generals who registered were said to have included the commander of Military Region III surrounding Saigon, The commander of Special Forces, the deputy commander of the Saigon area, the commanders of the Third, Fifth, 23d and 25th Divisions and the commander of Special Forces in Military Region II.

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR - 12 MAY 1975 Pg. 6

Military technology may affect Atlantic alliance

By Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

London

New military technologies are reaching a stage of development where they could "deeply affect" Atlantic alliance politics and superpower arms control arrangements.

"Smart bomb" technology has increased the vulnerability of fixed targets and is blurring the distinction between conventional arms and nuclear weapons.

These are among the major assessments of "Strategic Survey 1974," the annual review of the prestigious International Institute for Strategic Studies, released here in London on Friday.

The institute, housed in a small but distinguished historic building just off the Strand, is one of the world's leading "think tanks" in the defense field. Clattering up and down its wooden stairs one can meet not only the Soviet military attache, but also the Chinese in his sober dark blue Mao uniform — as well as other defense experts and scholars from around the world. International in membership, the institute's currrent director is a brilliant young West German lawyer, Christoph Bertram.

This year's strategic survey characterizes 1974 as "an interim period, a holding operation while the contours of the new international system become visible." By inference, 1975 is already turning out to be a much more active year, one in which the consequences of past actions are going to have to be dealt with, and efforts made to shape the contours of the new international system

Important decisions wait

Despite the trauma of Watergate, detente held between the superpowers during 1974. But Washington and Moscow face important decisions in 1975, one of the knottiest being how to work out the details of SALT II, the second phase of strategic arms limitation talks.

In the Middle East, the "danger of a new war in the area remains real," the institute study says. The industrialized nations managed on the whole to cope with the oil crisis, but the strategic survey devotes a couple of pages to examining proposals for armed seizure of Arab oil installations.

Its conclusions: Any such action would probably embroil the Soviet Union and could not in the short term improve the West's oil supply situation. It would also create severe tensions between the United States, still relatively well-off in terms of supply, and its partners in Western Europe and Japan, who are far more dependenton Middle East oil.

At Vladivostok in December last year, President Ford reached agreement with Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev that under SALT II, each side would have no more than 2,400 offensive delivery vehicles, of which no more than 1,320 would be equipped with MIRV's — multiple independently targeted reentry vehicles. All the details, however, must be worked out in an agreement yet to be signed, which will run from Oct. 1, 1977, until Dec. 31, 1985.

Land-based missiles vulnerable

Progress in military technology has been such that land-based fixed-site missiles are more and more vulnerable. The Soviet Union has greater throw-weight than the United States, but 85 percent is concentrated in land-based missiles. The United States is far ahead of the Soviet Union in electronic guidance systems.

Progress in conventional arms technology has also been rapid. The so-called smart bomb — precision guided munitions or PGM in military shop talk — has made such advances that in many cases it can replace nuclear warheads. On the one hand this increases the defensive capacity of the Atlantic Alliance in Central Europe, where the problem has always been how to stop a massive invasion of Soviet tanks.

On the other hand, PGM's blur the distinction between nuclear and conventional warfare. This poses new problems for the Atlantic alliance. The survey warns that PGM's are not a magic substitute for the large standing armies and defense expenditure that West Europeans are finding increasingly onerous.

In the first place they are not cheap. A TOW anti-tank guided weapon costs $3,000, but the unit used to guide the missile to its target costs $20,000. In the second place, there are operating problems: in most cases, clear daylight is required, and for some systems, smoke or camouflage is sufficient to defeat "smart" technology.

Indian explosion noted

Institute officials say that too little attention has been paid to India's explosion of an atomic device last spring. Mr Bertram, in a press conference releasing the survey, noted that the U.S. State Department took six weeks to react and ascribed this gap to Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's preoccupation with the Middle East. India's example will be significant to other countries if the explosion is seen to have given India added political leverage.

The collapse of Cambodia and South Vietnam and the failure of Dr. Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy between Egypt and Israel in March this year came too late for inclusion in the strategic survey. As Mr. Bertram put it, the United States emerged from 1974 relatively unscathed, despite its own severe internal problems. But today the situation has changed. Mr. Bertram ascribed part of the blame for American failures in the Middle East and Southeast Asia to Dr. Kissinger's "one-man show," and said that a better and new approach to foreign policy might be taking shape, under which the full resources of the State Department would be employed, and Congress and public opinion brought in to build a wider based consensus than before.

NEWS SUMMARY ... CONTINUED

The Common Market signed a far-reaching trade pact with Israel despite an Arab League warning of possible "political consequences." The EC hopes to liberalize trade with other Mediterranean states, including Arab nations.

* * *

A $68.8 billion deficit for fiscal 1976 is projected in a congressional resolution expected to be approved this week. The figure arrived at by House-Senate conferees, is considerably higher than the $60 billion deficit President Ford has said he would accept. The resolution doesn't require Ford's signature and isn't binding on Congress in the first year. But it is expected to provide political pressure to hold down spending.

* * *

Gulf Oil Corp. told **Bolivia** that the South American nation wasn't the foreign country Gulf allegedly paid $4 million to remain in business. Gulf's statement said, though, that it still was investigating whether any political contributons were made to Bolivia, the Associated Press said.

* * *

Michael Tzur, former head of Israel Corp. and a leading figure in Israel's biggest financial scandal, unexpectedly pleaded guilty in a Tel Aviv court to 11 counts of fraud, bribery and larceny. The scandal involved the illegal transfer of more than $16 million from Israeli state companies to Liechtenstein trusts.

* * *

Britain faces its "gravest crisis" since 1931 because of growing unemployment and a 21% inflation rate, Prime Minister Harold Wilson said in a television interview. He ruled out a coalition government with the Conservatives. Wilson's Labor Party government has been split over his support of continued Common Market membership; the issue will be decided in a national referendum June 5.

* * *

A Boston school-busing plan ssued by a federal judge Saturday received widespread criticism. The final integration plan, to be implemented next fall, will require the busing of about a quarter of the city's public-school children, or 21,000; including 12,000 in lower grades. The interim plan resulted in a series of clashes last fall with frequent arrests and injuries.

* * *

Sen. Roman Hruska (R., Neb.) won't run for reelection in 1976, an aide said. Hruska is 70 and has been in the Senate 20 years.

Sen. Birch Bayh of Indiana said he is "giving a lot of thought" to seeking the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination.

* * *

General Electric must consult with union officials on health and job-safety matters in some instances, the federal Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission ruled.

* * *

A San Francisco doctors' strike to protest malpractice-insurance costs was expected to spread throughout the state as Gov. Edmund Brown considered calling a special legislative session to act on the rate issue. In Los Angeles, a work stoppage by physicians at a county-run hospital over the quality of patient care continued despite the firing of at least eight doctors and the threat of more dismissals.

* * *

Welfare waste totaling about $1 billion annually results more from clerical error than from cheating, a Health, Education and Welfare Department study said. But officials said cheating is rising sharply and may extend to 30% of all cases.

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WASHINGTON POST - 12 MAY 1975 Pg. 18

Israel Fears Arms Delay Could Tilt Balance

By John M. Goshko
Washington Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM, May 11—Israeli government and military circles are increasingly concerned that the Ford administration's continuing refusal to act on Israel's pending arms requests could tilt the Middle East military balance heavily in favor of the Arabs.

Officials here are divided about the real meaning of Washington's suspension of arms talks with Israel pending the completion of a reassessment of the U.S. Middle East policy. But especially within the Israeli Defense Ministry, some appear convinced that the United States wants to weaken Israel's defense posture to make it more amenable to U.S. diplomatic pressure.

Until now, this theory has been a minority view. It has been gaining momentum however, since it became known during King Hussein's visit to Washington last week that the United States had agreed to supply Jordan with Hawk antiaircraft missiles. In the Israeli view, that amounts to U.S. collaboration in creating a double-edged new threat to Israel's security.

The Israelis feel that the Hawk missiles will give Hussein the hitherto-missing arms element he needs to rejoin Egypt and Syria as a full-fledged member of the Arab "confrontation states" on Israel's borders. As if to confirm this, Hussein said Jordan would take active part in any new Arab-Israeli war.

More ominously, Israel sees the deal with Jordan as a breach of an understanding that Washington would not make any agreements about arms supplies to any Middle Eastern state during the reassessment. Israeli officials say they are not satisfied with U.S explanations that the missiles had previously been promised to Jordan. The affair has touched off fresh uneasiness here about what Washington will decide on the Israeli requests.

Israel is seeking $2.5 billion in U.S. assistance for the coming fiscal year including a $1.8 billion request for military aid—largely to cover several squadrons of F-15 fighter aircraft and sophisticated Lance surface-to-surface missiles.

Discussions on the delivery of these items were broken off by the Ford administration in March following the collapse of Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's effort to mediate between Israel and Egypt. Making no secret of its belief that Israel was primarily responsible for the talks' failure, the administration began a reassessment and made it clear that it would take no action on the arms requests until this had been completed.

In the meantime U.S. officials have leaked hints that they regard the requests as exceeding what Israel requires to maintain the present arms balance. They have suggested that the request might be cut by half.

Before the squabble with Washington, the Israelis had been warned by friends in the United States that Congress would be unable to fill their full request. As a result, the Israelis are known to have privately scaled down their expectations of what they can realistically hope to get from the United States to between $1 million and $1.5 billion.

Some high-ranking sources here, particularly civilians, say privately that Israel could live with this cutback although it would require considerable belt-tightening. Military circles regard the idea of sizeable cuts in the arms request with deep foreboding.

Sources subscribing to this pessimistic viewpoint say they consider Washington's assessment of the Arab-Israeli arms balance as incorrect. This assessment is that Israel can defend itself if the amounts of major weapons possessed jointly by Egypt, Syria and Jordan are no more than three times those of Israel. The theory is that the superior quality of the Israeli weapons and the acknowledged fighting superiority of the Israeli forces would compensate.

Israelis say this means that in war they would sustain substantially higher casualties than they would if their arsenal were closer in size to the Arabs'. In addition, they add, their own estimates of the Arab buildup indicate that the Arabs now have a superiority in tanks of 3.5 to 1 and in artillery

Most important, the Israelis contend that the quality of the weapons the Soviet Union is supplying to the Arabs, principally Syria, has improved and in many areas is superior to equivalent Israeli weaponry. Two items causing Israeli defense planners considerable concern are the Scud surface-to-surface missile and the new Mig-25 fighter.

Israel contends that the Soviets have provided Syria, Iraq and Egypt with substantial quantities of the Scud, which can fire 1,400 pounds of explosives 185 miles. While Israeli experts doubt that the Scud actually gives the Arabs the capability of penetrating the Israeli heartland to destroy its cities and military stockpiles, they say it is a formidable weapon that they currently cannot match.

Israelis contend that the Syrians already have some Mig-23s and that there is a likelihood that Egypt will also get some. In addition, they add, the Soviet Mig-23 fighter, which Egypt, Syria and Iraq already possess in substantial numbers, can fly faster and higher than Israel's most advanced Phantoms.

This is why Israel is so anxious to obtain the Lance missile and the F-15 fighter as deterrents to the Scud and the Mig-23 and Mig-25. If Washington delays deliveries of these items to Israel and then limits the quantities, the sources say, the arms balance would shift precipitously against Israel in the next two to four years.

Adding to this concern is the belief in military circles here that the supply of Hawk missiles to Jordan will give Israel a serious new problem to worry about. After taking a brutal beating in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, Hussein stayed out of the October 1973 war.

But he has been rebuilding his forces, and now Israelis regard them as a serious threat. Israeli military sources say that the one thing Hussein lacked—and, in the view of many, the factor that kept him out of the 1973 war—was an adequate anti-aircraft system to defend his tanks and ground forces from Israeli air attack.

Now, the Israelis charge, the United States has unexpectedly agreed to fill this gap in Jordanian strength. By mounting Hawk missiles on the heights on the eastern side of the Jordan River and firing them vertically, Israelis contend, Jordan could play havoc with Israeli aircraft operating from fields on the West Bank.

Israeli officials scornfully dismiss U.S. explanations that the Hawks being provided to Jordan are purely a defensive weapon. They also reject Washington's explanations that the negotiations had been virtually completed before the reassessment began. To the U.S. contention that Jordan could have obtained the missiles from Saudi Arabia in any case, the Israelis reply that when Washington sold the Hawk system to the Saudis, it publicly stated that transfer of the missiles to Egypt, Syria or Jordan was banned by the agreement.

Many sources here say that they still don't know what Washington's intentions were and hope that their protests will draw a fuller explanation. Others are interpreting the episode as proof that the Ford administration is using the weapons issue as a club to pressure Israel into being more receptive to Kissinger's initiatives.

Some officials say privately that their American counterparts have dropped broad hints in recent weeks that Washington now feels that it made a mistake by replenishing Israel's depleted arms stocks so fully after the 1973 war. The suggestion is that by rebuilding Israel's strenght, the United States lost a lot of its leverage.

This leads to the suspicion that Washington's aim now is to regain this leverage by allowing some erosion of Israel's military capabilities. No one believes that the United States would let this go so far as to completely undermine Israel's security.

NEW YORK TIMES
5/10/75(12) Pg. 3

Canada Cites Gains In Accord With U.S. On Defense System

Special to The New York Times

OTTAWA, May 9—Canada and the United States have renewed the 1958 North American Air Defense (NORAD) agreement for another five years with few changes, Allan J. MacEachen, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, announced today.

The principal change in the pact, a realignment of regional command boundaries, will enhance the Canadian role in the joint electronic surveillance system of the two countries by establishing a control center in Edmonton, Alberta, in addition to the one at North Bay, Ontario.

"For Canada, this will have the practical effect that, in the future, all operations in Canadian air space will be controlled from centers located in Canada and manned by Canadian personnel," the announcement said.

The area of western Canada to be covered by the Edmonton center, which is to be built at a cost of $25-million, has been an American responsibility till now. This had upset Canadian nationalists, who have been increasingly sensitive to questions involving this country's sovereignty, especially in the Canadian Arctic regions where many of the NORAD electronic lookouts are situated.

NEW YORK TIMES
12 MAY 1975 Pg. 3

Kosygin Off to Libya

MOSCOW, May 11 (Reuters) —Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin left Moscow today to visit Libya and Tunisia.

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MONDAY MORNING, 12 MAY 1975

WASHINGTON STAR
11 MAY 75 (12) Pg.3

Northrop Was Host To Military

By Peter Gruenstein
Capitol Hill News Service

Pentagon personnel were guests at the Northrop Corp.'s duck hunting lodge in Easton, Md., on 144 occasions between 1971 and 1973, in apparent violation of an executive order prohibiting federal employes from accepting anything of monetary value from a company doing business with the government.

During the three-year period, Northrop, a major aerospace firm, was competing for a mult-billion dollar contract to build a lightweight air combat fighter, the F17. It has been described as "the contract of the century."

While the Air Force earlier this year selected General Dynamics' F16 as its lightweight fighter, the Navy announced last week its decision to proceed with full-scale development of the F18, a modified version of the F17 designed by Northrop and McDonnell Douglas Corp. The Navy's controversial move, which must still be approved by both Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger and Congress, could involve 800 planes and about $6 billion.

In a letter to Schlesinger sent Friday, Rep. Les Aspin, D-Wis., called on the Pentagon to investigate the trips to Northrop's hunting lodge.

"I DON'T THINK DOD should tolerate this kind of cozy relationship between Pentagon officers and a contractor seeking a new multi billion dollar contract," said Aspin, a member of the House Armed Services Committee.

A Civil Service Commission official familiar with Executive Order 11222, which sets ethical standards for federal employes, said that the trips to Northrop's duck hunting facility by Pentagon personnel "appear to conflict" with the executive order.

The executive order, signed by President Lyndon Johnson on May 8, 1965, reads in part:

"No employe shall solicit or accept, directly or indirectly, any gift, gratuity, favor, entertainment, loan, or any other thing of monetary value, from any person, corporation, or group which—(1) has, or is seeking to obtain, contractural or other business or financial relationship with his agency . . ."

IT ALSO STATES: "It is the intent of this section that employes avoid any action, whether or not specifically prohibited . . . which might result in, or create the appearance of—(1) using public office for private gain; (2) giving preferential treatment to any organization or person . . ."

A Pentagon spokesman said the trips to the hunting facilities by department personnel were "news to me" and had no further immediate comment.

The figures on the trips to the hunting facility were found in a voluminous report prepared for Northrop by the national accounting firm of Ernst & Ernst. The report, which is on file at the Securities and Exchange Commission, deals primarily with about $250,000 in illegal corporate donations to political candidates over a 10-year period.

No names of the guests visiting the hunting facility during the 1971-73 period were given, although there were references to guest lists kept in Northrop's Washington office.

When asked earlier this week if the company would release the guest list for the three-year period, Les Daly, Northrop's vice president for public affairs in Los Angeles, responded: "I don't think we'd want to publish that."

In addition to the Pentagon visits to the hunting facility—123 by "military" personnel and 21 by "Department of Defense" officials—other visitors during the three-year period included: 11 congressmen, 85 congressional staff members, 119 Northrop employes and 49 "unknowns."

IT IS NOT CLEAR from the statistics whether 144 different Pentagon personnel visited the facilities or whether any repeat guests were counted each time they visited the facility.

Northrop reported spending $4,000 in rental costs on the hunting facility in 1971, $13,000 in 1972 and $24,000 in 1973.

The facility which was used for duck, quail, and geese hunting, consists of a "modest house" near Easton "used as a meeting and overnight facility for weekend hunting trips," and four nearby farms and commercial hunting areas. None of the facilities is owned by Northrop.

The purpose of the hunting facility is described by Northrop as purely social.

Capitol Hill News Service earlier reported that Northrop had provided free flights on company jet to former California Gov. Ronald Reagan, Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz., and other members of Congress.

BALTIMORE SUN 10 MAY 1975 (12) Pg. 1

Pentagon tells U.S. arms makers bribes may be necessary in Mideast

Washington (AP)—The Pentagon is telling American arms makers they must frequently use bribery of foreign officials to sell their goods in the Middle East.

A document prepared by a Pentagon arms salesman for use by United States weapons manufacturers says the bribes sometimes can total millions of dollars and reach very high levels of Middle Eastern governments.

The document does not name any countries where bribes are paid or any American companies that pay them. However, the Northrop Corporation is accused in a government lawsuit of paying $30 million over three years to sales agents and consultants without adequate accounting.

Security and Exchange Commission documents indicate that at least some of this money was paid to an Iranian attorney and a wealthy Saudi Arabian agent. Northrop is fighting to keep details of these payments secret. Saudi Arabia recently signed a contract to buy more than $756 million worth of Northrop's F-5E Tiger II jet fighters.

The Pentagon document was prepared last year by Joseph K. Hoenig, an official of the Defense Security Assistance Agency, for use by trade associations of American arms makers. It is unclassified and a copy is on file publicly in connection with the SEC's proceedings against Northrop.

A Pentagon spokesman, Joseph Laitin, said yesterday he had not read the document, but "we are foursquare against bribery." Asked if overseas arms bribery is going on presently, he said, "I trust not."

Mr. Hoenig's paper gives a different impression. It says U.S. arms makers sometimes have no choice but to pay excessive fees to local agents who have or buy influence with their own governments. It says these Middle Eastern agents have existed for 2,000 years and will be hard to eliminate entirely.

The paper says the agents apply influence variously through friendships, family ties with government officials and through "payment of substantial sums of money to individuals in high government positions with somewhat lesser amounts paid to lower-echelon government officials."

"One local agent had admitted to this writer that he has three members of the National Assembly of the country on retainer fees for the purpose of obtaining inner-circle intelligence and to promote the sales potential of his principal's product."

The document adds, "Influence is not always related directly to a cash gratuity. It can include the rent-free use of a villa in France or a flat in London along with car and servants. Sometimes the government official is a silent partner in the agency or other business completely divorced from his normal activities from which he receives financial benefit."

The document says the cost of the agent's fees and bribes is included in the price of the arms paid by the government in question. It says the agent's "influence" can sometimes lead those governments to buy shoddy or ill-suited military hardware.

One country bought used aircraft that were "plagued with maintenance problems" so bad that only two or three of them were able to fly at any given time. Another desert country, dealing through the same agent, bought European-style vehicles that overheated and stalled in the hot summer months.

American arms makers must compete for sales with French and British weapons makers who "have no compunction to agreeing to excessive fees," the document said. One French firm reportedly paid $40 million to an agent who handled a contract worth $200 million to $300 million, it said

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NEW YORK TIMES
11 MAY 75 (12) Pg.11

HANOI TOP POWER IN CORNER OF ASIA

North Vietnam Now Viewed by U.S. Analysts as Key Force in Southeast

North Vietnam has emerged as the primary military power in Southeast Asia, according to United States military analysts. The old balance of power, which rested on American-armed South Vietnam, has faded.

The sources expect the gradual consolidation of North and South Vietnam, with the unified state exercising hegemony over Laos and Cambodia. The resulting power structure, it was predicted, will exert political influence from Singapore and Indonesia on the west to the Philippines on the east.

The Soviet Union has asked North Vietnam and the Revolutionary Government in South Vietnam for the use of Cam Ranh Bay as a naval and air base, according to qualified military sources. They regard the request as natural in view of Moscow's steady expansion of naval and air power northeast and southeast of China.

Cam Ranh Bay was the site of the largest American naval and air base during the United States involvement in the Vietnam war. A Soviet base there would be a convenient link between Vladivostok, home port for the Soviet Pacific Fleet, and the squadron from that fleet operating in the Indian Ocean.

A Soviet presence at Cam Ranh Bay would also balance American strength in the Philippines to some extent.

The Pattern of Other Bases

A base at Cam Ranh Bay is likely to follow the pattern of those at Matruh, Egypt, on the Mediterranean, and Berbera, Somalia, on the Gulf of Aden. Storage would be provided for cruise missiles, torpedos and shells. Shore parties would service ships and aircraft. Telecommunications and radar stations would be constructed.

Defense Department sources said that the Soviet Union's position in its quarrel with China would be bolstered since it would be in a position to threaten Chinese ports.

The Soviet request, the sources said, is probably based on the important logistical support given the North Vietnamese in their campaign in the South—equipment, tanks, field and antiaircraft guns, surface-to-air missiles and aircraft.

The Russians are reportedly prepared to make up the relatively light losses in equipment and the ammunition expended in the March-April compaign. United States sources do not know if a replacement program is conditional on use of Cam Ranh Bay: the replacements may be made in any case to prevent Hanoi from going to the Chinese.

North Vietnamese casualties in most of the campaign are believed to have been light. American sources say the exception was the fighting around Xuan Loc in April, where both sides lost heavily.

While the North captured an immense amount of equipment, how much can be incorporated into its war machine is unclear.

Large Stock of Aircraft

The Defense Department estimates that the North captured 1,000 fixed-wing aircraft and helicopters during the campaign; only 110 South Vietnamese aircraft are believed to have escaped. The biggest prizes were 87 F-5 fighters, including 27 of the new F-5E's, and 434 helicopters, plus attack planes, gunships and transports.

The military analysts said there was little doubt that Hanoi could use the aircraft now, for pilots who can fly Soviet craft can adapt to American models. The problem lies in acquiring spare parts once the slender stock in South Vietnamese depots has been exhausted.

No accurate figures are available on the number of armored vehicles taken by the northern forces. South Vietnam's inventory at the start of the campaign included 600 medium and light tanks, 1,000 armored personnel carriers and 400 armored cars. Some were destroyed or damaged in the fighting. The North Vietnamese are not believed to be equipped for rapid restoration of damaged vehicles.

The North Vietnamese must be assumed to have captured all of the field and antiaircraft guns in the South's inventory of 1,500 that remained undestroyed, plus antitank missiles.

While the combination of a large, well-trained army and more than adequate military supplies gives the North Vietnamese considerable military power, the analysts said that spare parts would eventually become a problem as far as American equipment is concerned. For the moment, though, they said, Hanoi commands the largest and best military force in South Asia east of India.

"It's really not a question of what they have," a source commented. "We're relatively sure of that. It's what they intend to do with it now that they have it. One thing you can be sure of—none of their neighbors is going to sass them."

WASHINGTON POST
12 MAY 1975 Pg. 14

U.S. Seen Prepared To Leave Laos or Stay

By Murrey Marder
Washington Post Staff Writer

The United States is prepared either to remain in Laos or to pull its personnel out, depending on the attitude of the Pathet Lao who can now dominate the country, a senior American official said yesterday.

"If they want to push us out, we will get out," said the official, "if they want us to stay, we will stay."

The crumbling position of the pro-American rightists and neutralists in the coalition government of Premier Souvanna Phouma was described by an American source as "quite a genteel sort of collapse."

The United States is planning to send a new ambassador to Laos, who may arrive too late to have any influence. He is Galen L. Stone, now minister-counselor in the U.S. embassy in Paris, a career diplomat who served in Saigon in 1968.

Stone who has not yet be nominated by President Ford, will replace Charles S. Whitehouse, who left Laos in April and now is ambassador to Thailand.

The government of Souvanna Phouma agreed to accept Stone only two days ago an informed source said. Christian A. Chapman, an experienced diplomat is presently in charge of the U.S. embassy in Vientiane.

"There is no feeling [in Washington] that there is a violent catastrophe right around the corner" in Laos, said one official yesterday, because "if the rightists and neutralists are pushed hard, they have no alternative except to give in."

"It depends," this source said, "on how fast the other side wants to make it clear that it has won the fight."

WASHINGTON POST
12 MAY 1975 Pg. 12

Pentagon Regulations Violated by Abortions

Despite a controversy over the legality of many military-funded abortions the Defense Department has been authorizing them—nearly 5,500 last year—for women in military service and the wives and daughters of servicemen.

Many of these abortions, however, violate Defense Department regulations and in some instances the laws of foreign nations where U.S. troops are stationed.

"It is a real problem, and we're in a very embarrassing position on this," said a military physician who asked that his name be withheld.

Other Pentagon officials privately blamed Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger for "looking the other way" and refusing to clarify Pentagon policy on abortion.

Army officials in Europe revealed that the problem of pregnancies among WACs in West Germany has become increasingly costly. Because German laws forbid abortion, the Army has been sending pregnant WACs to the United States for abortions.

Most of those have taken place at Walter Reed Army Medical Center, where a spokesman confirmed that there has been a "very large increase" in the number of abortions for WAC's. District of Columbia law permits abortion on demand within the first three months of pregnancy.

Current Pentagon policy prohibits abortion on demand, for the Army surgeon general, Bernard Katz, a spokesman said that the policy permits abortion only where physical or mental health is threatened. This policy is based on an executive order issued by President Nixon in 1972.

In addition to establishing the criteria for abortions, the Nixon order prohibited the military from conducting abortions at U.S. bases in nations such as Germany where local law forbids it. But while Army WACs are complying with German law, Pentagon officials say Air Force women have abortions at hospitals on air bases in Germany.

Despite the prohibition of abortions on demand, Pentagon spokesmen said incomplete statistics showed that in 1974 the Army performed Navy, 2,236; and the Air Force, about 2,000 abortions; the 1,191.

The statistics do not show how the abortions are broken down between women in the military and wives and daughters of servicemen. But one Army doctor said that 155 WACs were flown from Germany last year for abortions in the United States.

To get around the Pentagon regulations, "You can just say mental health is involved in **demand abortions," said one** Army doctor, "that can be broadened to cover anything."

A major factor in the abortion increase is the doubling of the size of the WAC force since 1972. Total strength is now estimated at 97,000.

"In addition to the WACs coming [to the United States] from Germany, I would estimate about another 155 are having abortions in Sweden or other countries where it is legal," a military medical official said.

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WALL STREET JOURNAL 12 MAY 1975, Pg 5

Pentagon Request for Weapons Funding Is Changed Little by House, Senate Panels

By Arlen J. Large
Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

WASHINGTON -- The Pentagon's bankroll and defense doctrines so far are receiving kind treatment from the same liberal Congress where so many speeches are made about military boondoggles.

Floor debate in the House and Senate in coming weeks will be shaped by the preliminary decisions of the Armed Services Committee of both bodies. Both committees last week finished work on bills authorizing procurement of weapons, and both gave Defense Secretary James Schlesinger little to worry about.

The Senate Armed Services Committee's chairman, John Stennis (D., Miss.), Friday reported that his 16-member panel cut $5.5 billion from the $35.8 billion sought by the Pentagon for a 15-month period starting July 1. That sounds like a lot, but it doesn't hit Mr. Schlesinger where he lives. And earlier last week, the House Armed Services Committee voted to slice $3.7 billion from the weapons budget, but more than a third of that money had been earmarked for South Vietnam.

Meanwhile, the Defense chief is winning his campaign to get bigger, more-accurate and more-sophisticated warheads for U.S. strategic missiles aimed at the Soviet Union. These, he says, give military planners the option of a surgical attack on enemy missile silos instead of ordering a doomsday flattening of Russian cities. Sen. Thomas McIntyre (D., N.H.), an Armed Services Committee member, protests that these smarter warheads could damage detente by seeming to threaten the Russians with a first-strike wipeout of their own deterrent missile force.

Won an Early Skirmish

As he did last year, Sen. McIntyre won an early skirmish in the committee, but the final vote was 10 to four in favor of giving Mr. Schlesinger all the money he wanted for developing his new warheads.

The Pentagon also is winning most of the fights over military hardware, at least those items that have become symbolic targets of would-be budget-cutters. The most symbolic of all is the B1 strategic bomber, nearing the end of the development phase at Rockwell International Corp. The Air Force asked for $222 million in advance funds to begin actual procurement of a B1 operational fleet, a sum that the Senate committee denied.

But Sen. Stennis said that didn't represent a decision against procurement of the bombers, just a postponement of an eventual go-ahead. The committee approved $726 million for the 15-month period for continued development work, including the construction of a fourth prototype bomber. Sen. Stennis said this amounted to "a green light" for the B1 project.

Moreover, a related committee vote apparently removed a threat to the B1 in the form of a potential rival, the F111 made by General Dynamics Corp. For several years the Air Force has said it doesn't want to buy any more of these fighter-bombers for its inventory, but Congress has been voting money for them anyway. F111 advocates argue that production lines should be kept open in case the Air Force decides the B1 has become too expensive to buy. However, Congress has already rescinded last year's appropriation for more F111s, and a proposal to insert some money in the new budget was voted down by the Armed Services Committee, nine to seven.

Unnecessary Hardware

For many Pentagon critics, another symbol of gold-plated unnecessary hardware is Boeing Co.'s tactical air combat control plane, known as AWACS. The Air Force wanted $690 million to buy six of the planes, and the Senate committee granted it all. (The House committee voted to cut back the purchase to three planes; the difference must be resolved later.)

Secretary Schlesinger's smart warheads, the fourth F1 prototype and the six AWACS planes all may be challenged again when the weapons bill reaches the Senate floor. But the full Senate hasn't in memory overturned Mr. Stennis on a major weapons decision, and Pentagon critics this year must vote in the realization that cutting money for planes and other hardware will throw people out of work during a recession. Administration allies also will argue that a cutback in military spending might be taken the wrong way by foreign governments after the U.S. defeat in Vietnam.

"Very emphatically, I believe the Senate will uphold this bill," Sen. Stennis told reporters Friday.

Saigon's fall was responsible for the biggest single reduction in the bill by the committee. The $1.3 billion sought for continued military aid to South Vietnam can't be used now, so the committee left it out. Other reductions stemmed from essentially bookkeeping quirks, such as denial of nearly $1 billion sought by the Navy to catch up with previous inflation, and deletion of a $300 million 'standby' fund for replacing U.S. weapons that may be sent to Israel or some other ally.

Some of the cuts touched real weapons, however. The Senate committee said the Navy can't have, at least for now, $257 million sought for a fifth nuclear-powered frigate to escort aircraft carriers. Previous frigates in this class have been built by Tenneco Inc.'s Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co. Another $270 million was saved by a decision to authorize just seven new patrol frigates for the Navy instead of the 10 requested. Deleted also was $331.5 million for an emergency stockpile of spare aircraft parts.

On the other hand, the committee approved with little change funds for purchase of 45 more Grumman Corp. F14 fighters by the Navy and 135 more McDonnell Douglas Corp. F15 fighters by the Air Force. The committee approved money for continued work on Trident submarines by General Dynamics, and on development of Trident missiles by Lockheed Aircraft Corp.

The Senate committee's bill authorizes $25 billion for the year starting July 1, and $5.3 billion for a special three-month transition period to a new fiscal year beginning Oct. 1, 1976, for a total of $30.3 billion. These sums set ceilings on appropriations that must be voted later for weapons and military research. The ceilings don't apply to much bigger appropriations that will be needed for military pay and operating expenses.

BALTIMORE SUN 12 MAY 1975, Pg 1

Senate unit cuts military bill

By CHARLES W. CORDDRY
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—The Senate Armed Services Committee proposed yesterday a $30.3 billion military procurement bill, reducing President Ford's requests by $5.5 billion but leaving major weapons programs largely intact.

Some cuts in the requests submitted in January were illusory, such as that for Vietnam military aid, which is no longer an issue, and others shaved moderate sums from tank, ship and airlift programs.

The committee endorsed with minor or no changes, however, such front-line programs as the Trident missile submarine, the Navy and Air Force F-14 and F-15 jet fighters and jet-propelled cruise missiles, Army attack helicopters, attack submarines and continued production of Minuteman intercontinental missiles.

The Senate panel's cuts were almost $1.8 billion deeper than its House counterpart recommended earlier this week, and the mix was considerably different, so that numerous changes will be made by the time the legislation is passed.

Action in both committees, however, seemed in line with a spreading interest in Congress in holding off some of the deeper cuts that once were, and still may be, sought this year.

Those with this view argue against "rocking the boat" in what is seen as a difficult post-Vietnam period for United State foreign-military policy.

Representative Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. (D., Mass.), the House majority leader, will not support demands for overseas troop cuts this year, for example, as he has in several years past.

Senator Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.), the Senate majority leader, still seems undecided on whether to demand cuts in Europe this year, as he has automatically done for years.

Representative Ronald V. Dellums (D., Calif.), who perennially seeks overseas troop cuts in the hundreds of thousands, apparently would settle for about 70,000 this year.

The House Armed Services Committee proposed no troop cuts at home or abroad. The Senate panel recommended a military reduction of just 18,300 troops spread among the services. These could be cut from command headquarters, support elements that can be reduced because of withdrawals from Thailand, training staffs and overhead. The committee said there would be no effect on combat capability from such cuts.

It also proposed a cut of 23,000 in Defense Department civilian employment, including some foreign nationals overseas. Its total staff cuts would save $470 million a year when fully implemented, the committee said. After the reductions, there would be 2,081,700 in uniform and 962,000 civilian employees.

The annual procurement bill fixes ceilings on sums that may be spent for arms research, development and production, and sets manpower levels. This year's bill is for 15 months starting July 1, because the government is shifting in 1976 to fiscal years starting October 1.

Appropriations must be voted later, and some defense spending critics may hold their heaviest fire until then, arguing they are not seeking to influence foreign-military policy but simply to make defense more efficient and to rid it of weapons deemed unneeded.

The Senate committee approved, as reported earlier in the week, continued development of the B-1 supersonic bomber, but refused $222 million for advance production materials. It also endorsed five projects aimed at improving accuracy and power of nuclear warheads.

Of its $5.5 billion cut, $1.3 billion was for Vietnam aid, $300 million to stockpile weapons for foreign sales and $1 billion for cost escalation on ships. The ship-cost item will have to be dealt with next year.

The "real" cut, therefore, was about $2.9 billion for weapons development and production—about 9 per cent, compared with a figure of $1.1 billion in the House committee.

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AGANA, GUAM (UPI) -- THE U.S. AIRCRAFT CARRIER MIDWAY LEFT GUAM TODAY AFTER BRINGING IN A CONTROVERSIAL CARGO OF 145 WARPLANES AND HELICOPTERS FLOWN OUT OF SOUTH VIETNAM BY THE NOW-DEFUNCT SAIGON AIR FORCE.

THE MIDWAY STEAMED INTO PORT SUNDAY WITH ABOUT 100 WARPLANES AND 45 HELICOPTERS, TAKEN OUT OF THE COUNTRY BEFORE THE FALL OF SAIGON TWO WEEKS AGO.

THE CARRIER LOADED THE PLANES, F5 FREEDOM FIGHTERS AND A37 DRAGONFLIES, AT A PORT NEAR THE U.S.-RUN U TAPAO AIR BASE IN THAILAND AND PICKED UP THE HELICOPTERS WHILE UNDERWAY IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA.

THE UNITED STATES HALTED SHIPPING MORE PLANES FROM U TAPAO LAST WEEK AFTER THAILAND PROTESTED, BUT BY THEN MOST OF THE SOPHISTICATED AIRCRAFT HAD ALREADY BEEN LOADED.

THE COMMUNIST RULERS OF NORTH VIETNAM AND SOUTH VIETNAM HAVE DEMANDED THAT THE MULTI-MILLION DOLLAR CARGO SHOULD BE RETURNED TO SAIGON.

SEVEN VESSELS, INCLUDING A VIETNAMESE WARSHIP, WERE EXPECTED TO BRING MORE THAN 20,000 REFUGEES TO GUAM THIS WEEK, BALLOONING THE PACIFIC ISLAND'S REFUGEE POPULATION TO 52,000.

AFTER THE MIDWAY'S ARRIVAL, REAR ADM. WILLIAM HARRIS JR. SAID IN A NEWS CONFERENCE HE DID NOT KNOW HOW MANY, IF ANY, SOUTH VIETNAMESE WARPLANES REMAINED AT U TAPAO.

"WE TOOK ALL WE WERE ASKED TO TAKE," HARRIS SAID.

THE CARRIER USED A HELICOPTER SLING AND A BARGE EARLY THIS MONTH TO WINCH THE PLANES ABOARD ITS FOUR-ACRE FLIGHT DECK. SAIGON SURRENDERED TO THE COMMUNISTS APRIL 30.

ONE F5 WAS DROPPED AND DAMAGED WHILE LOADING, BUT MOST OF THE PLANES WERE FULLY SERVICEABLE, HARRIS SAID.

THE HELICOPTERS, MOST OF THEM UH1 HUEYS, LANDED ON THE CARRIER DECK DURING THE HECTIC SCRAMBLE OUT OF SAIGON TO THE SOUTH CHINA SEA APRIL 29 AND 30, HE SAID.

THE U.S. SHIPS GREEN WAVE AND GREEN PORT DOCKED IN GUAM TODAY AND THREE MORE AMERICAN VESSELS WERE EXPECTED BY TUESDAY AFTENOON. THE FIVE VESSELS CARRIED 19,613 REFUGEES.

TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE SHIPS -- ONE THE FIRST VIETNAMESE WARSHIP TO ENTER GUAM SINCE THE FALL OF SAIGON -- WERE DUE LATER THIS WEEK WITH AT LEAST 600 MORE REFUGEES.

UPI 05-12 04:14 AED

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(WASHINGTON) -- THE STATE DEPARTMENT SAYS THE UNITED STATES HAS NO PLANS TO EVACUATE THE ONE-THOUSAND AMERICANS IN LAOS ALTHOUGH THE COMMUNIST PATHET LAO APPARENTLY ARE TAKING OVER THE LANDLOCKED INDOCHINESE KINGDOM. A SPOKESMAN IN WASHINGTON SAYS: ''THE SITUATION DOESN'T APPEAR TO WARRANT IT.''

VIENTIANE, THE LAOTIAN CAPITAL, REMAINED CALM TODAY FOLLOWING A SPEECH YESTERDAY IN WHICH PREMIER SOUVANNA PHOUMA IN EFFECT CONCEDED THAT THE PATHET LAO NOW CONTROL THE COALITION GOVERNMENT OF RIGHTISTS, LEFTISTS AND NEUTRALISTS ESTABLISHED UNDER A 1973 PEACE ACCORD.

THE PREMIER'S SPEECH FOLLOWED THE COMMUNIST VICTORIES IN CAMBODIA AND SOUTH VIETNAM, AND ATTACKS BY PATHET LAO FORCES ON VARIOUS POSITIONS HELD BY THE RIGHTIST ROYAL LAOTIAN ARMY. IT ALSO CAME IN THE WAKE OF RESIGNATIONS BY FOUR OF THE SIX RIGHTIST MEMBERS OF SOUVANNA PHOUMA'S COALITION CABINET AND THE REMOVAL OF THREE TOP-RANKING RIGHTIST GENERALS FROM THEIR ARMY COMMANDS. THIS LEFT THE PATHET LAO THE DOMINANT FACTION IN THE GOVERNMENT.

04:06AED 05-12-75

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CAPE CANAVERAL, FLA. (UPI) -- AN ELECTRICAL STORM HAS DELAYED UNTIL MAY 19 THE LAUNCH OF TWO MILITARY COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITES SET FOR TUESDAY BECAUSE OF FEARS LIGHTNING MAY HAVE DAMAGED SOME INSTRUMENTS.

A TITAN III-C ROCKET HAD BEEN SCHEDULED TO CARRY THE TWO MILITARY COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITES INTO SPACE TUESDAY, TO COMPLETE A NETWORK PROVIDING MILITARY FORCES WITH A SECRET METHOD OF COMMUNICATIONS.

SPACE AGENCY OFFICIALS SAID THEY DID NOT THINK DAMAGE WAS DONE TO THE SENSITIVE ELECTRONIC INSTRUMENTS DURING THE THUNDERSTORM FRIDAY NIGHT, BUT THEY NEED THE EXTRA TIME TO RUN TESTS AND MAKE ABSOLUTELY SURE. UPI 05-12 04:07 AED

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CURRENT NEWS

PART II - MAIN EDITION - 1130

THIS SUPPLEMENTS PART I-EARLY BIRD EDITION

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FRIDAY, MAY 9, 1975

WASHINGTON POST
9 May 1975 Pg. 1

Castro Hints At Thaw

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

Cuba Prime Minister Fidel Castro has moved to thaw his long-frigid relations with the United States, saying that talks could resume with a partial lifting of the trade embargo against Cuba.

The White House promptly replied yesterday that President Ford welcomes the apparent overture but had no immediate plans to act until the ban is lifted by the Organization of American States, which imposed it under U.S. leadership 11 years ago.

Castro, in a press conference with American reporters accompanying Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.) on a Cuban tour, said late Wednesday that the removal of restrictions on medicines and foodstuffs would constitute evidence of U.S. willingness to negotiate its longstanding differences with Cuba.

But McGovern reported after eight hours of talks—including three hours during a rollicking tour of the Cuban countryside with Castro at the wheel of an open jeep—that the Cuban leader appeared ready to take a number of steps on his own to signal Cuba's desire to ease relations.

McGovern said Castro promised to grant exit visas to the parents of Luis Tiant, a Cuban pitcher for the Boston Red Sox, so they could come to the United States to see their son play. On a larger scale, McGovern said, Castro was "very much interested" in a pro-

CASTRO...Pg. 2

NEW YORK TIMES 9 May 1975 Pg. 9

Ford Assures Asian Visitors on U.S. Ties

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 8—President Ford gave fresh assurances today to officials from South Korea and Singapore that the United States would maintain its presence in Asia.

Chung Il Kwon, the speaker of the South Korean National Assembly, and Hahm Pyong Choon, the South Korean Ambassador to Washington, paid a 10-minute "courtesy call" on Mr. Ford at the White House. They said later that they had warned that an American withdrawal from South Korea would lead "within six months" to a military attack by North Korea.

For Ties With Allies

Mr. Hahm told reporters that the President had pledged that his Administration would stand by treaty commitments to defend South Korea and that he had no intention of removing the 38,000 American troops stationed there.

Mr. Ford met this afternoon with Prime Minister Lee Kuar Yew of Singapore and, according to Ron Nessen, the White House press secretary, restated "the American determination to stand by allies and friends."

Both White House meetings were part of a continuing attempt by Mr. Ford to demonstrate his resolve to maintain and strengthen ties with allies in the wake of the defeats of the American-supported governments of Cambodia and South Vietnam.

The President expressed similar assurances yesterday to the Prime Ministers of Britain, Australia and New Zealand.

Although the meeting with the Koreans, Mr. Chung and Mr. Hahm, was the most brief of those scheduled this week by the President, it may have been the most significant. Some Administration officials are said to suspect that South Korea will be the next target for a test of United States resolve after Indochina.

Mr. Nessen said that the President would delay completion of a reassessment of Mid-

FORD...Pg. 2

NEW YORK TIMES 9 May 1975 Pg. 1

Brezhnev Says End of Conflict In Indochina Will Help Detente

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, May 8—Leonid I. Brezhnev said today that he hoped the end of the wars in Indochina would lead to a further relaxation of tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States.

The Soviet Communist party leader made the bid for accommodation in his first public comments on the Communist victory in Vietnam. He praised the "patriots of Vietnam" for having waged a successful "struggle against foreign interventionists and their henchmen."

Mr. Brezhnev avoided identifying the United States as an adversary of the Communists in Vietnam, in keeping with a recent policy here of not antagonizing the United States on the matter of Indochina.

Except for the refugee issue, the Soviet press recently has generally not criticized the Americans on Vietnam, evidently out of concern over Soviet-American détente.

The Kremlin leadership delivered formal congratulations to the Communist victors a week ago, but delayed doing so until more than a day after the fall of Saigon had become known here.

Mr. Brezhnev's remarks seemed intended to reassure the United States that the Soviet Union still wanted détente.

There has been some concern here that the United States might consider pulling back from its commitment to cooperation with Moscow as a result of the Communist takeovers in Vietnam and Cambodia.

At the same time, Mr. Brezhnev did not hide the Kremlin's support of "national liberation struggles," as it defines con-

BREZHNEV...Pg. 2

NEW YORK TIMES
9 May 1975 Pg. 26

CONFEREES SLASH DEFENSE FUNDING

By EILEEN SHANAHAN

WASHINGTON, May 8—The Joint Senate-House Conference Committee on the Budget agreed today to cut next year's defense spending by $3.3-billion from the figure requested by President Ford.

The Congressional group, which is implementing for the first time a new procedure aimed at giving Congress a more comprehensive and unified look at the effects of its various actions on spending programs, also voted to make a large reduction in the budget category called "International Affairs."

Although the conferees did not specifically say so, their action on this item appeared aimed at discouraging approval by Congress of any funds whatever for aid to the rehabilitation of Vietnam.

The point is unclear because, in writing the new budget guidelines, the House and Senate Budget Committees are not supposed to deal with individual programs in detail.

But in discussing the cuts they were making in the "International Affairs" category, members of the conference committee referred to only two items. One was the remaining $300-million of Vietnam aid and the other was funds for what is known as the "safety net" to protect the big industrialized countries from the international financial ramifications of the quadruping of oil prices.

The $3.3-billion cut in defense spending, plus a $7-billion reduction in the authorizations for future military spending,

DEFENSE SPENDING—Pg2

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CASTRO...Continued

posal by the South Dakotan to exchange U.S. and Cuban baseball and basketball teams, in the way "Ping-Pong diplomacy" helped ease relations between the United States and China in 1971.

Also, McGovern reported, Castro said he would consider returning $2 million in ransom brought to Cuba on a hijacked plane in 1972, and releasing nine American political prisoners, some of whom Castro said were involved in CIA activities.

"He said they were conspirators against the Cuban government," McGovern said, "but to help the position of friends of Cuba in the United States he will consider releasing some or all of these nine political prisoners."

Castro made it clear, however, that the lifting of the trade embargo was the essential first step to improved relations, McGovern said.

In the press conference, Castro extended "a wish of friendship" to the American people. "I understand it is not easy because we belong to different worlds," he said. "But we are neighbors and in one way or another we (ought) to live in peace."

Presidential press secretary Ron Nessen, commenting on Castro's remarks, said the White House "notes that he seems to have accepted what the White House has referred to in the past as the mutuality of obligations."

In a speech in Houston in March, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger said that a "fundamental change" could not come "unless Cuba demonstrates a readiness to assume the mutuality of obligation and regard upon which a new relationship must be founded."

Under questioning, Nessen said he was "not announcing a change in U.S. policy toward Cuba." But he noted that "the United States has said we see no future in perpetual antagonism" toward Castro's country.

At the State Department, spokesman Robert J. Funseth said the United States has "made it clear to Cuba that we are prepared to improve our relations" in public and private statements and "by some symbolic acts" such as easing restrictions on validating passports to Cuba.

A state Department official said the United States would like to see, as a further evidence of Castro's sincerity, other gestures such as allowing travel by Cubans to the United States and the reuniting of Cuban families split between the two countries. Castro's reported remarks to McGovern appeared to touch on these points.

Castro, in the press conference, also indicated that the departure of Richard M. Nixon from the White House and the end of the Vietnam war both might help restore good relations between Cuba and the United States.

He said he felt Nixon had "a personal hostility against Cuba and many counter-revolutionary friends," but added that "President Ford does not have any personal hostility." As for the war, Castro said, Cuba's strong opposition to U.S. policy in Vietnam made it "very difficult" to improve relations.

Castro denied to the visiting reporters that his government was involved in any way in the 1963 assassination of President John F. Kennedy. Such action would have been "absurd, irresponsible, crazy and a very dangerous measure," he said.

Castro said that although Kennedy was an adversary of Cuba who approved the Bay of Pigs invasion, he added that he was "an intelligent man who had begun to understand the errors of his policies, and perhaps Kennedy would have made some steps toward improving relations with Cuba."

While denying any Cuban role in Kennedy's death, Castro said "it is not news for us" that the CIA reportedly was involved in attempts to kill him and other leaders of his 1959 revolution. He said his own security men "for many years" had uncovered plots against his government by individuals he said were trained by the CIA, in some cases with weapons "smuggled out of the U.S. Guantanamo Naval Base" in Cuba.

Castro's interview with McGovern, after the three-hour tour of the Cuban countryside, continued at the Palace of the Revolution in Havana over a barbecue dinner, and finally during a night tour of Havana in a Russian-built limousine. The press conference took place at the palace during an interim in the talks with McGovern.

BREZHNEV...Continued

flicts like those in Cambodia, Vietnam and elsewhere.

Mr. Brezhnev spoke today to a bemedaled audience in the Kremlin's Palace of Congresses at a ceremony marking the 30th anniversary of the defeat of Nazi Germany.

Mr. Brezhnev used the occasion to send a message to President Ford in which he said "substantial positive changes have been achieved in Soviet-American relations as a result of efforts made by our countries."

During his five-minute speech, which was devoted largely to a retrospective look at the war, Mr. Brezhnev referred briefly to the European security conference that the Soviet Union wants to conclude quickly at a summit level. He suggested that "it would probably be good to have this European experience used in this or that form by states on other continents."

The party chief did not amplify his proposal. It possibly was an allusion to an Asian collective security system that Moscow has been trying to put together as a hedge against China. Soviet officials have expressed concern recently about where the fast-moving events in Indochina may put them in comparison with their Chinese rivals.

Mr. Brezhnev confined his foreign policy remarks largely to Indochina.

"The elimination of the hotbed of war in Indochina creates conditions for further improvement in the international atmosphere," he said. "This will benefit the cause of international détente, including, we believe, détente in relations between our country and the United States of America."

He went on to stress the need for "concrete agreements" for cutbacks of "military preparations of states." Though he did not elaborate, Mr. Brezhnev may have had in mind the agreement on the reduction of nuclear weapons that was tentatively outlined in his brief summit meetin with President Ford near Vladivostok and is now being negotiated by Soviet and American experts.

In turning to Vietnam, the Soviet leader contended that "attempts to suppress the liberation movements of people are doomed to failure."

"And the best proof of this," he said, "is the glorious victory scored by the Vietnamese people in the struggle against foreign interventionists and their henchmen.

"This victory crowns the long heroic struggle of the patriots of Vietnam. "It is the result of a skillful use by them of various forms of struggle: military, political and diplomatic.'

FORD... Continued

dle East policy until after he confers next month with President Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt and Premier Yitzhak Rabin of Israel. In that context, Mr. Ford met today with Arthur J. Goldberg, who was the chief United States delegate to the United Nations during the 1967 Middle East war.

Mr. Nessen said Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger had advised the Cabinet last night that the United States had "recovered" 288 combat airplanes and helicopters from its defeated allies in Cambodia and South Vietnam.

At the Pentagon, however, Joseph Laitin, the Defense Department spokesman, said that more than 180 of the aircraft were still in Thailand. The United States suspended removal of the planes from Thailand this week at the request of the Thai Government after the Communists in Saigon claimed ownership of the aircraft.

Mr. Nessen also indicated that the United States was seeking the assistance of the new Saigon Government in recovery of the bodies of two marines killed just before the final American evacuation of Saigon.

"Every possible channel is being used to retrieve the two bodies," Mr. Nessen said. He declined to specify what diplomatic channels might be used "because of the delicacy of the situation." He said Mr. Ford had directed the Marine Corps to submit a "full report" explaining how the bodies of Cpl. Charles McMahon Jr. of Woburn, Mass., and Lance Cpl. Darwin L. Judge of Marshalltown, Iowa, had been left behind.

NEW YORK TIMES
9 May 1975 Pg. 11

Wallace Criticizes U.S. On World War Policy

WASHINGTON, May 8 (AP)—Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama recently told a group of foreign correspondents he believed the United States may have been "fighting the wrong people" in World War II.

In a wide-ranging interview with the correspondents on March 3, Mr. Wallace also said he thought there might never have been a second world war if the United States had cultivated the friendship of the Japanese and Germans.

Reached today in Montgomery, Ala., Mr. Wallace said he had been quoted out of context in published reports about the interview.

"We were fighting the right people but our diplomacy led us to fight people who should have been our friends," Mr. Wallace said in explanation.

DEFENSE SPENDING... Continued

appeared to be roughly in conformity with the partial actions taken so far this year by other Congressional committees on the military budget.

In domestic policy areas, as the committee moved toward probable completion of its work tomorrow, the conferees seemed disposed to make some increases in the Ford budget but often smaller ones than had been boted earlier in either the Senate or the House.

In other words, only rarely did the conference committee pick the highest available figures. More often, they either split the difference between the House and Senate or took the lower figure.

Thus, the conferees appeared to be headed toward a total spending figure that would produce a deficit in the neighborhood of $67-billion to $69-billion. According to Congressional estimates of the actual costs of programs endorsed by President Ford, this would be about the same deficit as the Ford program would produce.

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SYRACUSE, N.Y. HERALD-JOURNAL 30 April 1975 Pg. 23 (9May)

Asian allies need assurance

By JOSEPH A. PORCELLO

The United States "still has obligations to its allies in Asia and we must make sure those allies realize we are going to meet those obligations."

Three U. S. Department of Defense speakers at today's "Dialogue on the Defense" in Hotel Syracuse agreed generally with that statement made by Lt Gen. Daniel O. Graham, director of the Defense Intelligence Agency.

"We cannot abandon Southeast Asia any more than we can any other part of the world," said Vice Adm. John G. Finneran, principal deputy assistant secretary of defense.

"We're still involved with friendly nations" in Asia, said William Levitt, director for production and research for the secretary of defense.

The speakers were asked in an interview about the nation's role future role in Asia as a result of the fall of South Vietnam.

Also speaking at the one-day meeting sponsored by the American Defense Preparedness Association was John R. Quetsch, principal assistant budget director for the secretary of defense.

Thomas I. Paganelli, vice president and general manager of General Electric's Electronics Systems Division at Syracuse, chaired the morning panel discussion. Russell L. Bearss, plant manager, Chrysler Corp.'s New Process Gear Division, was master of ceremonies at the luncheon, where General Grahmam spoke on "World Threats to U. S. Peace."

Graham said in reply to a question that the "big lesson" of Vietnam to him is "that the United States has the kind of society which is not one that supports a limited objective war that lasts a long time."

He said in the interview, "The situation out there (in Asia) would go to pot quickly if we don't make sure they (our allies) understand that those obligations are accepted by the whole American people and are blessed by the Congress, and that there is no doubt about those committments as there was in Vietnam."

He pointed out that the United States' treaties with Korea, Japan, the Philippines and others "have a lot stronger base than we ever had in Vietnam."

The U. S. influence in Southeast Asia, he feels, "is going to be a little indirect" as the result of the lessened military presence of the United States there.

Admiral Finneran noted that the nation's continued involvement with Asian nations included treaties with Japan, "a lot of years of support of Taiwan, 77 years in support of the independence of the Philippines."

We have basic agreements with these and other allies that are not going to be changed overnight. There may be some redefinition of these, but we can't ignore these nations."

He mentioned specifically Japan, which he termed "an industrial giant."

"It is in our interest as one of the economic leaders of the world to pursue those ties that strengthen our role in world economics," the admiral declared.

Not only are some of these nations "friends" he said, "but we also have some economic ties with them."

Port visits of U. S. flagships in Asia is one way to provide our allies with "some visibility of our military potential," he noted.

Levitt said the U. S. must "continue to pursue our relations with these (allies), but it's too early to tell yet what will happen there (Southeast Asia) now."

He termed the fall of South Vietnam as "disheartening to one who has spent many months" on that nation's problems in the Defense Department.

NEW YORK TIMES
9 May 1975 Pg. 45

SAUDIS REASSESS NORTHROP DEAL

GARDEN CITY, L.I., May 8 (UPI)—At the urging of the Pentagon, Saudi Arabia has begun a reappraisal of an aircraft maintenance contract renewal with the Northrop Corporation that could result in the payment of a $45-million agent's fee, according to a report published today.

The report said the Defense Department warned Saudi Arabia in March it could end up paying that amount to Northrop's Saudi agent, Adnan M. Khashoggi.

The $45-million fee would be a 5 per cent commission to Mr. Khashoggi on renewal of an $850-million, five-year contract for the maintenance of nearly 100 F-5 jet fighters purchased from Northrop, according to a report published in Newsday.

According to the paper, Saudi law requires that foreign companies wishing to do business in the Arab nation must have a Saudi national as an agent. Mr. Khashoggi, best known in the United States for his unsuccessful attempt to take over the First National Bank of San Jose, Calif., is that agent.

Possible Bribes Seen

Critics of large agent's fees, Newsday said, believe that such commissions are used to bribe government officials. "United States regulatory agencies are currently examing the records of Northrop and other American corporations, looking for evidence of the use of slush funds for bribes abroad and for illegal contributions to political campaigns."

The paper quoted a spokesman for Northrop as saying, "the matter, including the agent's fee, is still under discussion. You must remember that he [Mr. Khashoggi] is one of the few people who can help make an $850-million sale."

BALTIMORE SUN 9 May 1975 Pg. 4

Security fears grip S. Korea

By MATTHEW J. SEIDEN
Sun Staff Correspondent

Tokyo—Eight days after the surrender of the former Saigon government, Kim Jong Pil, the South Korean prime minister, arrived here yesterday on an unscheduled one-night visit, apparently seeking reassurances of continued American and Japanese support for his government.

South Korea is reportedly afraid that the United States might "abandon" Seoul as it is thought to have "abandoned" Saigon, in the face of a Communist attack.

The South Korean government is particularly worried by the visit to Peking of the North Korean president, Kim Il Sung, which coincided with the Communist victories in Southeast Asia.

The South Korean prime minister will meet this afternoon with Takeo Miki, the Japanese prime minister, and Kiichi Miyazawa, Japan's foreign minister, according to a Japanese government spokesman.

Both the Japanese spokesman and a Korean government official said the discussions probably would deal with South Korean security problems that could follow recent developments in Indochina.

"At a time when American credibility is being questioned around the world, Korea is and feels like the most vulnerable spot," a knowledgeable Western diplomat said.

According to Western and Japanese sources, the South Korean prime minister hopes to strengthen secondary alliances with countries like Japan, as a backstop in case American support declines in the future.

Japan recognized the Communist government in South Vietnam Wednesday.

WASHINGTON POST 9 May 1975 Pg. 21

Laos Sends Team To Enforce Truce

VIENTIANE — A government peace-making team set out yesterday from here to try to halt the advance of pro-Communist Pathet Lao forces in Laos.

The team reflected the makeup of the Laotian coalition government in which Pathet Lao members sit left-Vientiane to try to stop alongside right-wingers. t the advance of Pathet Lao forces, which has brought them to within 60 miles of the capital.

An official announcement in Vientiane said the team also wanted to make sure government forces made no effort to move against the Pathet Lao.

Military sources said four battalions of Pathet Lao soldiers, supported by tanks and artillery, were facing three Vientiane battalions in the area of Vang Vieng, 90 miles north of Vientiane.

The two opposing sides in the coalition government signed an agreement Wednesday to stop the clashes between the Vientiane and Pathet Lao forces that have disrupted the cease-fire there since mid-April, government sources said.

The peace call was endorsed by the leading Pathet Lao minister in the Laotian coalition, Foreign Minister Phoumi Vonvvi, prime minister.

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NEW YORK TIMES 9 May 1975 Pg. 1

HOUSE PANEL CUTS AID FOR REFUGEES TO $405-MILLION

By DAVID BINDER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 8 — A House Appropriations subcommittee today cut President Ford's request for $507-million for Indochina refugees to $405-million and said that the relief program should be funded with this sum for the next 14 months.

The Administration's request was based on cost estimates for transport and resettlement of 150,000 Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees over the next 28 months.

L. Dean Brown, director of the Interagency Task Force on Refugees, said of the figure reached by the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations:

"I am delighted, because it is a solid endorsement of the President's request. We will work with this, and if it doesn't work, we will come back for more."

How Fund Was Cut

Mr. Brown said that Representative Otto E. Passman, Democrat of Louisiana, who is chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, had made clear in a hearing that the subcommittee was working on the assumption that there would be 115,000 Indochina refugees in need of aid—not 150,000.

The subcommittee slashed the Administration's request to $405-million in these categories.

¶$155-million for daily maintenance of refugees at $15 per person, down from $185-million.

¶$65-million for airlifting refugees out of Indochina to the continental United States, down from $99-million.

¶$70-million for resettlement efforts through voluntary agencies, down from $78-million.

¶$100-million for subsequent welfare and medical costs, including education and vocational training, down from $125-million.

¶$15-million for movement of 20,000 refugees to other countries, down from $20-million.

Testimony Is Recalled

In testimony before the subcommittee, Mr. Brown stated that 113,340 Vietnamese and Cambodians were "in the American pipeline," and that there were 35,000 to 37,000 additional Indochinese who might eventually qualify as refugees.

This, and the determination that as many as 20,000 of the Vietnamese and Cambodians under American care already had sponsors in this country, prompted the subcommittee to make the cuts, pending later disclosure of a larger refugee total.

Mr. Passman called for speedy action on a recommended appropriation after hearing from Mr. Brown that the Administration had already spent $89-million on evacuation and care of refugees from Indochina and had only $11-million left from assistance funds.

The available funds would run out "in the next few days," Mr. Brown testified. They had been borrowed from an Indochina reconstruction fund set up under the Foreign Assistance Act and suspended after Saigon and Phnom Penh fell to Communist forces last month.

In San Francisco, meanwhile, the Immigration Service announced that it would reinvestigate many of the Vietnamese children who had been brought to this country for adoption to determine whether any were not orphans and therefore not eligible for adoption.

Both the House and the Senate appeared to be responding as best they could to President Ford's repeated appeals over the last week for "urgent action" to provide adequate funds for the refugees.

The Senate is expected to vote next week on an authorization, although it may not meet the Administration's request for $507-million.

Last night, the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration marked up a bill authorizing "such sums as may be needed" for refugee aid. This enabled the legislation to go before the full Judiciary Committee this evening.

While the mood in both legislative bodies appeared to favor passage of a sizable authorization for refugee assistance, three was still some opposition in the House and Senate.

Asserting that he had discovered he could "feed myself on $1 a day," Representative Clarence D. Long, Democrat of Maryland, told Mr. Brown that he thought the feeding cost of $3.40 for each Vietnamese refugee projected by the Administration was "way out of line."

"I just think your whole program is full of water," he said and declined to vote with the majority on the $405-million authorization in the Appropriations subcommittee.

In the Senate, James Abourezk, Democrat of South Dakota, introduced a bill that would authorize only $127-million in refugee aid.

In an accompanying speech, he accused the Administration of providing "inadequate and sketchy reports to the Congress" on the entire Indochina situation and suggested that it was trying to aid "thousands of trained political assassins."

But the majority sentiment of the Senate favoring refugee aid was demonstrated a little later in a vote on a resolution by Alan Cranston of California and James B. Allen of Alabama, both Democrats.

The resolution, stating that "the Senate warmly welcomes the latest exiles to our shores," passed 91 to 1—the lone dissenter being William L. Scott, Republican of Virginia.

The Administration is still hoping that other countries will help the United States to resettle Indochina refugees, Mr. Brown testified.

He said that Canada had offered to take 3,000 refugees, and that Australia's Prime Minister Gough Whitlam had told President Ford that he would admit 1,500. Gabon, Ivory Coast and Morocco have also offered to take several hundred Vietnamese each.

BALTIMORE SUN 9 May 1975 Pg. 22C

Will the Navy end Academy band?

By J. S. BAINBRIDGE, JR.
Annapolis Bureau of The Sun

Annapolis—The Naval Academy Band, the oldest continuing musical organization in the Navy, may be eliminated in a military budget-cutting move.

Concern from Annapolis area constituents about the band's future "beats the refugees" as an issue locally, according to a spokesman for Representative Marjorie S. Holt (R.,4th).

Mrs. Holt said yesterday her office had received hundreds of phone calls and letters. She said she contacted the Chief of Naval Operations to express how much a part of "the Annapolis tradition" the band is.

For two years the Navy has been considereing whether to phase out the band or merge it with the Navy band in Washington.

"We're just sitting tight, awaiting the decision," said Lt. Joseph Phillips, the band's leader. "It's rough on the morale," he added. "The guys don't know whether they're stopping or going."

Capt. F. Brayton Harris, the assistant chief of information for the Navy's office of information, said that the examination of the band's future is "part of a general review of the overall Navy music program."

"We don't anticipate any hard decision on this for some time," Captain Harris added.

The band was formed in 1852 and plays for formal ceremonies at the academy such as the spring and fall parades and June Week. Concerts also are given about four nights a month, with six special ones in the summer. All Naval Academy Band performances are open to the public without charge.

"Anchors Aweigh," the Navy's official song, was written by an academy band leader, Charles A. Zimmerman, shortly after the turn of the century, according to Lieutenant Phillips.

Originally it was intended as the march for one academy graduating class, an annual Zimmerman composing tradition, but it "just caught on," Lieutenant Phillips said. This weekend the band will be in the Preakness Parade and later this month it will record a two-record bicentennial album with the Naval Academy Glee Club.

According to Lieutenant Phillips, many of the band members, all professional Navy musicians, have retired since the controversy over the band's continuance arose. Eighty-eight members a few years ago, the band now has been reduced to below 70 in an economy move.

Mrs. Holt expressed doubt yesterday that a merger of the academy band would effect any real economy.

NEW YORK TIMES
9 May 1975 Pg. 14

Thailand and North Korea Establish Diplomatic Ties

BANGKOK, Thailand, May 8 (Renters)—Thailand and North Korea established diplomatic relations today and said they would exchange ambassadors as soon as possible.

The agreement was signed at the Thai Foreign Ministry by Cha Byong Ok of the North Korean Foreign Ministry, and Vikrom Ninanad, his Thai counterpart.

Thailand has told South Korea that their diplomatic links would not be affected by the agreement with Pyongyang.

The North Korean said his country was considering relations with the Philippines and Singapore.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 9 May 1975

EDITORIALS

NEW YORK TIMES - 9 MAY 1975

Defense Defended

A nervous world, watching Washington for indications of the role the United States will play abroad in the wake of the Indochina defeat, is beginning to get some reassurance that this country's posture will not be one of renunciation of world responsibilities.

A number of key Congressional liberals and moderates, who fought the Ford Administration on the Indochina issue, have now decided to back away from their earlier intention of challenging the Administration anew through attempts to make major cuts in defense spending and overseas forces. Also rejected were other measures that might lead nations abroad to believe that the United States was bent on isolationism or on endangering the East-West military balance. Such reassurance is much needed.

"The Vietnam situation does paint a different picture for us," Senator Mondale acknowledges. "It's very important not to signal the Russians and others that we're giving up. The Congress decided against the war in Vietnam. We did not vote to become an isolationist country."

Senate Majority Leader Mansfield reportedly is unlikely to offer his amendment, as almost annually since 1966, to withdraw the bulk of American forces in Europe. Two other leading sponsors of more limited troop withdrawal proposals, Senator Nunn of Georgia and House Democratic Leader O'Neill, are shelving their measures. Two liberal Democrats, Representatives Aspin and Symington, have obtained 51 co-sponsors for a resolution reaffirming American treaty commitments abroad.

Similarly, the Brookings Institution, which has made annual studies of the defense budget showing how spending could be reduced as much as $12 billion, has outlined only a maximum of $1.9 billion in cuts in this year's Administration proposals.

* * *

None of this means that the Administration's request for $104.7 billion in obliggational authority, with $94 billion to be spent in the 1976 fiscal year, is sacrosanct. On the contrary, Congress would serve the interests of mankind as a whole, as well as the United States, by disapproving a half-dozen proposals to improve the accuracy of American long-range nuclear missiles, turning them into potential "first-strike" weapons. It would be self-defeating for the United States to move unilaterally in this direction as long as a chance still remains in the SALT talks to head off a Soviet first-strike capability against American land-based missiles.

The B-1 bomber, the Trident nuclear missile submarine, the AWACS airborne radar warning system and other questionable projects require further study rather than accelerated development programs. Billions of dollars are wasted annually by Congressional insistence on useless bases at home and National Guard units rather than ready reserves. The House Armed Services Committee, politically motivated, has again voted over $100 million for Texas-built A-7D attack planes which the Pentagon has not requested.

A normal or, preferably, a better-than-normal Congressional review of the Administration's defense requests is much in order. What must be avoided at this sensitive time is the kind of large-scale reduction that would be seen abroad as a policy change.

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CHICAGO TRIBUNE - 5 MAY 1975 (9)

New Mediterranean role

The United States might have to revise the role it has played in the Mediterranean as its allies in the region opt for independent action and as Soviet intentions become less menacing under the influence of detente.

The latest indication of that change came last week with the U.S. agreement to reduce its military presence in Greece, giving up 6th Fleet home-porting facilities and closing an air base near Athens. Both Turkey and Portugal, the other two allies who traditionally have provided basic support for U.S. strategy in that part of the world, have given ample warning they will reconsider their U.S. ties.

The traditional U.S. aim in the Mediterranean has been to guard the so-called "soft underbelly of Europe" against Soviet incursions and to keep an eye on the turbulent Middle East where Israel is dependent heavily on U.S. military aid. But the Soviet Union, despite the increase of its naval units in the Mediterranean, has not shown hostile intentions where southern Europe is concerned and is moving to better relations with both Greece and Turkey.

As for the Israeli lifeline, it has been apparent for some time that it has to be shifted to a route other than that passing through NATO bases, perhaps to the Pacific and Indian oceans.

There is no question but that the United States has to maintain a strong presence in the Mediterranean, both as a deterrent and to preserve flexibility in foreign policy. But the tone of U.S. relations with the countries of the region ought to be revised.

Greece and Turkey, formerly considered clients of Washington, are demanding treatment as equals. The Arab countries for years virtually ignored, have asserted their influence through their oil power.

These are important developments in a vital part of the world for U.S. planners to ponder as they mull over America's changing global role.

NEW YORK TIMES - 9 MAY 1975

The O.A.S. Assembly

It is a sad commentary on the current standing of the Organization of American States that despite all that is going on in the hemisphere, it will probably take up no more important business at the annual General Assembly, which opened in Washington yesterday, than the routine election of a Secretary-General to succeed Ecuador's distinguished Galo Plaza Lasso. There are plenty of urgent problems affecting the American states—and progress may be made on some of them in informal consultations during the two-week Assembly—but the O.A.S. itself will be only incidentally involved.

It is now regarded as unlikely that this Assembly will take any decisive action to lift the sanctions invoked against Cuba by the O.A.S. eleven years ago, though these are no longer effective and a majority of member governments favors repeal. Instead, the Assembly is likely to set up an Organ of Consultation that may eventually recommend a change in O.A.S. regulations to require only a majority vote in such circumstances.

With Secretary of State Kissinger absent and the U.S. abstaining, a special meeting of O.A.S. foreign ministers in Ecuador last November fell two votes short of the required two-thirds' majority for ending the Cuban boycott. The embittered sponsors of repeal are reluctant to put the matter to another test until the rules are changed. Meanwhile, nine O.A.S. members have breached the sanctions to establish relations with Cuba.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 9 May 1975
AIR FORCE MAGAZINE - MAY 1975 (9)

Vietnam—Some Policy Implications

By John L. Frisbee
EXECUTIVE EDITOR, AIR FORCE MAGAZINE

Washington, D. C., April 11

IT IS both sad and frustrating to see an ally, for whom and alongside whom we have fought, disintegrate.

Last night (April 10), in his address to Congress, President Ford asked for an additional $722 million in military assistance for South Vietnam. Early indications are that it will not be approved, even in part.

The proximate cause of South Vietnam's collapse was President Thieu's strategic but almost totally unplanned withdrawal from the Central Highlands. The concept may have been sound, influenced by his belief that US military assistance was in permanent decline, and perhaps in hope that the prospect of impending disaster might help reverse that decline. In any event, the withdrawal was woefully inept.

But the underlying causes go back much further. Over the years, we have commented on the folly of some US policy decisions that prolonged the war and put South Vietnam's survival in question: failure to use airpower properly until the weeks immediately preceding the cease-fire; tardiness in beginning a serious Vietnamization program; acceptance of a cease-fire agreement that left 130,000 North Vietnamese troops in the South; refusal to give the South offensive weapons that would have forced Hanoi to keep most of its troops in defensive positions north of the DMZ; congressional reductions, over the past three years, of $1.3 billion in Administration requests for military assistance to the South; dedication to the futile hope that the USSR would cooperate in enforcing the cease-fire.

From the bitter experience of more than ten years' involvement in Southeast Asia, we should have learned some painful lessons about how, where, and whether to commit ourselves to wars of limited objectives.

We ought to take an even more fundamental lesson from the experience of the past twelve months, when North Vietnam illegally expanded its largely Soviet-equipped forces in the South to an estimated 350,000. While détente may—at least temporarily—reduce the chance of direct clashes between the US and the USSR, it in no way affects the long-term objectives of the Communist movement. That movement is like an amoeba: flexible, formless, persistent, infinitely patient. It will flow outward until it meets opposition, stop if the opposition is balanced, retreat if the balance is against it, and flow onward again when circumstances permit.

Our contest with this amoeba-like force is open-ended. There can be no effective opposition to it without US participation or support. And since the US has neither the means nor the will (nor now, perhaps, even the credibility) to counter aggression everywhere, our truly vital national interests must be redefined. External commitments have to be reduced to a point where US military forces—the smallest since 1953—can support them, or our military posture must be brought into line with commitments that now are too large in their potential demands.

Another lesson that may not be clear quite yet concerns the domino analogy, unfortunately labeled a theory, and thus made endlessly debatable. The domino analogy is a fact of life, not a theory, in a power-dominated world. In its simplest form, an aggressive power that wants to get from square "A" to square "C" must pass through square "B." But the analogy is more complex than that.

Assume, as now seems inevitable, that South Vietnam falls. What will be the effects on events in the Middle East of US failure to adequately support Saigon? On North Korea's long-thwarted plans to invade South Korea? Would Communist control of Southeast Asia—a third of Japan's export market—threaten our major Pacific ally economically and politically? These complex linkages are part of the array of dominoes that have been kept standing by faith in the physical and moral strength of the United States.

The fall of South Vietnam, if it happens, may mark a turning point in twentieth century history. That could hardly have been so if the US had not laid its prestige on the line in Southeast Asia. Vietnam itself was not a vital US interest. Significant, yes, but not vital. Persistence in carrying out the US commitment to that country *was* a vital interest. The ultimate cost of our failure to persist is yet to be determined.

Make no mistake about it. US influence on world affairs is still very great. The worst thing that could befall this country—and the trend in this direction is gaining momentum—would be a retreat to isolationism. We must stay the course, and it must be carefully plotted.

Our sympathy for the tortured people of South Vietnam and Cambodia is undiminished, but we can now do only what the law allows and what the will of Congress and the people make possible. The limits of the possible—of what we can and should do to support South Vietnam—grow ever narrower.

The people of Southeast Asia may perhaps be forgiven if they feel they have paid too large a share of our tuition for a seminar in the exercise of power. History will not forgive us if we fail to heed its lessons. ■

O.A.S. ASSEMBLY CONTINUED

Latin governments will voice again in the Assembly their outrage that the United States trade act bars tariff preferences for Ecuador and Venezuela, as members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries; but all Mr. Kissinger can do is renew his assurances that the Administration is doing its utmost to get the offending provision modified. The Latins may also express again their solidarity with Panama for the negotiations with the United States on a new canal treaty; but the Assembly as such can play no direct role on the issue.

The fact is that the Latin-Americans in recent years have striven increasingly to set up new regional machinery and organizations outside the O.A.S.—sometimes in order to include Cuba or to exclude the United States. Another factor in the decline of the O.A.S. has been the tendency of United States Secretaries of State to interest themselves in inter-American affairs only episodically. Mr. Kissinger's four postponements of a scheduled visit to Latin America—however pressing the reasons—is the latest case in point.

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THE RETIRED OFFICER - MAY 1975 (9)

A Strong National Defense

By Col Minter L. Wilson, Jr., USA-Ret., Editor

U.S. military and foreign policy in Southeast Asia lies in tatters. And it's badly frayed elsewhere. Our ability to reason sensibly about foreign policy and defense suffers. This is a sorry dilemma for a great nation that has temporarily lost its equilibrium.

Vigor and decisiveness in the face of adversity must replace what someone has diagnosed as a "fervent wish to return to the womb." Above all we must stop dealing from emotion and hearsay and start dealing with facts. Our national defense is at stake.

We Are Not a Poor Country

We are not a poor country. With national will, we have the resources to defend ourselves and our vital interests. Substantial as the cost of freedom may be, it is not too great for us to shoulder.

In this season when we establish national priorities through our budget, we cannot fail to recognize the dynamic relationship between our military strength and the pursuit of peace.

The FY 1976 Defense budget at $92.8 billion is the largest in history. But keep in mind why.

The world in which we must conduct our affairs continues in a most volatile state. Even so, since 1968 we have *reduced* our defense budget by 42 per cent in real terms. During the same period the Soviets have been *adding* to their defense forces at the rate of 3 to 5 per cent per year. We are on the threshold of inferiority to the U.S.S.R. if, indeed, we have not already crossed it.

The results of our defense cutbacks are visible around the world. Consider the disaster in Southeast Asia, our failure to achieve a Middle-East peace and the disarray in the southern flank of NATO.

Portugal is tilted way leftward: Italy, with one of the largest Communist parties in the western world, continues to totter along unable to govern effectively; Greece is uncertain in her commitment to NATO and Turkey is reassessing its stand. We have lost our bases for emergencies short of all-out war thus effectively curtailing our ability to influence political action in the Mediterranean.

We are not the world's policeman. But we have legitimate interests and responsibilities in this interdependent world. We neglect them at our peril.

If this is the direction our people want, the decision should be openly arrived at and the possible consequences clearly understood. We should not be saddled with a second rate defense through constant erosion.

The Budget Dollar

In the last 10 years, outlays for national defense have shrunk from more than 40 per cent to about 25.8 per cent of the total federal budget. That is the lowest since 1940. Contrast that to human resource expenditures which have increased in the same 10-year period to more than 70 per cent of the total budget.

Outlays for education, manpower, medicare, income security and other individual benefits from government are necessary expenses. But we must not forget two things: First, social welfare programs now take twice the money spent on defense; and, second, defense spending as a percentage of Gross National Product continues near its lowest point since the end of World War II.

Views of Joint Chiefs

Gen George Brown, JCS Chairman, is frankly worried about the picture he sees. He has publicly stated that "we no longer possess that predominance of strategic power which, for over a quarter of a century has protected the peace of the free world and the security of the United States." Gen Brown is committed to keeping the overall U.S. capability second to none. Now he is fighting a crucial battle—the battle of the budget—and he may be losing.

Gen Weyand, our Army chief, struggles to achieve a stable force of 785,000 men and women in 16 combat divisions and supporting forces.

Since 1968 we have cut our Army in half while the Soviets have added 20 combat divisions. Our Army strength now is almost 200,000 men *below* pre-Vietnam War figures. Yet Gen Weyand is determined to have a 16-division force—just as pre-Vietnam—through a judicious cut of support forces.

Adm Holloway finds himself with the lowest number of ships since 1939—two years before Pearl Harbor. In the forthcoming fiscal year the Navy will dip below 500 ships. Thirty-year-old WW II ships are being phased out and new modern ships built. That costs money but our survival depends upon it.

Gen Jones, Air Force Chief of Staff, has some of the finest people and equipment in the world. But he has less of those commodities than at any time since WW II, and the Congress threatens to eliminate B-1 bombers and other modern aircraft needed to update our Air Force.

Gen Cushman's marines hold steady at three active combat divisions.

In addressing the needs of our forces, we must not overlook the vital ingredient of skilled, dedicated and motivated manpower. That, too, carries a price tag, as President Carpenter pointed out in his March 27 "Open Letter to Defense Secretary Schlesinger." It is a cost that must be met, for without that element, the finest hardware in the world will not achieve the peace we so desperately seek.

The Congress and Defense

All the arguments for a strong national defense—essential to our nation—will be focused on the new Congress. Many of the new members of that body campaigned on platforms calling for defense cuts. We can only hope that, having now gained better insight into our national needs, they will act with a greater sense of responsibility. They must clearly understand that history will record their part during this difficult time.

The military balance between the free world and our potential adversaries is very delicately poised. Our stake in maintaining that balance is great. Only from a position of strength is that possible.

Our Congress must know that if the proponents of a strong military structure have erred in placing too much of the nation's resources in its armed forces, all we have lost is a relatively minor portion of our total financial resources. But if those who would trim the defense budget to an unrealistic point prevail and they are wrong, we could well lose the entire country.

SYRACUSE HERALD-JOURNAL - 1 MAY 1975 (9)

Realistic reading

At a community seminar on defense fathered by the American Defense Preparedness Association, Lt. Gen. Daniel G. Graham, director, Defense Intelligence Agency, said:

The U.S. "still has obligations to its allies in Asia, and we must make sure those allies realize we are going to meet those obligations."

Vice Adm. John G. Finneran, assistant deputy secretary of defense for manpower, agreed, saying:

"We cannot abandon Southeast Asia any more than we can any other part of the world."

And William Levitt, director for production and research, who recalled working 80 hours a week for nearly a year to equip the forces of South Vietnam during the U.S. pullout, said:

"We're still involved with friendly nations" in Asia.

Basically, the three have presented a premise.

... they believe the 94th Congress ... underwrite that premise? Even to the limited involvement outlined in the Nixon doctrine; namely, supplying material but not men?

All in the absence of strong leadership from the White House?

We believe not unless the objectives are within easy reach.

To go beyond that, if we read the mood of the 94th Congress correctly will require another Pearl Harbor.

Whatever the prospect, we will learn soon enough.

We'll be put to another test.

North Vietnam, Communist China, the Soviet Union, perhaps North Korea will see to that.

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PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER - 9 MAY 1975

Cuba trade ban hurts the U.S.

Sen. Harry F. Byrd is surely aware that Fidel Castro would never consent to the pre-conditions the Virginia independent has laid down for repeal of the 13-year-old American trade embargo against Cuba.

That, we assume, is why he has laid them down, in a series of amendments to legislation proposed by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy.

One of his amendments would require that the embargo be kept in force until President Ford certifies to Congress that the Cuban government has agreed to settle all claims for U. S. property confiscated by the Castro regime. Those claims go way back, but if negotiations on such a complex subject are ever to go forward, an atmosphere of detente is itself a precondition.

Another amendment would require Cuba to renounce its alliance with the Soviet Union, close its ports to Soviet vessels and kick out all Soviet military and intelligence agents. One can hardly disagree with the ultimate aim, but here again a cooling-off of Havana's relations with Moscow depends in the long run on a warming-up of its relations with Washington.

We are especially intrigued by one of the senator's amendments. This would require the Cuban government to agree not to intervene in the domestic affairs of any other Western Hemisphere nation.

In view of the rather tarnished record of the U. S. Government on that score — intervention in Cuba itself, in Chile and elsewhere — one wonders whether Sen. Byrd might accept an amendment to his amendment, requiring the U. S. Government also to proclaim nonintervention in other countries' affairs and to bring home its farflung agents.

The U. S. embargo serves no purpose except to deprive American business, in these days of recession, of opportunities for trade with Cuba. Most members of the Organization of American States want to end OAS sanctions, as they have made clear again during their current meeting in Washington. Maintaining tensions with Cuba adds to tensions with our Latin American friends. Neither is in the U. S. interest.

KANSAS CITY STAR - 1 MAY 1975 (9)

After Vietnam, Rest of the World Can Stand Some Attention

Beyond Vietnam there is a big and rapidly changing world for the United States to consider and deal with. Vietnam itself has so absorbed the passions and energies of the American people and their leaders that there has been a conscious deferral of attention to other international concerns. Thus it was that President Ford's recent state-of-the-world address offered specific proposals only on a South Vietnam whose pulse was barely fluttering. Otherwise his foreign policy review was largely a backward look at positions this country finds itself locked into.

Such time-marking is no longer good enough, now that the Vietnam War is or ought to be a closed chapter in American history. Mr. Ford himself has said what he should say in calling on Americans to close ranks, avoid recrimination about the past, and look ahead to goals that are shared and tasks which remain to be accomplished. His appeal had the note of a platitude but it made sense just the same.

We do not suppose that all Americans or indeed everyone in national government or politics will go along with the President's advice. Mr. Ford himself has blasted away at Congress for first slashing military aid to Saigon and then withholding it entirely. In line with his latest entreaty, we would expect him to have nothing more to say on the subject. Yet there may be a temptation for some Republican campaigners in 1976 to revive the charge of bad faith to an ally fighting with its back against the wall. Our guess is that the public would be bored with any such campaign tactics. But then Democratic candidates are still running against Herbert Hoover and the Depression.

So any future that Vietnam, its sorrows and its mistaken judgments may have as a public issue remains to be seen. Just now most people would rather leave it for the historians to chew on for many years, as they no doubt will.

The grim disposition of the Vietnam issue for this country will permit greater concentration on a whole range of important foreign policy considerations. These include the Mideast, which has not been ignored by Secretary Kissinger, but whose demands for attention remain urgent. Then there are the more or less pigeonholed matters of working to improve ties with Canada and Latin America, particularly in the light of our own energy and oil problems and a general impression that the U. S. needs to focus more on its own hemisphere. There is also the lack of a constructive approach toward the neglected states of Africa. And a great deal of patching up and rethinking needs to be done with the Atlantic alliance and its military arm, NATO.

Thus the President, Dr. Kissinger and various committees of Congress have an armful to take up in the wake of Vietnam's climax. There is also the large question of a postwar policy for Southeast Asia, but that will take time and there is no reason now for fast decisions. The triumph and expansion of Hanoi's communism have changed the power balance in that corner of the earth and will set up new situations to be watched and analyzed as they unfold.

The more immediate need is for the United States to start concerning itself elsewhere in the world.

LOS ANGELES TIMES
4 MAY 1975 (9)

A New U.S. Policy

It's too soon to do much about a new American policy toward Indochina, but it's not too soon to start thinking seriously about one.

Under the peace agreements of 1973, the road was left open for both the reunification of Vietnam and the reconciliation of Washington and Hanoi. The question of reunification is now out of American hands, but reconciliation is not.

In the period since World War II, once Soviet hegemony over Eastern Europe was accepted, the United States has tended to react to new Communist conquests by always trying to isolate—and once, in Cuba, to destroy—the new Marxist regimes. This has produced a record of failure, almost without exception, from Peking right around the world to Havana and Santiago.

There is still a tendency to respond too simplistically whenever the Communists seem to be getting ahead; that seems to be the best explanation, anyway, for the clumsy responses of Secretary of State Kissinger to the events of the last 12 months in Portugal.

It would be most regrettable if old prejudices and disappointments were to dictate the American response to the new Communist regimes of Indochina; we don't think they will. Richard Nixon's new approaches to the Soviet Union, and especially to China, pointed the way for a more subtle, and more mature, understanding of the realities of foreign policy.

The new American policy toward the Indochinese should do what can be done to help them, especially the Vietnamese, assert their ancient sense of national independence, as against China, and as against their new ally, the Soviet Union.

The first step in trying to encourage independence and nonalignment for Vietnam and Cambodia is to make clear to their leaders that the United States remains committed to the welfare of the people, and will prove that commitment with food and medicine.

The second step is more difficult and may not come soon, for bitterness and suspicion are hard to overcome. In fact, it may not be possible to normalize relations at all in the foreseeable future. Much will depend on the policies adopted in Hanoi, Saigon and Phnom Penh. But should they turn away from preaching regional revolution to practicing internal development, the United States could then begin to respond. One way would be to resume contributions to the Mekong River project, and to contribute assistance through other multilateral organizations to speed reconstruction and accelerate development.

There will no doubt be obstacles to a normalization of relations between the United States and Indochina, but they need not, and should not, be erected by the United States.

It is through a program of humanitarian assistance and, ultimately, economic assistance that the United States can help restore stability to Southeast Asia. That stability, built on a foundation of a viable economic base to assure each nation's independence, would benefit all of Asia.

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Part II--Main Edition--9 May 1975

FEATURES COLUMNISTS

NEW YORK TIMES 9 MAY 1975

The 'Vietnam Disaster' and U.S. Security

By Maxwell D. Taylor

WASHINGTON—In our attempts to appraise the significance of the Vietnam disaster, we must reflect on its bearing on our national security. If we mean the protection of our most important national valuables wherever found against dangers from whatever sources, it is obvious that in the collapse of our Vietnam policy we have suffered loss of protective power in many forms.

As the world watched on television screens the masses of South Vietnamese fleeing before the victorious Communist forces, the message conveyed was a simple one: "See what is happening to the South Vietnamese abandoned by their American friends." No elaborate explanations of past American sacrifices or of South Vietnamese shortcomings can change that visual impression; it is now a part of history. It will remain vivid until replaced in time by a new concept of American character based upon more-recent conduct.

One is obliged to assume that an immediate consequence of this tragedy will be widespread loss of confidence in our reliability, particularly among allies nearest the scene.

Already Thailand and the Philippines are displaying intentions of disengaging from American ties. The attitude of Japan will be far more important. There the Government may decide to assume full responsibility for national defense, to the exclusion of an American role, even to the point of seeking its own nuclear weapons. It might also perceive profit in developing its own détente with the Soviet Union, which has raw materials to offer Japanese industry and, as further bait, the former Japanese-owned Kurile Islands taken at the end of World War II.

The internal weaknesses revealed in our behavior toward Vietnam particularly since the 1973 cease-fire will have an even broader impact on our standing in the international community.

A conspicuous development of the period has been the continuing conflict between the President and Congress over the control of foreign policy and the conduct of military operations. One outcome has been the war powers resolution of 1973, which though ambiguous in some respects is sufficiently clear to eliminate much possibility of a quick Presidential response to a violation of existing treaties such as that with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or to a violent Treaty of the peace such as the invasion of South Korea in 1950. For the moment at least, crisis management seems to have passed to the leaderless, unpredictable Congress that has played such a dominant part in the last days of American policy in South Vietnam. In its defense, however, Congressmen may have represented fairly accurately the mood of a large segment of their constituents.

It seems likely that the evidence of shackled leadership and impaired national will perceived abroad may invite probes of American strength in places as widely separated as Korea and the Middle East.

Troublemakers, particularly practiced Muscovite fishermen at home in troubled waters, may be expected to sound the depths of American debility while anxious friends and allies, Israel in particular, await the outcome. With the decline in American prestige, our diplomats will work at a disadvantage attempting to improve matters, and the big stick represented by the armed forces under present circumstances can hardly add credible authority to their voice. A perceptible national will to use military power when necessary is an indispensable element of its deterrent effectiveness.

For the foregoing reasons, I am obliged to conclude that the Vietnam finale, by impairing our reputation for reliability, weakening our alliances, and exposing our internal weaknesses to friend and foe has been highly detrimental to the many forms of national power that contribute to our national security—power derived from unity, self-confidence, allies, reputation, and military strength.

Fortunately, many of the basic causes of our predicament are within ourselves and hence subject to self-correction. We can diminish factional strife by uniting in a common effort to resolve problems of general concern such as inflation, recession, unemployment and inadequate government. We can renounce the national pastime of hounding scapegoats of whom the current favorites include President Ford, Secretary of State Kissinger, Congress, the news media and the unfortunate people of South Vietnam.

It would also help to restore respectability to a few old-time virtues like a sense of duty, tolerance for differing point of view, gratitude for American citizenship, and willingness to perform public service. In such an atmosphere, the Presidency and Congress might return to a collaboration of effort without which our vaunted system of checks and balances becomes one of governmental futility and eventual stalemate.

Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor (Ret.) served as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Ambassador to South Vietnam.

ORBIS WINTER 1975 (9 MAY)

THE EXPOSED FLANK OF NATIONAL SECURITY

by Maxwell D. Taylor

ALTHOUGH most of us are inclined by habit to view national security primarily as the protection of national valuables from military threats by military means, we have ample evidence nowadays of the inadequacy of such a concept. There are too many civil threats on our list of current concerns to permit so narrow a view — matters such as population growth, inflation, recession, resource scarcities, and loss of confidence in government. Not only are the causes and effects of such threats generally nonmilitary but the means for coping with them derive little directly from the military power found in the armed forces.

These considerations impose a closer examination of the civil sector of our national defenses than has been normal in past times of peace. During the Cold War we were made aware of the potential for damage of nonmilitary weapons in unfriendly hands — defamatory propaganda, intimidation of allies, acts of mini-aggression against our ships and aircraft, the expropriation of American property in foreign countries, and the subversion and sabotage of friendly governments in the course of "wars of national liberation." During the Vietnam war and its aftermath we have seen how a decline in national unity, morale, and respect for leadership can diminish the effectiveness of our government in domestic and foreign matters and muffle its authority in international debate. In addition, we now have a whole set of environmental problems, global in scope and chargeable to no human troublemaker, many of which are direct or indirect consequences of population growth.

To one professionally involved throughout his adult life with military security, this proliferation of nonmilitary threats raises acute concern, chiefly because of the obvious lack of governmental

(See EXPOSED FLANK OF NATIONAL SECURITY, Pg. 2-F)

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preparedness to deal with them. Inevitably I reflect on the contrast between our elaborate military preparations to deter or defeat military aggression and the absence in the civil sector of means to forestall dangers of equal gravity. The problem is, to an important degree, organizational. Whereas our military resources are concentrated in the Department of Defense and immediately responsive to the President, comparable civil resources are widely scattered in many departments and agencies -- State, AID, Treasury, Commerce, Interior, Agriculture, Labor, HEW, to mention a few. Not only are the Executive resources scattered, but no one is in complete charge of them all; even the President lacks full authority to call upon them in an emergency.

An organizational asset of policymakers in the foreign/military field is the National Security Council, established in 1947 to provide a forum advisory to the President and serve as a focal point for the integration of foreign, military and domestic policies related to national security. In practice the Council has limited its activities almost entirely to foreign and military matters, fields in which it has been most valuable in introducing order and method into the planning and programming. Needless to say, there is no counterpart to the NSC to reinforce the civil sector.

Another advantage associated with the NSC is the worldwide intelligence organization monitoring potential problem areas and danger points abroad. Since its principal targets are political and military, it pays relatively little attention to economic matters for which responsibility is divided within the government. But whatever the shortcomings of the intelligence system, its product has usually provided timely warning of developing crises and a solid basis for planning in the foreign field.

The urgency of rehabilitating the civil sector is emphasized by the probable nature of the international environment in which our nation will pursue its goals during the next decade or so. This is likely to be a period in which the great power centers — the United States, the USSR, Western Europe, Japan and China — will focus attention on maintaining a favorable balance of power in their pentagonal relationship. A tendency for any two to make common cause will arouse alarm among the others — hence the constant nervousness in Moscow over our relations with Peking and the unhappiness in some European chancelleries over a Soviet-American détente.

The leaders of developed countries will have serious internal problems that will affect their behavior toward one another. All have the common problem of staying in power, and therefore the need to gain and retain popular support at home. Their peoples have a common interest in avoiding war and in raising or at least maintaining their standard of living. They also share a kindred impatience with any government that appears to neglect their interests or even to delay their fruition. This mutuality of purpose encourages a hope that responsible leaders will avoid military confrontations and concentrate on the economic and social welfare of their people.

In the case of the major industrial powers in the West, there are other reasons to believe that a deliberate resort to arms will not be likely. They are faced with shortages of raw materials, notably oil, which are essential for extended military operations. The exorbitant prices they must pay for oil alone will strain national budgets to the point where a deliberate choice of war is well-nigh inconceivable if only for fiscal reasons. Even if inclined to war, they would have to verify the willingness of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) to continue to supply them with oil for the duration of hostilities.

But if there is cause to rejoice at the reduced probability of major war, there is still no reason to anticipate unbroken tranquility in international relations. There will be multiform sources of friction among nations, great and small, in an increasingly crowded world confronting serious shortages in land, food, water and other resources. Industrial countries will be obliged to compete with one another for access to markets and resources; they will contest for advantage in exploring and exploiting the riches of the seabed. They cannot entirely escape involvement in the troubles of the turbulent Third World, for, even with help from more fortunate neighbors, indigent emerging countries appear doomed to suffer the consequences of excessive population growth, limited resources and inadequate government. The prospect in the worst cases is for famine, drought, floods, revolt, war and chaos.

Throughout this period, one may expect the USSR to continue to act as a compulsive fisher in troubled waters and to use its expanding nuclear armaments and growing navy to intimidate adversaries and extend Soviet influence. However, concern over the military situation along the Sino-Soviet frontier should tend to set limits to Soviet aggressiveness.

II

If this cursory estimate of the environment ahead is not too wide of the mark, it suggests certain priorities of concern for our national security in such a period. While the use of military force on a limited scale may develop from the frequent clashes of national interests, the main threats to our security, at least in their initial stages, will take nonmilitary forms — efforts to manipulate power relationships, rivalry with the Soviets for primacy in world leadership, the proliferation of nuclear weapons among nations seeking security or prestige, weakened allies in the new setting, and political and economic instability in many quarters. At home we may expect to confront continued factionalism developed along racial and economic lines, an inflated, torpid economy and a sagging standard of living, conditions leading to increasing discontent with our government and its leadership.

While it is difficult to predict specific contingencies that may arise under these conditions, two unrelated episodes in the recent past suggest forms which may repeat themselves. The first was the triangular conflict involving India, Pakistan, and what is now Bangladesh. When one seeks its causes, they prove to be multiple and difficult to arrange in order of importance. Among them was East Pakistan's chronic dissatisfaction with the central government in Islamabad, a discontent that peaked in the wake of the destructive floods in late 1970. During the following months, as millions of East Pakistanis fled into India to escape government troops, starvation, or both, the wave of refugees together with the secular animosity always existing between Hindu and Moslem provided a sufficient excuse for Indian military intervention resulting in war which, in the end, was a disaster for all parties.

Another episode that may foreshadow future events was the energy crisis arising in 1973 from the increase in oil prices by the OPEC cartel. In the United States the effect has been to add to inflation, retard economic growth, and foment grumbling over government ineptitude and Big Oil avarice. Our European and Japanese friends have been hurt far more seriously; it is still not clear how they will ever pay their oil bills and continue to have a sound currency and a viable economy. Nor can one predict the effect on the monetary system of the huge transfers of capital from the West to the oil producers.

In international relations OPEC's action served as an apple of discord tossed into the NATO alliance, causing an inglorious scramble of member nations for favored treatment by the oil producers. In exposing NATO's fragility under economic pressure, the crisis underscored the military weakness of an alliance which cannot be sure of its petroleum supplies. Throughout the episode the disarray in NATO must have presented a most enjoyable spectacle to the USSR — the undermining by proxy of the Western alliance, indeed of the entire capitalist system, by means of an unsolicited act of economic warfare.

A lesson for Americans to carry away from this experience is the unreadiness of our government to cope with an economic situation

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of this sort. In effect, it was a kind of economic Pearl Harbor in which warnings bearing on its imminence were either ignored, misread, or filed without reaching the officials responsible for action. Even if the available information had reached the right authorities, it would not have been adequate to answer the many valid questions regarding the amount and location of oil reserves available to relieve the pinch.

Equally inadequate was the organizational structure of the executive branch, where a dozen or more officials were responsible for parts of the problem but no one, short of the President, for its entirety. So there was a scurry to round up a "czar" to assume the unassigned responsibility, followed by another to recruit a staff that would permit the czar to function. Whatever the subsequent criticisms of the performance of this improvised team, it was better than the country had a right to expect.

My theme is simply that we should recognize the existence of intolerable governmental inadequacy in an important field of national security while there is still time to do something about it. Recurrent cases are arising to confirm or reinforce the lesson of the oil crisis — new examples of our unpreparedness to anticipate economic, monetary and social problems and to forestall them by timely policies and programs. One recalls the delays in 1971 in setting up the agencies required to institute limited wage and price controls. More recently Congress, speaking through the General Accounting Office, has criticized the lack of fixed responsibility in the Executive for dealing with shortages in agricultural and industrial commodities. Senators studying the world food problem have reached similar conclusions regarding the failure to develop a coherent food policy and the lack of central coordination of research and programming in this vital field.

Nowhere is the headless character of the civil organization more apparent than in the area of economic policy, where over a score of federal agencies are involved in varying degrees. A recent article dealing with the Law of the Sea negotiations indicated that twenty-one federal agencies and forty congressional committees and subcommittees had some interest in the matters involved. The number is truly frightening, particularly in the absence of a central coordinating authority capable of expediting action among such widely scattered entities. While President Ford has recently conferred a certain primacy in the economic field on Treasury Secretary Simon, it remains to be seen how much real authority he will exercise over this vast, untended domain.

One gets the impression that Congress is likely to intervene soon if the Executive does not improve its performance in these areas of increasing sensitivity. In such a case, one of two things may take place. In an effort to placate criticism quickly, the bureaucratic reaction in the Executive may be to appoint an *ad hoc* committee to deal with the immediate problem attracting unfavorable attention. After the problem is allayed or public attention is diverted from it, the committee will dissolve and disappear without leaving a trace of the experience acquired to guide subsequent crisis managers in the same field.

Alternatively, an impatient Congress may pass a law creating a new independent agency like the recently established Federal Energy Administration to deal with the matter causing concern, and making the creation responsible directly to the President. Thus one more agency will be added to scores of others looking for guidance and direction to the most overburdened official in the world. As the result of such practices, the executive branch has come to resemble an overbuilt pipe organ to which new pipes have been added over the years but never a console adequate for their orchestration.

III

My main proposal for remedying these Executive deficiencies would be to expand the NSC into a National Policy Council (NPC) responsible for surveying the entire span of national security. It would be charged, as is the present NSC by the National Security Act of 1947, with "advising the President with respect to the integration of domestic, foreign, and military policies related to national security." However, national security in this context would have a wider meaning than military protection from military threats of foreign powers. It would include the protection of all national valuables of importance — assets, interests, sources of power — wherever found, from all serious threats, military and nonmilitary, foreign and domestic.

In expanding the role of the NSC, it would be necessary to increase the regular membership so as to give adequate representation to the nonmilitary sector of national security in this widened sense. This could be done by adding the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), and a presidentially appointed representative of the economic sector (Ecrep). Thus, with the President, Vice President, and Secretaries of State and Defense, the NPC would consist of seven members, providing representation for the four principal sectors of national policy: foreign/military, economic, fiscal/monetary, and public welfare.

To support the NPC, I would foresee the need for four policy panels corresponding to these four sectors, chaired respectively by the Secretary of State, the Ecrep, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Secretary of HEW. Panel members would be drawn from the departments and agencies with major responsibilities in the panel's field. For example, the foreign/military policy panel, in addition to the Chairman, would include a senior representative of the Defense Department, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Central Intelligence Agency, whereas the economic policy panel would draw its members from the eight or more departments and agencies involved in economic matters. The panels would have office space in the department of their chairman except for the economic policy panel which, I imagine, would establish itself in the Executive Office Building alongside the White House if space can be found for additional residents.

To discharge their responsibilities, the panels would communicate directly with all subdivisions of the Executive having resources relevant to their work and would keep informed of everything going on in government affecting their mission. However, they would not have authority to give operational instructions to these subdivisions, which, for operational purposes, would remain the responsibility of their statutory department chiefs. Their normal activities would be confined to recommendations to the President of policy, programs and departmental tasks; activities for integrating resources from several departments in approved programs; verification of progress made under these programs; and the anticipation and management of such crises as may arise.

There will always be a cluster of complex perennial problems requiring special treatment — at the moment, inflation, recession and energy are conspicuous examples. For such intractable issues as these, it will be necessary to establish at an echelon below the panels a number of permanent study centers to permit continuing study of such matters by the best talent available to the nation. For the purposes of this article, I shall assume the locus of such activities to be in a Center for Policy Research operated under the NPC and containing permanent study groups for specially assigned problems. Resident members would consist of the best specialists within government, reinforced as necessary by consultants brought in from private life. Funds should be available for contracting tasks to qualified extramural research organizations; indeed, it is possible that much of this work could be assigned to a not-for-profit "think tank" organized especially for this purpose.

Although the foregoing proposal is relatively simple and could be carried out with little or no new legislation, it would undoubtedly stir up sharp debate over its merits in many quarters. As a

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principal advantage, I would list the establishment of the NPC as a broadly based forum for the discussion of all major national policies, foreign and domestic, supported by an adequate staff with access to all relevant resources of the executive branch. It should facilitate the fixing of responsibility for major programs and bring order and method into interdepartmental planning and programming. By laying down procedures and clarifying relationships, it should assure the participation of the right people, particularly those with statutory responsibilities such as cabinet members, and thus allay suspicions of government by cabal or crony.

But there are also valid objections which are sure to be raised. One drawback may be the appearance and perhaps the fact of ponderosity in this expanded version of the old NSC, which itself was not svelte. Partisans of foreign and military programs may feel that their interests will be diluted in making common cause with domestic programs, whereas spokesmen for the latter may fear unsympathetic treatment in a forum until recently preoccupied with national security in its foreign and military aspects. It may be objected that until Congress takes parallel action and reforms its antiquated procedures, it will be useless to ask the Executive to change its ways. Finally, the whole proposal may be said to suggest undue faith in the intrinsic efficacy of organization to solve the problems of mankind while betraying a lack of concern for the quality of the people who will do the work.

As might be expected, I support the statement of advantages claimed and believe the objections, while sometimes serious, can be obviated if responsible leaders are alert to the dangers. Any bureaucratic creation such as the NPC can become ponderous if there is no one charged with pruning excrescences as they appear. But if the panels are kept out of operations, are prohibited from having big staffs, and are obliged to depend on the departments in which they reside for logistic and administrative support, there is a good chance of retarding if not arresting the working of Parkinson's Law.

As for Congress, inactivity on the Hill is no excuse to postpone renovations in the Executive. Indeed, the latter might provide incentive for Congress to act. Fears of unfairness by the NPC tribunal will disappear if it is seen in practice that all parties have an equal day in court. The charge of overreliance on organization to mend all things can be silenced if there is a concurrent effort to improve the quality of government personnel.

On this latter point, I readily concede that organizational improvement can only make it easier for good people to carry out difficult tasks — it cannot be a substitute for good people. I would insist, however, that their tasks will be so formidable in the coming decade that incumbents of key government positions, no matter how well qualified, will need all the assistance sound organization can give them. Concurrently, I would urge as an essential part of this proposal a comprehensive program to attract superior people to Washington positions and, in so doing, to try to remove some of the tarnish adhering to government service as a result of Watergate. I can think of at least two measures that would help.

The first would require all senior political appointees to the executive branch — that is, the top officials appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, along with their principal assistants — to agree to serve at least two years in the post to which assigned, if their chiefs so desired, and further agree to undergo a period of preliminary training, perhaps a month, before settling into a seat of authority. In this period, they would learn something about the workings of their own department and its relationship to the rest of the government. They could also make the acquaintance of future colleagues and learn their telephone numbers and the names of their secretaries who, for a while at least, will know more than their bosses about the business. These are practical matters of real importance, particularly at the time of a change in administration following the ritual eviction of the former incumbents along with their files and records.

The other measure would have the ambitious goal of creating a corps of professional executives on the British model to be inserted between political appointees and the senior civil service, who would perform the role of permanent, apolitical assistants to the rotating political officials. This is far from a new idea, but no one, to my knowledge, has yet advanced a feasible plan for forming such a corps.

To recruit qualified candidates it would be necessary to proselytize and train promising talent, somewhat after the practice of big business. Experienced older men could be transferred from the senior ranks of the civil service or enlisted outside of government. Promising young recruits could be attracted by the offer of postgraduate training leading to a doctorate or master's degree in government management. This training could take place in university graduate schools or eventually perhaps in an official Institute for Government Management operated somewhat like the National War College. Graduates would be appointed to an executive corps with pay, career patterns and retirement privileges comparable to those of the foreign and military services. If this corps developed as I would hope, it could do much to assure in good times and bad the presence of experienced professionals at or near the throttle and brakes of the government machinery.

IV

Thus far, we have considered ways to strengthen the exposed civil flank of the government in anticipation of nonmilitary dangers for which the armed forces offer a limited or inadequate response. The principal remedy proposed, expansion of the role of the NSC into a National Policy Council, undertakes to assure more effective use of resources across the entire spectrum of national security.

But even if we improve our performance in this respect, it is unlikely that national resources alone will be sufficient to meet the needs of national policy. Our government will have at least three major preoccupations abroad in the period under review: (a) the maintenance of a favorable international power balance, (b) the preservation of order and stability in the world economic and monetary system, and (c) concerted action with the UN and with individual nations in dealing with some of the troublesome global problems that transcend national capabilities. To achieve these purposes we will need help from other states with the means and will to cooperate. In order to determine which nations to cultivate, we should thoroughly review our current alliances and commitments for their relevance to likely future needs.

Only cursory consideration is required to establish the point that our primary need for friends today is not for the containment of communism — the purpose which generated most of our alliances following World War II — but rather for help in the three areas noted above. In our concern over the pentagonal balance of power, we shall want to retain close relations with Western Europe and Japan, bearing in mind the possibility that the latter may be tempted to turn to Moscow for assistance in finding a reliable source for the raw materials so critically needed by Japanese industry. We shall also need to keep an ever watchful eye on the USSR and China to see that they neither join hands nor cross swords.

For purposes of economic and monetary stability, we will want the cooperation not only of the principal industrial nations but also of their OPEC creditors because of the potential of their vast accumulations of capital to help or hinder the economic system. We should seek to keep on friendly terms with our own principal suppliers — Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iran for Middle East oil; Canada, Australia, South Africa, Rhodesia and a half-dozen Latin American countries for oil and scarce minerals. In seeking coop-

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eration to deal with global problems, particularly those of the Third World, we will look to the UN and to individual countries with the means to contribute.

While we have political and military relations with most of those whom we will especially desire as friends, we have no formal understandings covering the kind of help we are now interested in obtaining. The oil crisis demonstrated the economic inutility of our NATO military alliance; conceivably our membership in it may now expose us to requests to help allies meet their oil payments in peace and protect sea lanes from the Middle East to Europe in time of crisis or war.

These observations should not be interpreted as a call for a wholesale abrogation of understandings with old friends and for another set of formal alliances with new partners. Such a course would generate hard feelings abroad, divisive debates at home, and universal speculation about our motives. My suggestion would be to allow outmoded commitments to fade away when possible and to depend on a parallelism of interests, confirmed as necessary by short-term agreements more like contracts than treaties, to assure the right kind of help from the right kind of friends.

V

Even after reinforcing the civil flank of national security and obtaining all available help from foreign sources, we cannot be complacent over the success of our efforts. In the end, much will depend on how our handiwork appears in the eyes of the international world and the resultant national posture presented. That posture, to be effective, should create an impression of strength derived from formidable power in the hands of determined leaders acting with a clear sanction from their people. Such power must include components of many sorts — political, economic, military, moral, under the leadership of individuals of recognized character and ability, enjoying the confidence and respect of their people. Weakness in any of these elements diminishes the effectiveness of the impression; preponderant strength in one sector will not compensate for weakness in another.

One cannot be sure how we look to others, but our current posture certainly must suggest great economic and military power along with an unusually elastic political system that has just survived a severe test. Yet, unhappily, our history of the last several years has been replete with indications of loss of national unity, decline in faith in American institutions, and a proclivity approaching a national vice for undermining authority and denigrating leadership. With the accession of President Ford, we may hope for a moderation of these attitudes, but until it takes place our national posture will continue to display blemishes detracting from the authority conferred by its material strength. To achieve full effectiveness it must be clearly seen that the ramparts of our security, both the military and civil sectors, are manned by citizens united in purpose and responsive to the commands of trusted leaders.

AVIATION WEEK 5 MAY 75 (9)

Identification Revised On Recently Orbited Military Spacecraft

Washington—Satellite launched by the U. S. Air Force Apr. 18 now appears to be an ocean surveillance/reconnaissance spacecraft rather than a second Satellite Data System (SDS) spacecraft, judging from orbital parameters released belatedly by the U. S. Air Force (AW&ST Apr. 28, p. 30).

USAF initially refused to release any orbital data on the launch, as it did following the launch of the first operational SDS on Mar. 10 (AW&ST Mar. 17, p. 188).

Normally, USAF makes available initial orbital parameters on all satellites it launches, including those intended for photo-reconnaissance, early warning and other sensitive missions.

USAF's extreme sensitivity over the orbital parameters of the SDS satellites, which employ a highly elliptical orbit similar to that used by most Russian Molniya communication satellites, prompts some observers to believe the SDS has another mission beyond the announced one of providing emergency communications with Strategic Air Command bombers in the polar region.

The weekly satellite situation report published by NASA's Goddard Space Flight Center, immediately following the launch of the first operational SDS, stated: "Current elements not available."

The U. S. is obligated under an agreement with the USSR reached in the early 1960s to report the launch and initial orbital parameters of all spacecraft to the United Nations.

Additionally, the monthly satellite situation report published by Britain's Royal Aircraft Establishment, gives the initial orbital data for the SDS satellite launched on Mar. 10, showing it to be in a Molniya-type orbit.

Orbital data subsequently released by USAF for the Apr. 18 satellite are perigee of 84 mi., apogee of 247 mi., inclination of 110.5 deg. and orbital period of 89.8 min.

The satellite is believed to be an adaptation of an earlier vintage USAF photo-reconnaissance spacecraft that transmits photos to earth by radio link, which the Navy is using to gain experience with spaceborne ocean surveillance prior to the launch of its own specially designed spacecraft late this year.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE 9 MAY 1975

Chinese construct giant nuclear shelters

bNANKING, China [Reuters]—Chinese militiamen have dug a huge complex of underground shelters outside this eastern city which they claim could provide sanctuary against all known nuclear and chemical weapons.

Running 1.75 miles beneath lush farmland close to the Yangtse River, the tunnels can accomodate about 20,000 people.

A British press delegation which toured the concrete shelters was shown a newly installed air filtering system.

CHINESE guides said the system, driven by a simple generator, "washed" incoming air, cleansing it from radioactive fallout and chemical contamination.

The heated shelters, built by the Nanking rail vehicles plant militia, have storage and dining areas, a small auditorium, and water tanks.

In one passage there was a simple rifle range and underground workshops, equipped with multispindled industrial lathes.

FROM INTERVIEWS iwth Chinese officials h ere it appeared more than 60 per cent of greater Nanking's two million people had some military training.

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Marquis Childs

BALTIMORE SUN 9 MAY 1975

After Vietnam, Deep Disagreements Remain

Washington.

Compiled for the Secretary of State, Henry A. Kissinger, is a thick volume made up of cables from around the world following the fall of Vietnam asking more or less bluntly this question: Who makes the foreign policy of the United States?

There are variants on this theme: Who is responsible for decisions taken? And even, whom can we trust when we hear conflicting views on a policy issue?

For Mr. Kissinger, trying to pull together the tangled threads of American policy following the debacle, this is a black book that cannot be simply filed and forgotten. For the inquiries come from foreign ministers, from prime ministers and presidents. While the tone is not unfriendly, it is nevertheless insistent.

And there is no answer or, at any rate in this moment of doubt and uncertainty, there can be no unequivocal response. Foreigners, even those best informed and responsible, have always found it difficult to understand the American system of divided powers with the executive and the legislature sharing power even on foreign policy to some degree.

In the aftermath of the debacle, as Mr. Kissinger muses, the nation might have had a Dunkirk reaction. We shall all stand together with unity in diversity. We will demonstrate to the world that we are one people able to withstand a blow to our pride and prestige.

But that was not to be. The abyss between Congress and the State Department and the White House, to speak of only one of the fissures in the body politic, is wider than ever. Old differences over policy have if anything been accentuated. Foremost on this list is Turkey and the Greek-Turkish quarrel over Cyprus.

Congressional action to prevent further military aid to Turkey still stands, with little chance the blockade will be lifted short of action on Cyprus not presently in the cards. As Mr. Kissinger sees it, he has gone a long way to try to meet the demands of the members of Congress chiefly responsible for putting up the barrier.

Twice he has held lengthy meetings with Representatives John Brademas, Paul Sarbanes and Benjamin Rosenthal to try to convince them that the ban can only be harmful to American security and the NATO structure. Not only that but he showed them the most important cables passing between the department and Ankara in an effort to convince them that everything possible was being done to persuade the Turks to show some give on Cyprus. In later sessions with Mr. Brademas he debated the issue with all his brilliant forensic skill.

But the three were unmoved. They felt the cables showed the secretary had not taken a firm line with the Turks. Instead he had tried persuasion and sweet reasonableness. Until he was willing to state that the foreign aid law had been broken when the Turks used American weapons for other than defensive purposes and bring Ankara to account on this score, the ban will remain.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee approved a resolution by the Senate majority leader, Mike Mansfield, and the minority leader, Hugh Scott, to resume the flow of military materiel. But the vote was only 9 to 7, which is pretty narrow for that body on an issue endorsed by the leadership and sought by the administration. Once on the Senate floor it would have tough going and certainly it would be defeated in the House.

That is only one impasse, although it is extremely important as Mr. Kissinger prepares to go to a NATO meeting with Greece and Turkey and the strength of the alliance on the southern flank on the critical list. Divergent views on how to avert war in the Middle East smoulder just below the surface following the failure of Mr. Kissinger's second round of shuttle diplomacy.

The secretary is embattled with his enemies, notably in Congress and in the press, determined to cut him up into little pieces. But Mr. Kissinger is fighting it out with the high articulateness, the public presence, which have stood him in good stead in the past. He is telling his story to reporters. He gave a 45-minute interview to Barbara Walters on NBC's Today show and, somewhat to his surprise, she is releasing it in five segments. He is speaking in St. Louis and Kansas City.

A striking parallel is with Dean Acheson, Harry Truman's Secretary of State, who in his last months in office was set upon by violent opponents. Mr. Acheson stood on the dignity of the office and the loyalty of his President. Mr. Kissinger is in the sweaty arena giving his critics as good as he gets.

NEW YORK TIMES 9 MAY 1975

Text of Remarks at Saigon News Parley

Following is the text of introductory remarks made at a news conference in Saigon by Lieut. Gen. Tran Van Tra, the new military commander, as broadcast in Vietnamese by the Saigon radio and translated and transmitted from Bangkok, Thailand, by The Associated Press.

Comrades and gentlemen, I am very glad to represent the Military Command Committee of Saigon-Gia Dinh [Saigon's Province] in meeting the first official time with the press and people of Saigon in this big city.

And I recall I have met some of you here in Saigon before but in different circumstances and in different conditions.

And I believe many of you have followed different phases of our giant struggle.

You, friends, witnessed the moment when the people of Saigon together with their liberation Armed Forces rose up to liberate their city.

And in other cities of South Vietnam, as in Saigon, you have witnessed that historic moment that ends 170 years in which our country did not have independence and freedom.

Since the liberation of Saigon, now and forever, our people have independence, freedom and democracy. Independence, freedom and peace will exist in our country forever.

Having independence, freedom and peace we believe that the country will be built into a rich one. The Vietnamese people will have a peaceful and happy life.

It goes without saying that we meet with a number of difficulties in the first days of our liberation, but these difficulties are not considerable in comparison with those in 30 years of war.

Support of the People

You, yesterday, have observed the sentiments and attitudes of the people here toward the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and the People's Liberation Armed Forces. The city fully supports the P.R.G. and supports the armed forces of the people.

Where there is the people's support, where there is the people's determination, obstacles will be wiped out.

In spite of those difficulties we are trying to restore security and order in the city soon and also stabilize life for all people here.

You have already witnessed that the people have taken an active part in all activities together with the revolutionary administration in Saigon.

Through unity in their tasks the revolutionary administration of the city, together with the people, will settle all problems and wipe out all obstacles.

In my speech yesterday I spoke of the matters that we are attending to and I would like not to repeat them in order to save your precious time.

Congratulations Received

We are very happy to receive a great many congratulations from all parts of the world after we liberated Saigon and other parts of South Vietnam.

In only a short period of more than one week 11 countries have recognized the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

And I believe that in the future there will be more countries establishing relations with us.

We are deeply moved not only by those congratulations from all over the world but also by the support and assistance from our friends in the Socialist countries—the Soviet Union, China and other countries, as well as organizations.

For example, the Soviet Union and China have transported food here.

We are very thankful for this timely and active support.

to all progressive organizations, progressive personalities from all corners of the world who are sending us congratulations, support and assistance.

NEW YORK TIMES
9 MAY 1975

Cambodians Say Return Of Evacuees Is Planned

BANGKOK, Thailand, May 8 (*Agence France-Presse*) — The communist-led forces that took over Cambodia on April 17 apparently had a long prepared plan to move millions of inhabitants into zones where they would be instilled with the spirit of service to the revolution.

Millions of people have been forcibly evacuated from at least the main centers through which the first convoy of refugees from the French Embassy in Phnom Penh passed — Kompong Chhnang, Pursat and Battambang, plus the capital—with only the bare minimum necessary for survival. Sewing machines, electric fans, folding beds and cars have been discarded by the wayside.

Journalists in the evacuation convoy who asked were told that the evacuees would return to their homes later in what was termed a clean condition. It was said that they would have no useless belongings and would start their lives from scartch, free of the artificial needs of a western world that was never theirs.

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SYRACUSE POST-STANDARD MAY 1, 1975(9)

Military Gap Feared As Manpower Costs Increase

By DOROTHY NEWER

An existing and increasing need for military hardware was highlighted by speakers yesterday at a "Dialogue on Defense" program sponsored by the Syracuse Chapter, American Defense Preparedness Association (ADPA) at Hotel Syracuse.

"This is no time for less than adequate military capabilities," declared Lt. Gen. Daniel O. Graham, director of the U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency, the dialogue's luncheon speaker.

Gen. Graham added the number of combinations that could cause new conflict were on the rise.

He cited such potential trouble-makers as the shortage of oil, food crises, the proliferation of nuclear weapons, terrorism and the rise of tyranny in newly developed and emerging "third world" countries.

Other key defense officials on the program were John R. Quetsch, principal assistant budget director for the secretary of defense; Vice Admiral John G. Finneran, USN, principal deputy assistant secretary of defense, and William Levitt, director for production and resources for the secretary of defense.

All the speakers described the cost of manpower, operations and maintenance as consuming such an increasing share of the U.S. defense budget that the amount left to procure new equipment has been plunging.

The result is the development of an equipment gap and the need for the hardware of war, Adm. Finneran declared, the time for buying "is before you need it because you can't do it overnight. The word is 'preparedness'," he declared.

Thomas L. Paganelli, vice president and general manager of General Electric Co.'s Electronic Systems Division, was dialogue chairman. Russell L. Bearss, manager of Chrysler Corp.'s New Process Gear Division plant introduced Gen. Graham. The Syracuse ADPA chapter is headed by Harold G. Francis, General Electric Co.

Gen. Graham, comparing the military capabilities of the United States and Soviet Russia, said in attack equipment the two countries were about even. Russia has an advantage in possessing more ICBMs but the Soviet lags behind the United States in the technology for putting sophisticated warheads on their missiles.

While the United States leads in bombers, Russia has a massive air defense installation. Russia, he said, has a tremendous advantage in ground forces—165 divisions against 20 for the United States, although the Russian divisions are somewhat smaller than those of the U.S.

He also declared Russia and the Communist countries can mobilize forces swifter than we can. While the United States has a technological advantage, we are threatened by a lack of conventional (non-nuclear) power.

He said not just nuclear weapons were needed but all types of equipment. "If you have the capability to strike back, you can prevent the first strike," he explained.

JASHINGTON STAR 7 MAY 1975(9)

GARRY WILLS

No End to the Lying

The Kissinger-squid scuttles off through obscuring squirts of ink. Responding to his inky valves, some right-wingers write plaintively about what they consider the real tragedy of Watergate: Nixon, it turns out, was ready to re-escalate his "peace with honor" in April of 1973. Peace with new bombings, honoring secret dishonorable pledges.

If he had tried that, it would have made the 1970 spasms of Cambodia and Kent State look like kindergarten games. After all, he had been reelected on the assurance that peace was at hand — and had been elected in the first place by saying that people who have four years to end a war and cannot end it should be retired.

Yet people assure us, credibly, that he was ready to go in again in 1973. If Watergate prevented that, it was the nicest blessing it bestowed on us. How can former apologists for Nixon, who boasted that he brought the war to an end, now think it a boast that he was trying to start it up again? The answer is simple: These people are also apologists for Henry Kissinger.

And Kissinger realized, recently, that the Thieu correspondence was bound to come out — a correspondence that virtually promised renewal of the war after victory at the polls in 1972.

At the same time, Henry Kissinger was paying a great deal of attention to what the accords said and was pretending that Communist "intransigence" on the precise terms was all that stood between us and real peace. In other words, he was lying to Americans about his lies to the South Vietnamese.

What an extraordinary performance Kissinger's has been. In the fall of 1972, he said peace was at hand, but that nasty Hanoi was intransigent — and he was lying. Peace was not at hand, only a suspension of the combat. And it was Saigon that was balking, not Hanoi. Whom was he fooling more, at that time — America, or Hanoi, or Saigon, or Moscow? Or himself? The lies were all tidily connected. It was omnidirectional mendacity.

And now he tells us, in hints and asides and leaks, that — six months later — he had another announcement to make: that war was at hand, but that a nasty Congress, gone blood-crazy over Watergate, was intransigent. But for that, his lies about peace would have been cancelled out, and he could have successfully bombed — which is also a lie. Even he knew he could not get away with that; but he must protect, with new lies, his first lies to Thieu about America's ability to unlimber its B-52s forever and ever. Each of his earlier lies demanded a new lie to cover it up, and yet each just revealed his mendacity further. It is a private Vietnam of his own whose escalation we cannot prevent. The Sorcerer's Apprentice of the Christmas bombing is destroying his own office in order to save it.

We lied our way in, and lied our way out — and the lies didn't work, either way. And we still have to listen to more lies about why they didn't work. Vietnam is over, but disgrace is not laid to rest. Henry Kissinger is a walking, talking national disgrace.

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TIME MAGAZINE 12 MAY 1975 (9)

MEDITERRANEAN

Strong Fleet Without Friends

The mighty U.S. Sixth Fleet was locked out of one of its most important eastern Mediterranean bases last week. In an anti-American decision with potentially grave strategic effect, Greece's democratic government, still angry that the U.S. had once backed the fallen junta and then did not do more last year to prevent the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, withdrew permission for the fleet to use the harbor of Elefsis, 17 miles west of Athens. Set up only three years ago on a lease basis, Elefsis was a home port abroad for the six ships and 1,700 crewmen of Destroyer Squadron 12, as well as for 1,100 dependents who lived ashore. According to the terms of a joint U.S.-Greek statement, Elefsis will be closed and the families out by September; the American airbase at Hellinikon Airport in Athens will also shut down, although U.S. planes may continue to land there to aid Greek defense needs. The future of five other U.S. installations in Greece will be determined at another joint conference in June.

Home-Porting. In response to the announcement, the Sixth Fleet's commander, Vice Admiral Frederick C. Turner, issued a terse statement: "The Sixth Fleet will be able to meet its commitments in support of national policy without home-porting in Athens." In fact, the closing of Elefsis greatly complicates Turner's task. Because Turkey has also been angered by U.S. policy on Cyprus, no ships of the Sixth Fleet have been able to drop anchor in Istanbul or Izmir since February. As for Greece, the last destroyer landing party to go ashore on Corfu was nearly lynched by hysterical Greek islanders. Even in Athens, American sailors' wives and children from Elefsis have been stoned.

The Sixth Fleet still has bases in the western Mediterranean, notably at Naples in Italy and Rota in Spain. But these are at least three-hours steaming time from eastern waters, a fact that will become even more important next month when access to the eastern Mediterranean is increased after the reopening of the Suez Canal—a herculean chore carried out in part by Sixth Fleet salvage units. All of the 50 or so ships of the Sixth Fleet can be rotated back to Norfolk, headquarters of the U.S. Atlantic Fleet. But that kind of maneuvering would add to fuel costs, already so heavy that ships of the fleet spend much of their time at anchor.

The loss of port facilities in Greece and Turkey also means that the Sixth Fleet has fewer "bingo fields," airstrips ashore to which carrier planes can divert in emergencies or bad weather. In addition, the new political situation creates morale problems for seamen, who will be forced to spend more and more time aboard ship without the chance of seeing their families and without liberty in the foreign ports.

Even with these handicaps, however, the Sixth Fleet continues to be the strongest military force in the Mediterranean. Though the Soviet fleet has made remarkable strides in a decade, and now actually outnumbers the Sixth Fleet (60 ships to 50), its submarines and cruisers still cannot match overall U.S. firepower. TIME's Rome bureau chief Jordan Bonfante recently spent two days at sea with Task Force 60 of the Sixth Fleet and sent this report:

Before dawn, the fuel tanker *Marias* had appeared out of nowhere, like a floating filling station, and the 80,000-ton carrier *Forrestal* danced into place alongside. The two ships cruised ahead, a scant 140 ft. apart, while the carrier took on engine and jet fuel from two suspended umbilical lines. Meanwhile, three destroyers with the law-firm-sounding names of *Sampson*, *Barry* and *Miller* took turns on the tanker's far side.

With her tanks topped off, the carrier soon swung into the wind and went back to work. The flight deck erupted with the frenetic precision of "launch and recovery," sending up 40 planes, like a parking lot emptying at rush hour. Phantoms, Intruders, Corsair II light attack bombers, as well as ugly-goose Hummers with their absurd-looking radar dishes, vaulted off the catapults with a roar and a swoop, 15 seconds apart. Within minutes, other planes were simultaneously coming in for "recovery," the "controlled crashes," as one flyer put it, that pass for carrier landings.

Martial Arts. On the bridge, Captain James Scott, 48, the *Forrestal's* skipper and a former fighter pilot, watched the thunderous flight deck activities below with a cheerful scowl: "We can do this with a 200-ft. ceiling and three-quarter-mile visibility," he said in his Alabama drawl. "That's bad-ass. We don't like it, but in a crunch we have that capability, even at night."

It was a typical flight operation at sea and an impressive display of a Sixth Fleet carrier's naval-air talents. The U.S.S. *Forrestal*, with four escorting destroyers, was steering a complicated course between Sicily and Crete, exercising its special martial arts. The Phantoms and Corsairs flew off to drill in interceptor tactics or to make practice runs with dummy bombs and missiles. Electronic-surveillance planes stuffed with microtechnology ranged far and wide on reconnaissance flights. The destroyers darted off or raced back to the carrier according to their own tactical plans. Periodically, tankers showed up to refuel.

The Sixth Fleet is confident that it retains military superiority. For one thing, the Soviet fleet, powerful as it is, is still regarded as basically defensive; its main weapons are the surface-to-surface missiles targeted on the U.S. carriers. The Sixth Fleet's two carriers—at present the *Forrestal* and the *Roosevelt*—are decidedly offensive weapons, with aircraft that, from positions in the eastern Mediterranean, could penetrate the Soviet heartland.

U.S. naval experts have high respect for the design and firepower of Soviet ships, but the Sixth Fleet has not been standing pat. It has taken on ever more sophisticated landing-guidance and weapons systems, like computerized dive-bombing that allows 20- to 30-ft. accuracy from 4,000 ft. It has also refined the all-important and largely secret missile defense for the carriers. The Sixth Fleet commanders are well aware that their carriers are potential floating targets in an age of surface-to-surface missiles; they also feel that their multiple early-warning defense systems are more than capable of shielding their mobile ocean-borne airfields from disaster.

Within the year the fleet's battle-experienced pilots, many of them Viet Nam veterans, will be flying two imposing new aircraft: Lockheed's S-3 Viking, which will be the first antisubmarine jet, and the swing-wing F-14 Tomcat, Grumman's new $18 million attack plane, which is to replace the effective but aging Phantom.

Stretching the Legs. The Sixth Fleet also boasts amphibious forces, which can land 2,000 combat Marines supported by helicopters and vertical-takeoff harrier planes from small mobile carriers like the *Guam*. Every two months or so, the landing force "stretches its legs" with an amphibious exercise in Spain or Sardinia.

Such scrambles ashore have been interpreted as possible rehearsals for a U.S. invasion of Middle East oilfields in the event of petroleum "strangulation." Sixth Fleet commanders deny that the exercises are anything more than routine. They point out that the amphibious force, after all, is only large enough to "go ashore to protect an embassy" in case of trouble.

"We don't get involved in what our State Department does," says Rear Admiral Forrest Petersen, Task Force 60's commander, when asked about the fleet's potential role in any possible U.S. action against the Middle East oilfields. "We simply stand ready to follow orders." Petersen has no doubt that with the amount of weaponry now assembled in the Mediterranean, a pitched battle between U.S. and Soviet fleets, which no one expects, would be awesome in cost. "A conflict would be pretty bloody, no question about that. An awful lot of people would get hurt," he says. "But I am convinced that we have the capability to meet that threat and still retain the residual force to do whatever else should be required beyond that."

WALL STREET JOURNAL 9 MAY 1975

YANKEES, GO HOME: More governments threaten U.S. military bases.

Washington wants to hold on to most foreign bases, but troubles arise in Europe as well as Asia. Spain insists on a U.S. defense pact before renewing base leases there; the U.S. says that's impossible. Portugal specifies that the Azores base can't be used by planes flying material to Israel. Greece takes back some bases; Turkey threatens to close some.

The Philippines probably will put new restrictions on U.S. forces, threatening Seventh Fleet operations. Thailand demands closing of air bases there within a year. But Washington counts on covert help from China to help maintain the U.S. military in Asia. Peking privately wants some U.S. troops in Asia to offset Soviet power, U.S. analysts contend.

Base closings somehow don't bring savings. The Air Force says all 350 warplanes to be pulled out of Thailand must be kept ready for "contingencies."

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 9 May 1975

AIR FORCE MAGAZINE - MAY 1975(9)

USAF'S INCREASING OPERATIONAL EFFICIENCY

BY THE HON. JOHN L. McLUCAS
SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE

IN THIS post-Vietnam, post-Vladivostok era, the wishful notions that military strength and détente are incompatible, and that current negotiations and increased cooperation with the Soviet Union signal an opportunity for us to decrease our commitment to the maintenance of military strength, are conclusions fraught with danger.

It is strength, translated by resolve, that has fostered this period of negotiation. Our military preparedness is the touchstone of international accord because détente remains a very delicate balance of cooperation and competition based on mutual interest and not, as yet, on the altruism of man. As President Ford has said, "Strength makes détente attainable. Weakness invites war."

In my opinion, Air Force accomplishments during the past twelve months have done much to maintain the strength that nurtures the process of détente. Substantial improvements have been made in our strategic and conventional capabilities as well as in the utilization of our people and our overall operational efficiency—despite the effects of inflation and increasing demands on the nation's resources.

It is clear that the Soviets recognize the importance of military strength. The CIA estimates that Soviet expenditures on defense, not including pensions, exceed our own by twenty-five percent. Secretary Schlesinger, in his annual Defense Department Report for FY '76, labeled Soviet advances in ICBMs, for example, as "very substantial" and "indeed unprecedented." In addition, the USSR also has a new, long-range, variable-sweepwing bomber known as the Backfire that has been designed for in-flight refueling.

Strategic Forces

Our development of the B-1 bomber, along with other strategic initiatives, provides the sinew and muscle for the strength we will need for more substantive negotiation.

With the roll-out ceremonies in late October and the first flight just before Christmas, the B-1—at least in prototype form—became a flying reality. That test flight was an early milestone in a two-year evaluation program with a production decision anticipated by late 1976, dependent upon congressional funding, development progress, and the SALT environment.

Except for a minor problem during the third flight, test results so far have been favorable. The engines have been very responsive, and the aircraft overall has flown essentially the way the ground simulator indicated it would.

We have also initiated various economies to reduce B-1 cost. Aluminum has been substituted for more expensive titanium wherever possible in the airframe. The engine inlet has been modified to a more easily manufactured design. As a result of intensive review, we are taking a number of cost-saving actions such as the replacement of the crew escape module with new, advanced technology ejection seats. We will continue to evaluate and adopt those trade-offs that cut costs but do not degrade essential mission performance.

Due to Soviet advances and the long lead time involved in developing new major weapon systems, we are continuing efforts to improve our strategic missile forces. Probably the most significant recent event took place over the Pacific Test Range in October. Using the C-5 as a transporter, a Minuteman I was dropped from the rear cargo door and stabilized with parachutes. Ignition occurred at 8,000 feet and the missile climbed above 20,000 feet during the ten-second firing, demonstrating the technical feasibility of air-launching such missiles.

Other aspects of the Advanced ICBM Technology Program (MX) include examination of ground mobile missiles and increasingly hardened silos.

In airlift, the C-5's capability to be air refueled was demonstrated in nonstop flights from Dover AFB, Del., to Clark AB in the Philippines—more than 10,000 miles. Obviously, the use of in-flight refueling techniques extends the range of the aircraft, but these measures also permit larger payloads, cut our dependence on en-route stations, and reduce overall fuel consumption. We have begun training our line crews in in-flight refueling.

In the context of the strategic environment, these advances preserve our bargaining options in the SALT talks. To some extent, the technological capability implicit in these programs tends to inspire the Soviets to negotiate before deployment can take place. Also, the programs provide a hedge against our having to play "catch-up ball" in maintaining strategic parity.

Tactical Weapon Systems

In addition to "essential equivalence" in the strategic realm, we also are meeting our responsibilities for maintaining an equilibrium of conventional forces. A number of new developments have occurred to ensure this "equilibrium" for the foreseeable future.

Fresh in many minds is the recent selection of the F-16 as the new Air Combat Fighter. While the competing YF-17 is a very capable aircraft, the YF-16 proved superior in a number of areas, including acceleration, transonic maneuverability, and, for the Air Force, projected life cycle costs and production risk. Both the YF-17 and YF-16 were flown more than 300 hours during the evaluative process.

The F-16 will be a multimission fighter weighing about half as much as the F-15 and costing significantly less. With a thrust-to-weight ratio greater than one, the ACF will be a highly maneuverable aircraft capable of Mach 2 speed. Because of its relatively low price tag, we will counter the trend toward rising weapon systems costs, permitting modernization and planned expansion of our tactical forces.

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Moreover, we hope our European allies will select the F-16 to replace their aging F-104s and thereby achieve increased standardization within NATO. We have offered them an attractive coproduction arrangement.

The F-16 will complement the more sophisticated, all-weather F-15 tactical fighter. During its 2½-year test program, the F-15 has met or exceeded all expectations and will provide air superiority against any challenger.

The F-15's performance capabilities were highlighted early in February when it broke eight world time-to-climb records set previously by a Navy F-4 and a Russian MiG-25. The F-15 also holds great promise for durability. For example, the aircraft that visited the Farnborough Air Show in Great Britain this past fall made seventy-two flights before maintenance was required on its radar.

President Ford, in welcoming the aircraft into the Air Force inventory during ceremonies at Luke AFB, Ariz., last November, called the F-15 Eagle a "pioneer of peace." The several aircraft assigned to Luke will be used for training purposes with the first operational wing scheduled for Langley AFB, Va., in FY '76.

The first aircraft we have ever designed specifically for the close air support role, the A-10, promises to counter the numerical advantages in armor the Warsaw Pact enjoys in Europe. While armed with the new GAU-8 30-mm armor-piercing cannon and capable of carrying an eight-ton multipurpose payload, the A-10 nonetheless possesses high maneuverability, long loiter time, and the capability to operate from austere, forward bases.

In a comparative flight evaluation with the A-7D last spring, the A-10 proved more effective for close air support. Funds have been released for purchase of twenty-two A-10s this fiscal year with a programmed buy of more than 700 by 1980. The first of these preproduction aircraft flew early this year. As in the case of the F-16 for the air-superiority mission, the relatively low cost of the A-10 will enable us to acquire the number we need for the close air support role.

Capable of tying all these tactical weapon systems together and enhancing their respective capabilities is a surveillance, warning, and control system known as AWACS. The E-3A AWACS, or Airborne Warning and Control System, is actually a Boeing 707 equipped with long-range radar, computers, displays, and a thirty-foot diameter rotating radome.

Operating in a highly sophisticated arena such as Central Europe, AWACS will be able to monitor and direct large-scale air operations. At its normal operating altitude of 30,000 feet, it can detect and track aircraft flying at high and low altitudes over both land and water. It can also track ships at sea. Recent tests verified the suitability of the AWACS concept for tactical and air defense operations.

We are hoping for continued support from Congress to make AWACS an operational part of the inventory. Six aircraft were funded last year and we are requesting $431 million in FY '76 for six more, along with $199 million to continue development and testing.

Reserve Components

However important equipment and performance capabilities are, the basic factor that determines our level of effectiveness remains the ability and dedication of the people who fly and maintain the hardware and perform countless other jobs necessary to Air Force operations.

Air Force manpower has declined steadily since 1968, the peak year of our involvement in Southeast Asia. Projections through FY '76 show reductions of thirty-five percent for military and twenty-four percent for civilians—an overall drop of thirty-two percent. Dependent, of course, on future circumstances, I would hope that we can avoid further significant cuts.

The decrease in active-duty and civilian manpower points to the importance of the Total Force Policy for maintaining our overall strength. Since 1968, Air National Guard and Air Force Reserve total manpower has increased some twenty-nine percent. In addition, the Reserve components are receiving modern equipment and high-priority missions.

For example, three Guard units have completed conversion from older F-100s to new-production A-7D aircraft and are combat-ready. Three more such conversions are programmed before the end of FY '76. Also, fifty-six percent of our tactical airlift aircraft are assigned to Reserve components, and in FY '76 we will begin the assignment of 128 KC-135 tankers to the Reserve.

With more modern equipment and added responsibilities, the Reserve components are becoming increasingly essential to maintaining our capabilities.

Personnel Programs

Another area vital to maintaining our capabilities involves our recruiting success in the all-volunteer environment. There were those who doubted the ability of the Air Force to meet recruiting quotas in the absence of the draft. Last June, we ended the first full year of the all-volunteer program and the results were very positive. Quotas for both airmen and officers were met without lowering our quality standards. We did have some trouble in recruiting enough doctors and filling certain enlisted requirements in the Air Force Reserve, but the overall program has been successful.

While possibly affected somewhat by the nation's economy, the recruiting totals since last June are equally impressive. Monthly quotas are being met, in terms of both quantity and quality. About ninety percent of our recruits are high school graduates or the equivalent, and ninety-nine percent are in the top three mental categories.

Overall, I think we are continuing to make good progress in creating a stimulating, rewarding environment in which our people can work. With more than 1,000 jobs in forty-eight career fields, the Air Force certainly offers diverse opportunities.

Furthermore, the Chief of Staff, Gen. David Jones, and I have been working hard to make the Air Force more responsive to the needs of our people. The new Advanced Personnel Data System (APDS), through closer integration of personnel preferences into the decision-making process, enables us to be more sensitive to the needs and desires of our people. Full travel and transportation entitlements have been extended to E-4s with two years of service. The CAREERS program is now a reality and enables us to match the skills and interests of our reenlisting airmen with those needed by the Air Force.

In equal opportunity, three percent of our officer corps currently consists of minorities, but our goal is to increase that to 5.6 percent by 1980 and thereby approximate the percentage of minority college graduates in the US population. Our minority enlisted manning is 15.6 percent. Women now compose about 4.5

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WASHINGTON POST - 9 MAY 1975

Non-Fighters For Freedom

A Commentary

By Nicholas von Hoffman

The State Department is appealing for Americans to step forward and be financial sponsors of the Vietnamese fugitives the executive branch of the government is packing in here. This is a wonderful opportunity for the parents of those of our soldiers who were turned on to heroin over there.

With any luck they may be able to sponsor their kids' pushers. This is also a chance for the Mafia to demonstrate its patriotism while at the same time recruiting some experienced personnel. The pimps, madams and hijackers of American food and material certainly should have the experience to fit into the underworld's operations in America.

Perhaps that description of the fugitives is overdrawn, although the television newsclips of them landing at Clark Air Force Base and immediately converting their gold hoards into dollars isn't reassuring. It is even less reassuring in the light of reports that we left hundreds of former Vietnamese employees of our embassy stranded in Ho Chi Minh City, nee Saigon, while thousands of these unvouched-for persons, who apparently bribed their way onto the airlift, are now becoming residents of a reluctant America. It may take the FBI years to determine how many are Red spies, but the more likely outcome is that, in one stroke, we have solved the new Communist government's vice and crime problem.

Assuming that the State Department and the White House aren't lying to us—and there are many who won't make that assumption—it appears they have no idea who they're trucking over. Do you recall that in a matter of a couple of weeks the estimates of the number of arrivals have jumped from 50,000 to 80,000 to 120,000 and beyond. It is impossible, given these circumstances, for the government to know if it is admitting, babies excluded, worthy individuals, or the scum of Saigon's brothels, or the torturers from Gen. Thieu's political police.

"Give me . . . your huddled masses," etc. The light atop the Statue of Liberty is invoked by the President's press secretary as justification. We're told that we admitted thousands of Hungarian Freedom Fighters when their cause was extinguished by the Russian Army. Would that South Vietnam had been populated by Hungarians! By this time Hanoi would have been renamed Budapest East. What we're getting is a bunch of Freedom Non-Fighters who, as the television shots of acres of deserted tanks and artillery show, dropped their weapons and ran.

An orderly transfer of deserving Vietnamese was possible. Dr. Kissinger has had more than two years to arrange it. From the time it became clear that Congress was ending American participation in this war, it was incumbent upon him and both Mr. Nixon and Mr. Ford to negotiate a humane and sensibly planned evacuation.

That was never done. The executive branch would not accept the fact that its power to conduct foreign policy is absolutely limited by the Congress's decision to pay for it. They went ahead, presuming that they could continue to involve us and then come back to Congress and say, "Like it or not, we're in the soup now and you've got to provide the crackers."

Doubtless Dr. Kissinger and President Ford based their intransigence on sincerely felt policy reasons. (Kissinger was never as good as he was once painted but he isn't the total blackguard they're making him out now.) But with that said, there is still an element of anger and spite in this Vietnamese fugitive business. It's as though they're trying to get back at the antiwar sentiment, which frustrated them, by sticking America with this mob of what may turn out to be mostly Indochinese riff-raff.

What do we do now? Send them back? Not likely. You'll notice the new government in Saigon, while hollering that the fugitives made off with their airplanes and ships, isn't demanding the return of the passengers. Farm a substantial number out to those loyal allies we're told we have such unshakeable commitments to? No other country in the world will take more than a token number.

We're stuck with them; but just as the executive branch used Americans in Saigon as hostages to get that bunch out of there, the legislative branch can now use the Vietnamese fugitives to force President Ford to sign an amnesty bill granting complete legal oblivion to all our war resisters. Mr. Ford is demanding a large appropriation for his Vietnamese objects of mercy. That bill should carry an amnesty clause. And if, out of pride, he vetoes it, then let him do what he will with our 120,000 uninvited new, non-friends.

To talk about Lady Liberty's golden door, to grant home, hospitality and welfare checks to some of the very same people who were involved in putting electrodes on the testicles of their political opponents, while keeping in exile the young men who opposed such barbarism, is not, as they like to say at the White House, in accordance with our finest traditions.

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McLUCAS -- CONTINUED

percent of our active-duty force with more than 27,000 in the Air Force, and we expect that percentage to almost double to 8.2 percent by 1978. Although our work in equal opportunity is not finished, we have made significant gains.

The Effects of Inflation

Overshadowing our equipment and manpower programs in recent months has been the specter of rising inflation. Since 1968, the purchasing power of the Defense budget has declined some forty percent, although the funding level in then-year dollars has remained relatively constant. In FY '75 alone, inflation since the budget was prepared has already taken about $6 billion more than originally programmed.

Consider the cost of petroleum products. Even though we have significantly reduced our consumption through such measures as increased use of simulators and reduced flying hours, we are paying more for fuel. For example, in FY '76 the Air Force plans to purchase twenty-eight percent less fuel than in FY '73, but the cost of that reduced amount will be more than $1 billion higher. The price of JP-4 jet fuel has jumped from eleven to about thirty-seven cents a gallon since mid-1973.

We have taken a number of belt-tightening measures to counter the effects of inflation without jeopardizing our combat capability. As our overall manpower strength has declined since 1968, we have made significant reductions in support and headquarters manning, with many of the personnel authorizations being used to increase the capability of our operational units. The retirement of 400 reciprocating-engine support aircraft should provide a cost avoidance of $75 million and reduce annual fuel consumption by more than 1.5 million barrels.

Incumbent upon all of us—from equipment operator to shop foreman to wing commander—is the necessity for prudent management and maximum efficiency. The American people demand it—and rightfully so.

Détente has been likened to easing the tension on a bow. Only through strength—the continued quality of the bowmen, the bows, and the arrows—can the tension be reduced with confidence.

Current economic stresses and rising Soviet military might are formidable challenges, but the lessening of international tension through détente requires that we maintain a powerful Air Force. We are meeting those challenges. ■

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CHAMPAIGN-URBANA (ILL.) NEWS-GAZETTE 4 MAY 1975(9)

B-1 Bomber Called Price Of Survival

By ED BORMAN
News-Gazette News Editor

"How much is peace worth? What are the American people willing to pay to keep a nuclear attack unthinkable?"

The questions were asked Saturday night in Champaign by Maj. Gen. Harry M. Darmstandler, who as special assistant to the Air Force chief of staff has top responsibility for development of the B-1 bomber and the plane's fate in Congress.

Gen Darmstandler answered his own questions with, "Hopefully we are willing to pay enough to assure our own survival."

For the B-1, "enough" is now calculated to be $81 million for each of the 241 planes the Air Force says it needs to deter nuclear attack on this country. Gen. Darmstandler emphasized that this figure takes into consideration the inflation that has occurred since the first B-1 development contract was let in 1970 and is forecast to continue until the last of the 241 planes is produced in 1985.

Gen Darmstandler spoke at the annual convention of the Illinois Reserve Officers Assn. at the Ramada Convention Center.

While the price tag for development and construction is high, Gen. Darmstandler pointed out that B-1s can be operated at less cost than the B-52s they would replace.

The Air Force bought 744 B-52s. It says 244 B-1s can do the job. Reliability of the B-1 is expected to make it possible to keep a much higher percentage of the new planes on alert.

The B-1 has a crew of four, compared to the B-52's six.

Built into the B-1 are efficiency and savings in maintenance that are impossible in the B-52, the general said.

Most important to the Air Force is the performance anticipated from the B-1 in case of a nuclear attack. Gen. Darmstandler put it this way:

"We paid particular attention to having a bomber that could survive the most severe kind of attack that we could foresee. . . The B-1 is designed to get off the ground and out to a safe escape distance in appreciably less time than our current heavy bombers.

"We also gave a lot of thought to what it would take to penetrate advanced and sophisticated enemy air defense.

"We knew we would have to be able to penetrate low and fast — lower and faster than the B-52. We also knew we had to make sure it was very small as seen by radar.

"When you apply those requirements — together with the requirements for a useful range and payload — to your design, you come up with the B-1.

"You get an aircraft with wings that stick almost straight out for takeoff and landing in short distances, but you get one with wings that are sharply swept back for high speed at low altitude.

"You get an aircraft that is structurally strong to resist the overpressures of nuclear blast; but you get one that is smoothly curved from almost any angle — curved so that radar energy will be scattered rather than bounced back to an enemy detection or tracking site.

"And you get an aerodynamically clean airplane with a large internal payload — a design that will have, in the popular expression of the day, good fuel economy.

"The facts are that the B-1 would be the most cost-effective force — that is, it would be the cheapest force to do the bomber job. All costs considered, there is no better way to do it."

The first, and thus far only, B-1 was rolled out of a factory at Palmdale, Calif., last October. Since then it has flown 31 hours in eight test flights, Gen. Darmstandler reported:

"We have traversed a speed regime from takeoff to supersonic flight, and we have refueled in midair. We have operated all of the flight controls and we have flown with wings in every position from full forward to full aft. Throughout these flight tests, we have developed growing enthusiasm and every increasing confidence in having a really fine flying machine."

Under the present schedule, flight tests and other evaluations will continue until November 1976, when the Department of Defense will decide whether Congress will provide the funds.

The B-1 is intended to meet the United States needs for a manned bomber well into the 21st Century — serving for about 30 years as the B-52 has done.

While Gen. Darmstandler and his associates try to overcome the resistance of congressmen to the B-1's cost, they are watching the Soviet Union, where a new, swing-wing bomber, the Backfire, already is being produced and is operational.

Gen. Darmstandler told an interviewer that the new Russian machine is a "good airplane, capable and has many of the attributes of the B-1."

To the reserve officers, he stressed that the mission of the American armed forces is to "deter" an attack. He declared:

"We use our strategic missiles and aircraft every day. We use them for the primary purpose for which they were designed, developed and put into the strategic inventory. That purpose is neither to kill nor to destroy. It is just the opposite — it is to deter an attack and preserve peace."

The general pleaded for "grass roots support" and said, "Without support this nation will soon fade -- not only from its position of global preeminence, but also from its ability to defend itself and protect its society, its institutions, and its way of life."

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR - 9 MAY 1975

Those marines look good

Commentary by Harry Reasoner on ABC News.

The sight of United States Marines in combat situation in Phnom Penh and Saigon recently was to some people strangely comforting, particularly so since no real fighting developed. But it made me think of the concern I felt about the U.S. military in the '60s — concern lest the divisiveness and frustrations of the Vietnam involvement should leave us with a crippled and fragmented fighting force.

I remember trying to explain what I felt to a young man who at the time was violently anti-military. It was at the time when there was a disastrous strike of police and firemen in Montreal, leaving the city naked. What happened, of course, was that the Canadian Army moved in. The point, I said, is that a society must have the means to enforce order and protect its citizens. In a good society the soldiers are the agents and servants of the citizenry, they are the good guys, the white hats. The greatest danger of the Vietnam era was that this perception of them — by the country and by themselves — would change. In a democracy, an army that feels itself apart from and antagonistic to the population cannot be effective. And while a world without armies is a lovely dream it is not here yet. We badly need a military that we can be proud of and that is proud of itself.

It seems to me the services have made substantial progress since 1972 in regaining that pride. We can hope that just as the memory of our failure in Indo-China leads to new maturity in the nation, rather than to a continuing bitterness, the record of frustration that the services have to live with will make them wiser and stronger. They have, overall, nothing to feel guilty about — like the country, they did their best.

In the meantime, on this mission of rescue and help, didn't those marines look good?

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT
12 MAY 1975(9)

★ ★ ★

The CIA is having trouble getting Secretary Kissinger to read its assessments of world trouble spots, particularly those dealing with Asia and the Middle East. The CIA complaint is that he prefers to rely on information provided by his own group of hand-picked analysts.

★ ★ ★

Political associates of Ronald Reagan hint that his speech at the first annual reunion of U.S. prisoners of war in the Vietnam conflict will be a blockbuster. The ex-POW's first invited Secretary Kissinger to be the featured speaker at the reunion in San Antonio, Tex., on June 28, then withdrew the invitation before he could accept or reject it.

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RADIO - TV DEFENSE DIALOG

RADIO TV REPORTS INC. WASH., D.C., SUMMARIES NOT TO BE QUOTED.

MONDAY, MAY 12, 1975 (BROADCASTS OF MAY 10, 11, 1975)

PART I

SUMMARY OF NETWORK NEWS IN THIS ISSUE

Edwin Newman, NBC, and Dan RATHER, CBS, report that the coalition government of Laos is near collapse. NEWMAN notes that leading Royalist and pro-American officials of the Laotian government have already fled that country for asylum in neighboring Thailand. And RATHER notes that more anti-American student demonstrations are being planned in Vientiane.

The collapse of the anti-communist governments of South Vietnam and Cambodia and the deteriorating political situation in Laos were apparent factors in a huge anti-communist rally Saturday in Seoul, South Korea. John STICKLER, CBS, reports that upwards of two million demonstrators, embracing virtually all elements of South Korean society from the military to students and labor union members, rallied in support of the government of President PARK Chung Hee. During the rally, the North Korean communist leader, KIM Il Sung, who has periodically threatened to invade the South, was burned in effigy. A less expansive report is filed by NEWMAN. Washington reaction to potential developments in Korea is the subject of a report by Robert PIERPOINT, CBS. PIERPOINT notes that administration officials are optimistic that the Chinese communists are exercising a restraining influence on the North Koreans.

In other news, John COCHRAN, NBC, and RATHER report that the trade and diplomatic embargo against communist Cuba may soon be lifted by the Organization of American States. Both correspondents note that Secretary of State Henry KISSINGER has indicated that OAS officials have worked out a general formula by which the embargo will be lifted by the end of the year. In Indochina-related news, NEWMAN reports that fighting continues in some parts of Vietnam, northwest and southeast of Saigon, and that Senator Mike MANSFIELD has criticized the administration for what he terms its failure to make funds available for South Vietnamese refugees.

And finally, in a report on the CBS Evening News for Saturday, Bernard KALB reports on David Atlee PHILLIPS, a CIA agent who recently resigned so that he could publicly defend the agency. According to KALB, PHILLIPS has maintained that the U. S. played no role in the coup which deposed Marxist President Salvador ALLENDE in Chile. However, KALB notes that PHLLIPS was unable to deny categorically that the CIA "discussed" the assassination of foreign political leaders, notably Cuban Premier Fidel CASTRO.

PREPARED BY THE AIR FORCE SAFAA AS EXECUTIVE AGENT FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE TO BRING TO THE ATTENTION OF KEY DOD PERSONNEL MATTERS WITHIN THEIR OFFICIAL RESPONSIBILITIES.

FOR INFORMATION REGARDING THIS PUBLICATION CALL MR. HARRY [illegible] OX 57585

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NBC SATURDAY NIGHT NEWS NBC TV
6:30 PM MAY 10

Embargo Against Cuba May Soon Be Lifted

EDWIN NEWMAN: It appears tonight that the trade and diplomatic embargo imposed on the Fidel CASTRO regime in Cuba may soon be coming to an end. The embargo was imposed eleven years ago by the Organization of American States, with the United States in the lead. But five OAS members no longer honor the embargo; others are weakening, and today the foreign ministers of the OAS countries, Henry KISSINGER among them, met in Washington and discussed what to do.

Nothing official was announced, but they apparently intend to lift the embargo in two steps later this year. KISSINGER told reporters there is a general understanding of where we want to go.

John COCHRAN reports.

JOHN COCHRAN: Until today's OAS meeting, KISSINGER had side-stepped questions all week about the embargo, even ignoring Cuba in a speech yesterday to the foreign ministers. Cuba is an emotional issue among the OAS members, and KISSINGER wanted to avoid a bitter public debate. Deferring to Latin American belief that the U. S. still tries to play "big brother," KISSINGER played down his role and encouraged other countries to take the lead on Cuba. That has happened, leading to KISSINGER's remark about a general understanding on the embargo. But he was still silent on the details, saying there must be some room for secret diplomacy.

Not far from the OAS conference, about two hundred Cuban refugees demonstrated against any relaxation of the boycott. There are more than half a million Cuban refugees in this country, making up a formidable political bloc. Even so administration officials had told them privately to expect a lifting of the embargo that could, in turn, lead to talks between Havana and Washington.

At the White House, officials say President FORD is more willing to get along with Fidel CASTRO than Richard NIXON was. But those same officials warn against expecting any sudden breakthrough. Earlier this week during a news conference in Havana, CASTRO seemed to make an overture. A White House spokesman then responded in kind, indicating President FORD was pleased. But tonight, in prepared remarks at a reception for OAS ministers here, Mr. FORD does not even mention Cuba. One White House official summed it up this way: "We're in a diplomatic game with Cuba. CASTRO takes a little step towards us; we take a little step toward him. And now," said the official, "it's CASTRO's turn again."

John COCHRAN, NBC News, the White House.

Laotians Flee To Thailand

NEWMAN: In Laos today, border police reported that more than two thousand people, including high-ranking government officials, had fled across the Mekong River into Thailand. There are nearly a thousand Americans still in Laos, and the United States Embassy today urged them to remain calm, inspite of yesterday's attack on the embassy by students.

The Embassy said the Laotian police had promised effective protection.

Fighting Persists in Vietnam

NEWMAN: In South Vietnam, the new government reported that some fighting is still going on northwest and southeast of Saigon involving a few units of the old government's militia and regulars.

Mansfield Criticizes Administration

NEWMAN: Senate Majority Leader Mike MANSFIELD today criticized the administration for saying that money for South Vietnamese refugees is running out and Congress must act quickly to provide more. MANSFIELD put it this way. If they could cut through the red tape to get the refugees out, they can cut through red tape to make funds available.

Massive Rally in South Korea

NEWMAN: The Premier of North Korea, Kim Il Sung, was burned in effigy today in Seoul, the capital of South Korea. South Korean President PARK Chung Hee had warned North Korea not to think about an invasion because of the communist victories in Indochina.

The burning in effigy took place when a million people gathered in Seoul to endorse PARK's warning.

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CBS EVENING NEWS CBS TV 6:30 PM
MAY 10

Koreans Stage Massive Rally

DAN RATHER: Concern is spreading and becoming more evident about the possibility that communist victories in Vietnam and Cambodia may cause new troubles in other parts of non-communist Asia. The latest example came today in South Korea. John STICKLER was there.

JOHN STICKLER: Korean citizens gathered in the huge plaza in Seoul this morning to raise their voices in unison against communist aggression. The rally lasted all morning, and estimates of the number of people ranged up to two million.

Sponsored by a group called the National Council for Total Security, the massive demonstration included people from all walks of life. Many of the men were Korea Reserve Forces. Whole units were ordered to attend. Disabled veterans of both the Korean War and Vietnam were there. Students, teachers and labor unions were all represented and called upon President FORD to support South Korea in the event North Korea should attack again as it did in 1950.

Communist leader KIM Il Sung was burned in effigy, and the demonstrators worked themselves into a frenzy. Some used their own blood to write slogans and to sign a symbolic letter to North Korea. They vowed to defend South Korea to the death, if need be.

John STICKLER for CBS News, Seoul, Korea.

US Assessment of Korean Situation

RATHER: Before that demonstration took place, Robert PIERPOINT was getting Washington's reading of the Korean situation.

Here's his report.

ROBERT PIERPOINT. According to one high FORD administration official, North Korea's President KIM Il Sung is, quote, the kind of guy who might try a probe to see if we're weakened by the collapse of Indochina. For years, KIM has threatened another invasion like the one in 1950. That's a major reason American troops remain in Korea twenty-two years after the end of the war. Congress approved a Mutual Defense Treaty with South Korea, but those troops are more important reassurance to the Seoul government, an automatic trigger to U. S. re-involvement.

But this time U. S. officials believe KIM would not have Chinese help. Last month the North Korean President went to Peking for talks with Chinese leaders. Afterward, a joint communique was issued in which China emphasized its support for peaceful unification of Korea. KIM apparently got no encouragement for any military moves.

But the U. S. Congress has recently cut down on its support of the South Korean government because of President PARK Chung Hee's repressive domestic policies. The FORD administration fears further weakening of U. S. support for South Korea could tempt the North into dangerous military adventures.

Robert PIERPOINT, CBS News, at the White House.

Laotian Coalition Near Collapse

RATHER: In Laos, the coalition government all but crumbled today, clearing the way for a take-over by the communist Pathet Lao. Five rightist ministers in the coalition resigned; students are planning more anti-foreign, anti-American demonstrations; and there are reports that some pro-American officials now are preparing to flee Laos.

End of Cuban Embargo Near

RATHER: Secretary of State KISSINGER said today that the Organization of American States has reached what he called, quote, "a general understanding that could mean the end of the economic boycott against Cuba." KISSINGER did not go into details.

Senator James BUCKLEY of New York declared he, quote, "would oppose any attempt by my government to restore formal diplomatic or economic relations with Castro's Cuba until Castro Cuba purges itself of the Soviet presence." End of quotation.

BUCKLEY and other conservatives have been warning Secretary KISSINGER and President FORD that continued talk about easing restrictions against Cuba could develop into a factor against the FORD administration for next year's elections.

Ex-CIA Agent Defends Agency

RATHER: David PHILLIPS, a veteran agent for the Central Intelligence Agency in Latin America, has resigned so he can defend the agency from what he thinks are unfair attacks. But about one accusation PHILLIPS declined

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to be totally reassuring, as Bernard KALB reports.

BERNARD KALB: PHILLIPS described the agency's work as "damn effective" and defended it against various allegations, denying any U. S. involvement in the Chilean coup of 1973. But on charges that the CIA was involved in plots to assassinate Cuba's Fidel CASTRO, PHILLIPS could not make a categorical denial.

DAVID ATLEE PHILLIPS: I have never heard anyone in CIA planning an assassination. I've never seen a plan for assassination. I'm not aware it's ever happened.

However, there must be something there. There have been discussions, and now people that were much senior to me have said, yes, there was some sort of discussions. In recent times, I've learned more than I knew when I came back to this job two years ago. A great deal of it I got from the press. But I've also talked with all of my friends, and there's no question that in those traumatic times something took place which might have been termed "discussions." Whether they were plans or not, I don't know.

RATHER: PHILLIPS also said he is convinced that Cuba had no part in the assassination of President KENNEDY.

NBC SUNDAY NIGHT NEWS NBC TV 6:30 PM
MAY 11

Pre-empted by NHL Playoffs.

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CURRENT NEWS

PART I - EARLY BIRD EDITION - 0730

PART II - MAIN EDITION - PUBLISHED AT 1130

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THURSDAY, MAY 8, 1975

NEW YORK TIMES 8 MAY 1975 Pg. 14

Ford Ends 'Vietnam Era' and Terminates G.I. Wartime Benefits

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 7. — President Ford formally declared that today was the end of "the Vietnam era" in a proclamation ending wartime veterans benefits for new military recruits.

At the same time, the President sent to Congress legislation that would set June 30 as the final date on which an individual enlisting in the military could quality for educational benefits under the G.I. bill.

"America is no longer at war," Mr. Ford said in a statement issued at the White House. "The time has now come to terminate wartime benefits which apply to the new peacetime volunteers."

The Presidential proclamation, issued two years after the withdrawal of American combat forces from Vietnam and one week after the fall of Saigon, was a formality that terminated such benefits as burial allowances and death pensions for individuals enlisting in the armed services after today.

Mr. Ford said that the action

(See FORD, Pg. 2)

BALT SUN 8 MAY Pg.1

U.S. got back 108 Viet planes

By CHARLES W. CORDDRY
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—The United States retrieved 108 South Vietnamese jet combat planes and helicopters from Thailand —practically all the valuable aircraft there—before it suspended removals at the Thai government's request, the Defense Department reported yesterday.

The Thai defense minister, Praman Adireksarn, said in Bangkok at the same time that American officials and the new Communist government in Saigon should negotiate over the ownership of the planes impounded in Thailand, so that "the owner can take them away."

The United States asserts title to the aircraft, in which South Vietnamese airmen and others fled to Thailand, and informed sources said evidence of ownership, under aid arrangements with the former Saigon government, is en route to the acting U.S. ambassador in Bangkok, Edward Masters.

The competing claims of the U.S. and the victorious Communists in Vietnam have left Thailand in the middle.

Joseph Laitin, Defense Department spokesman, said yesterday the only "high value' planes left in Thailand, after a weekend of retrievals, are six **C-7 Caribous, relatively small transports suitable for operations in and out of rough, combat airfields.**

Besides the C-7's, other sources said, there are 53 aircraft still impounded at Thailand's Utapao Air Base, all probably in poor condition. They include 11 A-1 attack

(See PLANES, Pg. 2)

NEW YORK TIMES 8 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Pentagon Says 2 Dead Marines Were Left in Saigon by Mistake

By JOHN W. FINNEY
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 7—The bodies of two of the last marines killed in the Vietnam war were left behind in the confusion of the final American evacuation from Saigon, the Defense Department said today.

The department had announced last Thursday—and informed the parents of the two young marines—that the bodies had been flown to the carrier Midway for return to the United States.

A Pentagon spokesman said today, however, that after checking the Midway and other ships in the evacuation fleet it was concluded last night that the bodies had been left behind, probably in a hospital near Tan Son Nhut Airport.

The parents of Cpl. Charles McMahon Jr. of Iowa, who had been making plans for the burial of the two marines on the basis of earlier Pentagon assurances, were informed late last night that the bodies had not been recovered in the evacuation.

The two marines, part of the security guard at the defense attaché office in Saigon, were killed in a Communist rocket and artillery bombardment of the Tan Son Nhut airport on April 29, about 12 hours before the helicopter evacuation effort began. Their bodies were taken to the Seventh Day Adventist Hospital, which is near the airport.

Charles McMahon Sr., father of the marine corporal, told reporters in Woburn that a Marine Corps spokesman had informed him that his son's body "couldn't be evacuated" because it was "out of reach of the helicopters.' A different

(See MARINES, Pg. 2)

WASHINGTON POST
8 MAY 1975 Pg.4

Groups Press Hill to Scuttle Bomber Fleet

By Michael Getler
Washington Post Staff Writer

A coalition of organizations, many of which have frequently opposed specific Pentagon weapons projects in the past, yesterday announced a "national campaign" to persuade Congress to kill Air Force plans to build a $20 billion fleet of B-1 jet bombers.

More than 25 organizations have lent their support to this effort, including Americans for Democratic Action, Common Cause, the Federation of American Scientists, environmental groups, a variety of religious organizations, and a few labor organizations, including the International Longshoreman's and Warehousemen's Union of the AFL-CIO.

At a press conference yesterday, spokesmen for several of these groups fired a barrage of charges at the project, ranging from claims that it is militarily unnecessary and a waste of taxpayers' money to charges that the high altitude jet would break down the earth's protective layer of ozone and result in 40,000 more cases of skin cancer every year in this country alone.

The Pentagon and the Congress have heard all those

(See FLEET, Pg. 2)

GENERAL NEWS SUMMARY
FROM THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
MAY 8, 1975

World-Wide

THE VIETCONG asked for U.S. aid; communications with Saigon were restored. A South Vietnam Revolutionary Government delegate in Paris, Mrs. Pham Thi Minh, said the U.S. has a responsibility "to repair the damage it caused in Vietnam." Mrs. Minh and the new military governor of Saigon, Gen. Tran Van Tra, both said officials and soldiers of the former government were being treated with leniency, a statement corroborated by Western newsmen in their first reports from South Vietnam since it surrendered last week.

A UPI reporter who has been in Saigon since the Communist take-over said the city returned to normal within 48 hours and he hadn't heard any reports of reprisals. His report was transmitted via Hanoi.

Thousands of Communist troops entered

(See NEWS SUMMARY, Pg. 6)

JAMES KILLINGBECK, CHIEF, CURRENT NEWS BRANCH, OX 78765 HELEN YOUNG, ASSISTANT CHIEF.
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BALTIMORE SUN

8 MAY 1975 Pg. 2

Marine dead left behind

Washington (Reuter)—The bodies of two marines were left behind in the last-minute confusion of the Vietnam evacuation, the Defense Department said yesterday.

Joseph Laitin, a department spokesman, said it had been believed the bodies of Cpl. Charles McMahon, Jr., of Woburn, Mass., and Lance Cpl. Darwin Judge, of Marshalltown, Iowa, the two marine guards killed by rocket fire at Saigon's Tan San Nhut Airport hours before the April 28 helicopter evacuation began, were taken to the aircraft carrier Midway, but a check of the Midway and other American ships has failed to turn up the bodies.

"We have come to the conclusion that there is every probability the bodies of the two marines are still at the Seventh Day Adventist Hospital in Saigon," where they were taken after the rocket attack, Mr. Laitin said.

The marines were the last two of more than 56,000 Americans killed in South Vietnam in more than a decade of conflict.

Mr Laitin said the State Department is doing everything possible to determine the whereabouts of the bodies and obtain their return.

American officials on the scene had thought the bodies had been evacuated by helicopter to the Midway, Mr. Laitin said.

MARINES -- CONTINUED

version was provided by a Pentagon spokesman.

As explained by Joseph Laitin, Assistant Secretary of Defense for public affairs, embassy officials and the marine contingent had called the hospital on the day of the evacuation and were told by hospital officials that the bodies had been removed by "American authorities," who were not identified.

At first, according to Mr. Laitin, it was assumed that the bodies had been flown out by aircraft to Thailand before the helicopter evacuation began. But later, he said, the Pentagon received a message from the American Embassy in Saigon stating it was understood that the bodies had been flown by helicopter to the carrier Midway.

A few days ago, Mr. Laitin said, the Midway, which had been ordered to make arrangements to have the bodies flown to the United States, advised the Pentagon, after a complete check of the ship, that the bodies were not aboard the carrier.

A search was then ordered of other ships in the evacuation fleet, all of which reported that they did not have the bodies, he added.

Mr. Laitin said the Defense Department concluded late yesterday that there was "every probability" that the bodies were still at the hospital in Saigon.

Mr. Laitin said the State Department was "doing everything possible" to determine where the bodies were and to arrange for their return to the United States.

The mix-up, as Pentagon officials privately acknowledged, was of particular embarrassment to the Marine Corps, which places emphasis upon the military tradition not to leave any dead or wounded behind.

The two marines were the last to be listed officially killed in the Vietnam war. Two other marines — first Lieut. Michael John Shea and Capt. William Craig Nystol — were listed as missing and presumed dead when their helicopter crashed at sea the next day during the evacuation effort.

The Defense Department reported, meanwhile, that on the basis of interviews with persons evacuated, the American Embassy in Manila had concluded that some 30 Americans and 25 persons of other nationalities had remained in Saigon, apparently of their own volition.

Marine's Father Bitter

WOBURN, Mass., May 7 (UPI)—"If they can evacuate 130,000 South Vietnamese refugees, why can't they get two dead marines out?" asked Charles McMahon Sr. as he bitterly read the last letter from his son once again.

FORD -- CONTINUED

would save $1.5-billion over the next five years without limiting the benefits due some 7 million Americans who served in uniform during the Vietnam war.

The action served, along with several other steps taken today by Mr. Ford, to underscore his statement at a news conference last night that the United States had learned "the lessons of the past in Vietnam" and should begin now to "look ahead."

The President also created a Cabinet committee to monitor increasingly large investments in the United States by foreign governments and corporations, including those in Arab oil producing nations.

National Arthritis Month

Without referring specifically to controversial investments made or planned by beneficiaries of the Arab oil embargo, which raised the international cost of fuel, Mr. Ford instructed the Departments of State, Defense, Commerce and the Treasury and White House economic aides to determine, among other matters, if foreign investments "might have major implications for United States national interests."

Two Administration officials testified coincidentally before the Senate Commerce Committee today that foreign investments posed no present risk and that restrictive legislation would not be in order. The officials were Jack F. Bennett, Under Secretary of the Treasury, and Thomas O. Enders, an Assistant Secretary of State.

The President also sent messages today to all Federal agencies encouraging bureaucrats to use "creative talents and skills" to generate ideas that might save money and energy for the government.

He proclaimed May to be National Arthritis month, announced his acceptance of an interview to take part Saturday in a celebrity golf tournament in nearly Locust Grove, Va., and in yet another signal of a post-Vietnam tempo, held an informal Cabinet meeting this evening aboard the White House yacht, Sequoia.

Opposition Possible

The Potomac River cruise was Mr. Ford's first on the Sequoia since he became President last August. Ron Nessen, the White House press secretary, said that the agenda included the status of energy legislation and the request for $507 million to resettle Vietnamese refugees, crime control proposals that Mr. Ford will send to Congress next month and the prospects for better relations with Democrats on Capitol Hill.

No Congressional action was required to terminate the wartime veterans benefits, but Mr. Ford's request for an end to the educational assistance available under the G.I. bill could face serious opposition.

Senator Vance Hartke, Democrat of Indiana, who is chairman of the Senate Veterans Affairs Committee, told reporters that it would "not only be shortsighted but would be contrary to the best interests of the nation" to cut off the educational benefits.

Mr. Ford contended that his request was in line with actions taken after World War II and the Korean War and that military pay scales established for the all-volunteer Army made enlistements attractive enough without continuing the G.I. benefits.

FLEET -- CONTINUED

charges before, and have offered counter arguments which thus far have kept the plane's development moving ahead to apoint where the first experimental version is already flying.

The Pentagon argues that even in the missile age, bombers are still necessary because they complicate an enemy's attack plan and are far more flexible than missiles because they can be launched and then recalled in the midst of a crisis.

The Air Force wants 244 B-1s to replace a portion of the aging B-52 bomber fleet in the 1980s.

Though Congress thus far has continued to approve money for development — some $2 billion has been spent thus far — there is mounting concern on Capitol Hill over the project's huge cost.

Each plane is now estimated to cost about $86 million — more than double the estimate of six years ago.

The key decision on whether to mass-produce the plane will be made in November, 1976. Congressional committees this week moved to keep the Pentagon from spending any money on production in advance of that decision.

If Congress preserves the B-1, said Jeremy Stone of the Federation of American Scientists, a private group of liberal-leaning scientists, "it will represent the bankruptcy of the Congress in dealing with defense programs."

Stone argues that since the United States has more than 1,600 nuclear tipped long-rang missiles in place on land and in submarines, the B-1 is simply too costly as a third nuclear deterrent. The B-52s will last through the 1980s, he argues, and a cheaper bomber could be built if one is needed.

PLANES (CONTINUED)

planes, designed 30 years ago; three C-119 transports of Korean war vintage; 16 C-47's of World War II design, and a number of small utility planes.

The aircraft removed, Mr. Laitin said, were 25 F-5 fighters, 27 A-37 attack planes, 48 helicopters and an 0-1 spotter plane—all carried away by the aircraft carrier Midway—and 8 C-130 transports flown out.

The U.S. thus removed 109 of 170 aircraft flown out by fleeing South Vietnamese. Informed sources said two trainer versions of the F-5 were also flown to Thailand's Korat Air Base for unknown purposes.

Mr. Laitin could not place a value on the aircraft retrieved, but military observers thought it would be more than a quarter of a billion dollars.

The 170 aircraft appear to be all that remains—outside South Vietnam itself—of the almost 1,900 aircraft the deposed regime had on hand at the start of the North Vietnamese offensive. Of that total, nearly half were helicopters.

Mr. Laitin said aircraft were loaded aboard the Midway before Bangkok "protested," but he did not know whether the ship sailed before or after the U.S. acceded to the Thai suspension request. "We have legal right to this equipment," he declared.

In Bangkok, Mr. Praman, deputy prime minister and defense minister, said both the United States and "Vietnam" claim the planes.

"Let them come here and hold negotiations with each other, then whoever is the owner can take them away," he said at a press conference reported here through government channels.

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WASHINGTON POST
8 MAY 1975 Pg. 27

U.N. Requested To Protect Newsmen

Agence France-Presse

COPENHAGEN, May 7—The International Congress of Newspaper Editors today appealed to the United Nations to adopt a statute to protect journalists on dangerous assignments.

Delegates from 23 countries adopted a resolution saying: "The International Congress of editors in Copenhagen asks all signatory governments and international press organizations to unite their efforts to have the proposed statue for the protection of journalists on dangerous assignments debated as a matter of priority and adopted during the next U.N. session.

WASHINGTON POST
8 MAY 1975 Pg. C17

Safeguard Shipments To Cease

Special to The Washington Post

MADISON, Wis., May 7 — The U.S. Army is ending a controversial program of transferring missile parts by helicopter here, and opponents of the operation have dropped plans to file a lawsuit aimed at stopping the shipment.

The Army was using Traux Field in Maidson as a transfer point for missile components being shipped from an Army arsenal in Savanna, Ill., to a missile site in North Dakota. Critics of the shipments, including Madison Mayor Paul Soglin, charged that they included nuclear weapons and constituted a threat to the city's safety.

The Army refused to confirm or deny the involvement of nuclear materials in the flights, but it did say the missile components were for the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system.

Shortly after the flights began in February, Soglin and Reps. Kastenmeier (D-Wis.) and Les Aspin (D-Wis.) protested the flights and asked that they be moved to less-populated areas.

A group of local citizens said they were going to file a suit in federal court this week seeking an injunction against the flights, claiming that the Army had failed to consult with local officials before beginning the operations and had failed to file an environmental impact statement on it.

The Army told Kastenmeier that the flights would end after two more in May and two in June. Robert Gruber, attorney for the local residents, said the Army's action satisfied the group's concern.

WASHINGTON POST
8 MAY 1975 Pg. G13

By Jack Anderson and Les Whitten

* * *

Another rip-off—Although the Pentagon insists its $104.6 billion budget is trimmed of all fat, the munitions makers still manage to squeeze extra lard out of their defense contracts.

This is the confidential finding, at least, of Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wis.), whose subcommittee has accused defense contractors of chiseling the taxpayers out of $100 million a year through a depreciation gimmick.

The subcommittee named four of the nation's most prestigious manufacturers—Lockheed, General Dynamics, United Technologies and General Electric—among the culprits.

The rip-off, according to the senator's "preliminary information," works this way:

The contractors "are fully reimbursed for...equipment used in the performance of defense contracts." They may collect a few dollars for special dies or millions for gigantic drydocks. The payments are then spread out over the life of the equipment.

One company, which depreciated its drydock over a 40-year period, collected $200,000 a year from the government. But another firm depreciated its dock over a 12-year span and collected a juicy $1.2 million a year.

By speeding up the depreciation, the companies wind up with more capital for investments. This brings them faster profits with less interest to pay.

Proxmire's study also charges that contractors "use the equipment for their commercial business after the government has paid for it." Some equipment purchased by the taxpayers, according to Proxmire, is never used for government work.

To plug the loopholes, the Cost Accounting Standards Board, after buckling to the Contractors on several points, set somewhat stricter depreciation standards effective in July. But now, defense contractors have sent their lobbyists swarming over Capitol Hill to soften these mile standards.

Footnote: General Electric, General Dynamics, United Technologies and Lockheed swiftly and stoutly denied Proxmire's charges. All four claimed they are in full compliance with federal standards.

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WASHINGTON POST
8 MAY 1975 Pg. D3

• A Cypriot government spokesman said that two Turkish air force jets violated the island's air space for the second time in eight days and a protest would be lodged with the United Nations.

WASHINGTON POST - 8 MAY 1975 Pg. 2

Ford Pledges To 'Stand By' Allies of U.S.

By Carroll Kilpatrick
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Ford yesterday launched the first of a series of meetings he will have with world leaders to assure them that despite the failure in Vietnam America will honor its commitments.

In separate meetings yesterday, the President conferred with British Prime Minister Harold Wilson, Australian Prime Minister Gorgh Whitlam and New Zealand Prime Minister Wallace E. Rowling.

The President will meet today with Singapore's Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew. The four prime ministers are stopping here briefly following a Commonwealth conference in Jamaica.

Later in the month, the President will meet here with the shah of Iran and Prime Minister Johannes M. den Uyl of the Netherlands before flying to Europe for conferences involving several western European leaders.

In yesterday's meetings, the President assured his guests that "the Indochina setback has in no way weakened United States resolve to stand by its allies and friends in Asia and elsewhere," a White House spokesman said.

"The President also stressed the need, in the wake of Indochina, for continued close cooperation between the United States and its allies in Asia and the Pacific," the spokesman said.

It was emphasized that the United States has a treaty commitment, through the ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand alliance and North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to all the countries represented in yesterday's talks.

In addition, press secretary Ron Nessen stressed the treaty commitments the United States has to South Korea and to Taiwan.

In his news conference Tuesday evening, the President acknowledged that since the Vietnamese surrender he has received "reactions from foreign governments wondering what our position will be, asking where we will go and what our policy will be."

He said that it was his aim to "tie more closely together South Korea with the United States, to reaffirm our commitments to Taiwan, to work more closely with Indonesia with the Philippines and with other Pacific nations.

Nessen explained that the President wanted to reaffirm the defense arrangements with South Korea and Taiwan and "to convey to North Korea" American determination to keep its commitment in the Korean peninsula.

Nessen denied that the President's statement in the press conference suggested any shift in U.S. policy toward China or Taiwan. Declaring that there is "absolutely no change in policy" toward Peking, Nessen said the Mr. Ford looks forward to his scheduled trip to China later in the year as part of his effort to normalize relations.

In another post-Vietnam action, the President issued a proclamation canceling special Vietnam war benefits, such as burial allownace, death pensions and benefits for nonservice connected disability, for persons joining the armed forces after last midnight. Those in the service as of yesterday will not be affected.

The President also asked Congress to terminate Veterans' education benefits for those joining the service after July 1. But there were indications Congress would be slow to follow his advice.

"America is no longer at war," the President said. "But peacetime military volunteers have remained full eligible for all the wartime vertan benefits."

Cancellation of the two forms of benefits would save $1.5 billion over the next five years, the President said.

Last night, Mr. Ford held a Cabinet meeting aboard the Sequoia, the presidential yacht. It was the first time he has used the yacht.

NEW YORK TIMES
8 MAY 1975 Pg. 16

Senate Approves 2 Envoys

WASHINGTON, May 7 (Reuters)—The Senate today approved the nomination of Laurence H. Silberman, who has been Deputy Attorney General, or Ambassador to Yugoslavia. It also approved Charles S. Whitehouse, a career Foreign Service officer, as Ambassador to Thailand.

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WASHINGTON POST - 8 MAY 1975 Pg. 6

26 S .Vietnamese Ships Bring 20,000 to Subic

From News Dispatches

SUBIC NAVY BASE, Philippines, May 7—A convoy of 26 South Vietnamese navy vessels carrying about 20,000 exhausted refugees arrived here today after a week-long voyage.

A U.S. Navy spokesman said the 20,000 persons, who boarded the vessels at Phu Quoc Island off the southern Vietnamese coast, may be the last of at least 70,000 evacuees lifted by sea and air from South Vietnam Tuesday and Wednesday of last week in an operation code-named "Frequent Wind" and backed by 46 vessels of the 7th Fleet.

Arrivals were transferred immediately to six civilian merchant ships chartered by the U.S. Military Sealift Command and sent to Guam, the Navy spokesman said. There they will be processed and continue to the continental United States.

A U.S. embassy spokesman said the vessels had technically become U.S. property as U.S. Navy officers boarded each ship before they entered Philippine waters and took title.

The move was apparently designed to meet a Philippine demand that no South Vietnamese government ships or personnel enter its territory. Saigon has demanded the return of ships and planes carrying evacuees from the country.

Eight C-141 transport jets took off from Subic today for Wake Island with 1,000 refugees, the Navy spokesman said.

The spokesman added that the Navy expects to complete the airlift to Wake and Guam within the next two or three days. A total of 34,000 refugees have been flown there since April 26, he said.

Some 20,000 refugees reaching Guam today were the first to arrive by ship and largest single daily influx.

Guam's governor placed the island under emergency status Tuesday to handle crowding of the 212-square-mile U.S. territory. Gov. Ricardo J. Bordallo's declaration gives him special powers to help the military care for the refugees. Schools are closed to free buses for the arrivals.

In other developments:

• A spokesman in Bonn said West Germany is ready in principle to take in refugees and has contacted the United States and the U.N. high commissioner for refugees.

• Graham Martin, the U.S. ambassador to South Vietnam as the evacuation was carried out, flew 130 miles north of Manila to the Philippine mountain resort of Baguio to "rest and do some work," a U.S. embassy spokesman said.

• A Canadian official in Hong Kong said his country had agreed to admit 1,000 refugees stranded in Bangkok, Singapore, Manila and Hong Kong.

• In Singapore, former South Vietnamese Information Minister Nguyen Ngoc Linh criticized the U.S. attitude toward some 7,000 refugees ordered to stay aboard 46 ships off that tiny nation.

"The U.S. has the distinct obligation to take care of the refugees from South Vietnam," Linh said. "Instead, the American embassy here completely ignored their written appeal for help."

NEW YORK TIMES
8 MAY 1975 Pg. 22

30,000 REFUGEES LEFT IN VIETNAM

AGANA, Guam, May 7 (AP)—An evacuation captain whose ship reached here after more than a week at sea says thousands of South Vietnamese "howling and crying, 'come back!'" were left behind on the beaches.

Capt. Arthur Boucher said that "at Phu Cuoc there were 30,000 to 50,000" would-be refugees left behind who pleaded to board his ship, the freighter American Challenger.

"There were people afloat in boats. They were scrambling to get on the ship," said Captain Boucher, who arrived yesterday with his ship, one of the last to leave South Vietnamese waters.

The American Challenger took on 9,000 refugees, about double her capacity. Later, nearly half were shifted to other vessels, Captain Boucher said.

Arriving here shortly after the Challenger was the freighter Pioneer Commander with about 5,400 Vietnamese refugees.

The Challenger left Vung Tau, 40 miles southeast of Saigon, shortly before the fall of Saigon. The Commander departed with its load of refugees April 23, a week before Saigon surrendered.

Many refugees were Roman Catholics, led by several Vietnamese priests who apparently brought along their entire congregations. One refugee carried a life-size statue of the Virgin Mary.

Both ships carried fishermen and their families, some of them carrying their belongings in fishing nets, who came barefooted in black pajama-like clothes.

The Pioneer also carried an élite group of passengers, headed by Tran Van Lam, a former president of the South Vietnamese Senate who signed the 1972 Paris agreement. Others included a former Foreign Minister, high police officials and the former director of Tan Son Nhut airport.

BALTIMORE SUN
8 MAY 1975 Pg. 7

Kissinger says he will not resign

Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—Henry A. Kissinger said in a television interview prepared for broadcast today that "it would not be a service to the country" for him to resign as Secretary of State.

Mr. Kissinger also said, in the interview with Barbara Walters on the NBC-TV Today program, that no purpose would be served by his giving up his second hat as national security adviser.

After 6½ years in Washington, he said, positions themselves do not "hold any particular attraction." Mr. Kissinger said he is concerned rather about the international repercussions of the United States losing a secretary of state after having already lost a president and vice president under pressure.

The secretary observed philosophically that it would have been better for him "selfishly" if he had resigned.

NEW YORK TIMES
8 MAY 1975 Pg. 17

Saigon Restores Its News Links

International communications with Saigon were reopened yesterday for the first time since the Communist take-over exactly one week earlier, and Western newsmen who had remained behind were able to file dispatches.

But, according to Reuters, the main post office from which the dispatches were sent was open for only a few hours. Newsmen were required to write only in English or French, Reuters said, and had to submit their dispatches in duplicate.

Whether there was any censorship was not clear.

According to Reuters, there were about 120 reporters from 13 countries in the South Vietnamese capital, and all were said to have been permitted to move about without hindrance during the last week but were not permitted to file until yesterday.

Press spokesmen of the Revolutionary Government reportedly made an appearance only in the last 48 hours, and reporters were told yesterday for the first time that they would be allowed to send out news. Technical reasons were cited to explain why there had been a news blackout for the last week.

But there had been some speculation in recent days that the victorious Communists did not want to let Western newsmen monopolize dispatches from Saigon immediately after the take-over and wanted to halt communications until Communist-bloc reporters could reach the city. Until yesterday, Communist broadcasts were the principal source of news about South Vietnamese developments since, shortly after the take-over.

American reporters in Saigon include representatives of The Associated Press and United Press International. Both agencies also had direct reports from Saigon yesterday, as did television and radio networks.

WASHINGTON POST
8 MAY 1975
Pg. D3

Argentine Navy Acts

BUENOS AIRES, May 7 (UPI)—An Argentine destroyer captured the Greek fishing vessel Atlantikos II as it made an unauthorized passage through a prohibited zone of the Argentine coast, the navy said today.

WASHINGTON POST
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Pg. D3

McGovern-Castro

HAVANA—Sen. George S. McGovern (D-S.D.) said he talked with Prime Minister Fidel Castro for an hour Tuesday night, when the Cuban leader came to a dinner given by Vice Premier Carlos Rafael Rodriguez.

McGovern said he and Castro agreed that "inevitably a change will come" in U.S.-Cuban relations. He added that Rodriguez told him there had been numerous assassination attempts against Castro and Cubans believe some were instigated by the CIA.

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WASHINGTON POST - 8 MAY 1975 Pg. C12

U.S., Soviets Recess SALT for Month

GENEVA, May 7 (UPI) — The United States and Soviet Union recessed the new round of strategic arms limitation talks today for one month so negotiators could return to their capitals for fresh instructions.

The break was agreed to after negotiations on a new treaty to limit nuclear weapons ran into snags involving the definition of strategic delivery systems and verification issues.

American spokesmen said that "Given the complexity of the issues being dealt with, the U.S. delegation feels reasonably satisfied with the progress that has been achieved."

A joint communique after an 80 minute meeting said: "the delegations agreed to a brief working recess in the talks from May 8 to June 1, 1975, to permit members of the delegations to return to their capitals for consultations. The talks will resume in Geneva on Monday, June 2."

Diplomatic sources in Washington said that Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko are expected to meet during the recess period to discuss SALT and other issues between the two countries.

Informed sources said problems arising in the talks were the main reason for a postponement in the summit visit to the United States by Soviet Communist Party General Secretary Leonid I. Brezhnev.

Brezhnev and President Ford had hoped to sign the projected treaty this summer but Brezhnev is now scheduled to go to America in autumn.

At their summit in Vladivostok last November, the two leaders directed the SALT negotiators to conclude a pact by the end of this year limiting each side to 2,400 strategic weapon delivery vehicles—missiles and bombers—1,320 of which may be missiles capped with multiple nuclear warheads.

But in trying to translate this basic directive into treaty language, chief U.S. negotiator U. Alexis Johnson and Vladimir S. Semenov of the Soviet Union were forced to take the recess.

One of the problems apparently concerns the new Soviet Bomber "Backfire-B."

The U.S. Defense Department said in a study that the bomber, if combined with a new aerial tanker aircraft, could reach targets throughout the United States.

Whether it is intended for such missions, however, depends on training patterns and tanker development, the study said.

The United States is understood to be demanding the inclusion of the Backfire B in the Soviet quota of 2,400 strategic delivery vehicles, while Moscow argues that the bomber is not a strategic weapon.

NEW YORK TIMES - 8 MAY 1975 Pg. 36

On U.S. Intelligence

By Hanson W. Baldwin

ROXBURY, Conn. — There is not much doubt that the K.G.B., the Soviet secret police, is gloating in Moscow.

In the last few months, exaggerated, inaccurate or irresponsible press accounts and self-serving politicians have greatly damaged United States intelligence organizations.

Some crippling restrictions already imposed are now being followed by extensive and numerous investigations into every facet of intelligence and counterintelligence, which may result in new and dangerous exposure of organizations, methods and personnel.

One of the most damaging and irresponsible leaks in United States intelligence history—the widely published accounts of the salvaging of the sunken Soviet submarine—already has occurred, with the media, in the name of freedom damaging the defense of freedom.

Nor is it encouraging that The New York Times allowed the columnist Jack Anderson to trigger its own actions. The consequent publication by The Times and all other media of a fantastic technological feat and an intelligence coup still incomplete could cause immense potential damage. One need only recall the broken codes of World War II, and, in recent history, the nasty surprises new Soviet weapons provided in Vietnam and in the 1973 Arab-Israeli war.

The current investigations, therefore —unless they are to be of great aid and comfort to those who would destroy the system of political freedom that makes such investigations possible—must concentrate on the constructive, not the destructive; on the future, not past.

They must avoid, at all costs, any more public exposure of secret intelligence methods, technology or personnel. No intelligence organization, even in a democracy, can be a completely open book if it is to be worth its cost.

But there are some key questions that require reassessment:

Are there, for instance, too many semi-independent intelligence agencies, each vying for power? Or does each have its important specialized role and does each act as check-rein on the others?

Should the director of Central Intelligence be given more power—to knock heads together, to merge, to allocate tasks? Or would this continue and expand an already dangerous centralization of power?

Intelligence and counterintelligence are twins. What, particularly, should be the relationships between the Central Intelligence Agency and Federal Bureau of Investigation, and who should do what in counterespionage and countersubversion?

It is easy to dismiss the Communist and radical and terrorist threats as bogeymen; yet the capability of Puerto Rican nationalists and radical Weathermen to bomb public places repeatedly without detection and the ability of so well-known a figure as Patty Hearst to remain hidden in an American underground speaks badly indeed for present and recent attempts of our intelligence services to combat espionage, subversion or even simple anarchy.

How does one define the thin line between freedom and license, security and repression, the "right to know" and irresponsibility? The political extremists and fanatics, in pursuit of revolution, believe that the ends literally justify *any* means.

United States intelligence agencies can never embrace such a concept, without ultimately aiding the hidden enemy. The adoption of such a policy —the ends justifying any means— would subvert our own institutions. Yet there is a nagging problem here; a threat exists and it cannot be met by mouthing shibboleths.

How should authority over our intelligence services at the top level be exercised? Intelligence is a tool of government; as such it can be turned by those who control it to good or evil purposes. Who should be the guardians of the good, who the monitors? The more people that get into the act the less secrecy. Congress is noted for its blabbermouth proclivities; if there is to be any secret intelligence it is clear that only a handful of Congressmen, picked for ability, judgment and discretion and devotion to the common good, can be kept fully informed.

Intelligence—facts, secrets, our own and the opposition's—means today and for the future, security—the difference between the life and death of a nation.

Granted the need, how then do you keep intelligence apolitical, freed from the ambivalent pressures of domestic politics, in a milieu such as Washington, which is highly partisan?

And, ultimately, the larger question —the unresolved residue of Watergate —how do you curb executive power without crippling it, and how do you operate a democratic government, or for that matter, any government, without secrecy?

Hanson W. Baldwin, now retired, was military affairs editor of The New York Times.

WASHINGTON POST - 8 MAY 1975 Pg. 14

Harriman Fears Detente Oversold

MOSCOW, May 7 (UPI)—W. Averell Harriman, wartime U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, said today that many Americans are cynical about detente because it has been oversold and they do not understand it.

"I'm very much opposed to using French words," Harriman told U.S. newsmen. "Most people think detente is something like rapproachment [reconciliation] or entente [understanding]. Dentente means a relaxation of tensions between nations and no one can be against that."

He said neither the Soviet Union nor the United States wants renewed warfare in the Middle East and predicted "we'll see a move to the Geneva conference before too long."

Harriman is President Ford's personal representative in the Soviet Union for the 30th anniversary of the end of World War II.

WASHINGTON POST
8 MAY 1975 Pg. 31

U.S. Citizens Urged To Depart Angola

LUANDA, Angola, April 7 (UPI)—The United States has joined several foreign consulates in advising its nationals to leave Angola until order is restored in the violence-wracked southwest African territory.

Five days of fierce gun battles between two rival black African parties last week left 500 dead and 700 wounded in Luanda, the capital of the oil-rich territory slated for independence from Portugal in November.

"Until the situation stabilizes, the consulate is advising that all dependents of American citizens leave," a U.S. official said.

The British and West German consulates have advised citizens of their countries to leave Angola, which is ruled by a coalition of three African parties assisted by the Portuguese.

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NEWS SUMMARY ... CONTINUED

Saigon with a massive display of firepower after its surrender, but many have since left the city, UPI said. Saigon was described as "in many ways still the wide-open city" it was during the war, with black markets still selling goods from American PXs and Communist troops among the buyers.

The bodies of two U.S. marines killed hours before the last Americans left South Vietnam apparently were left behind in a Saigon hospital, the Defense Department said. It blamed the confusion of the final evacuation and said the State Department was trying to arrange a return of the bodies.

Ford's request for money to pay for resettlement of 120,000 to 150,000 Indochina refugees was unanimously approved by a House subcommittee. The President has estimated that $507 million will be needed.

Ford assured the premiers of Britain, Australia and New Zealand at separate Washington meetings that the U.S. will honor its commitments around the world despite the collapse of its Vietnamese and Cambodian allies.

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Ex-Cambodian President Lon Nol was paid $1 million by the government he headed to leave the country last month, Saukham Khoy, who succeeded Lon Nol as president, asserted. Lon Nol left Cambodia two weeks before its surrender April 17. It was hoped that his departure might induce the Khmer Rouge to negotiate. Lon Nol now is in Hawaii, and Saukham Khoy is at a refugee center in Camp Pendleton, Calif.

The Pathet Lao and their rightist partners in the Laotian coalition government agreed to end recent clashes between their military forces north of Vientiane.

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Gulf Oil Corp. denied that $4 million in political contributions to a foreign nation involved Venezuela or Ecuador. In messages to the presidents of both nations, Gulf's chairman said it never bribed their officials to remain in business. Disclosure of the cash payments came in secret testimony by Gulf officials to the SEC.

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American Ship Building Co. officials generally acted in good faith and on advice of counsel in a 1970-72 program of employe bonuses to cover political contributions, a special review panel told the SEC. But it said George Steinbrenner, chairman, should reimburse American Ship for $42,325 of bonuses used to cover gifts to Nixon's campaign, and he agreed to do so.

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A $5 billion bill to provide state and local job-creating construction projects was approved by a House subcommittee and sent to the Public Works Committee, where action was expected today. The Senate has yet to act, and Congress would have to pass a separate appropriations bill, which could reduce the amount.

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A bill to regulate strip mining received final congressional approval from the House. The margin was slightly more than two-thirds, but it wasn't clear whether the House would vote to override a possible veto. Ford rejected a similar measure late last year on the ground that it would have cut coal production.

* * *

Certain military benefits for new recruits will end today because "America is no longer at war" in Vietnam, the President said. His order affects some death and disability aid. Separately, he will ask Congress to end, effective July 1, the GI bill for education for peacetime volunteers.

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Welfare rolls rose 1.3% in January, the largest monthly increase in more than three years. The government blamed rising unemployment. But initial claims for regular state unemployment benefits fell in the week ended April 26 to the lowest level since last November, the Labor Department said.

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Guidelines for union organizing of employes of nonprofit private hospitals and nursing homes were issued by the National Labor Relations Board. The rules indicate that collective-bargaining units should cover large groups, which would make organizing more difficult.

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Two West German ships trapped in the Suez Canal since the 1967 Arab-Israeli war were freed and steamed into Port Said, Egypt, under their own power. Thirteen remaining merchant ships also will be freed before the canal formally reopens June 5.

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Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Ind. won renomination with about 56% of the vote in the Democratic primary, practically assuring him of reelection to a third term in November. Inner-city precincts gave him a nearly four-to-one margin over his rival, black challenger.

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Tornado-damaged Omaha was declared a disaster area by President Ford, making it eligible for federal assistance. Nebraska Gov. James Exon estimated damage at more than $500 million. The dozen tornadoes that hit eastern Nebraska Tuesday night killed three persons and injured 130.

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Lt. Gen. Louis H. Wilson Jr. was confirmed in a Senate voice vote for a four-year term as Marine Corps commandant.

WASHINGTON POST
8 MAY 1975
Pg. 27

S. Korea's Park Expresses Faith In U.S. Backing

SEOUL, May 7 (AP) — Prdsident Chung Hee Park today expressed confidence in the American defense committment to South Korea — his first such statement since the fall of Phnom Penh and Saigon.

"We all know our ally the United States has repeatedly renewed its determination to stick to its defense commitments to Korea. I do not see any reason why we should doubt the ally's defense commitments," Park told a joint meeting of government and ruling party leaders called to discuss the impact of the Indochina Developments.

President Ford recently reaffirmed U.S. commitments to Korea.

WASHINGTON POST
8 MAY 1975

• The Tunisian foreign ministry announced that Soviet Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin will visit Tunisia May 15-17.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
8 MAY 1975 Pg. 12

Red force overruns Lao town

From Tribune Wire Services

PRO-COMMUNIST Pathet Lao troops overran a government town 75 miles north of the Laotian capital Tuesday and were immediately ordered by the coalition government to pull back.

The Pathet Lao troops, driving tanks and equipped with artillery, took the government town of Muong Kassy after 30 minutes of fighting, military sources said Wednesday.

The sources said the battle for the town was the latest in a series of clashes along Highway 13.

COMMUNIST AND royalist members of the coalition government signed a cease-fire memorandum ordering both sides to stop fighting. A government inspection team was sent to Muong Kassy to issue the orders on the spot.

Premier Souvanna Phouma had already ordered both sides to halt all fighting.

Despite the upsurge in violence, Souvanna said he does not believe North Viet Nam will pose a threat to Laos for another five years.

"IT WILL TAKE A few years or at least five years for both Viet Nams to attain the reunification and during that period there will be no threat to Laos from North Viet Nam," the premier said.

Meanwhile, an unknown assailant on a motorcycle threw a hand grenade into a car carrying former national assembly deputy Prince Boun Omna Champassak. The prince and two others were killed and three persons in the car seriously injured.

Elsewhere, a Pentagon spokesman said the United States removed more than 100 jet fighters, light bombers and helicopters from Thailand before suspending the operation at the request of the Thai government.

IN LONDON, a Viet Cong official said the U. S. has the responsibility of helping repair the war damage in South Viet Nam.

Mrs. Thi Binh, a member of the Provisional Revolutionary Government's delegation, said: "We welcome most favorably all help as long as no conditions are attached to it."

"We have in fact said that it is the responsibility of America to help repair the damage they caused in Viet Nam," she said. Binh spoke to reporters on her arrival for talks with British Foreign Office officials about possible recognition by London of the new Saigon regime.

WASHINGTON POST
8 MAY 1975 Pg. 15

2 Marines' Bodies Left In Vietnam

United Press International

The bodies of the last two U.S. Marines killed in Vietnam were left behind in the confused final day of the American evacuation from Saigon, the Pentagon said yesterday.

"Different people thought others had taken care of the matter," said Pentagon spokesman Joseph Laitin. "It was certainly not that the effort had not been made."

Left behind were the bodies of Cpl. Charles McMahon Jr. and Lance Cpl. Darwin L. Judge, killed April 28 while they stood guard duty at Tansonnhut airport near Saigon just before the final evacuation of Americans and South Vietnamese.

"The State Department is doing everything possible to arrange their return," Laitin said.

Two other Americans died later in Vietnam when their helicopter crashed during the evacuation.

Laitin said last Thursday the field reports indicated the bodies had been taken to the carrier Midway. But when the Navy Department contacted the Midway to make funeral arrangements, the ship reported it didn't have the bodies.

All the other ships in the task force were checked and the bodies were not found, Laitin said. He said both families were notified Monday after it was learned the bodies were not on any evacuation ships.

After the Marines were killed, their bodies were taken to the Seventh Day Adventist hospital not far from the airport, Laitin told reporters yesterday.

"There is every probability" that the bodies are still at the hospital, he said.

Laitin said Marines and embassy officials in Saigon called the hospital in the confusing final hours to arrange removal of the bodies and were told that U.S. officials had already removed them.

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WASHINGTON POST 8 MAY 1975, Pg 17

Moscow Fears for Detente

Victor Zorza

The Kremlin's greatest concern about the fall of South Vietnam is that it may turn the United States away from detente. While the Soviet press refrains from exploiting Washington's discomfiture over Vietnam, it is stressing the need for the continuation of detente. To stop now would endanger what has already been achieved, says Izvestia, quoting a recent speech by Brezhnev. Detente, he insisted, was a process that required "constant movement forward."

The reason for the Kremlin's concern is to be found in the need, as it is perceived in Washington, to assert the continuing world role of the United States. President Ford has made the point by stressing the military might of the United States when he commissioned the new aircraft carrier Nimitz. For Defense Secretary James Schlesinger, "this is a time, once again, for America to choose" whether to maintain its military strength.

For Moscow, this means that the United States may well insist on building up its military strength—a trend about which Soviet analysts have been showing increasing concern lately. The signs from Congress already suggest that the cuts in military appropriations are not going to be as large as they were expected to be. The suspension of the SALT negotiations in Geneva, while both delegations return home for consulations, is due partly to the hardening of the U.S. attitude. The U.S. has demanded certain changes in the terms of the accord as worked out in Vladivostok, and this in turn has caused the Soviet Union to ask for compensatory changes.

Washington made it clear to Moscow quite early in the year that failure to make sufficiently rapid progress in Geneva would lead to a postponement of Brezhnev's July summit visit to the United States until September. This gave Washington a strong card, because Brezhnev's political calendar, leading up to the 25th Party Congress next February with a series of major foreign policy successes, required a SALT agreement and a summit in early summer.

But now the card has been played, the summit has been postponed, and other delays in Brezhnev's calendar are also becoming apparent. Moscow wanted a European Communist Conference to precede the 35 nation East-West summit meeting in Helsinki. The first conference was to show how Brezhnev had managed to re-establish the Kremlin's hold over European Communist parties. The second meeting was to crown his effort, pursued so doggedly since 1966, to hold a European Security Conference. But now the Communist meeting has been postponed till after the Security Conference, which is itself in danger of delay because of continuing failure to resolve some of the remaining differences.

One reason for the various delays is that Brezhnev is perceived to be "a man in a hurry," with a deadline to meet, and is therefore being asked to make concessions. But if his own calendar really requires a series of foreign policy successes to culminate in his triumphal retirement at the Party Conference, and if these can be obtained only in exchange for concessions, Brezhnev is laying himself open to the same criticism that was directed at President Nixon in his last months in office.

Those Soviet leaders who do not like some aspects of his foreign policy are now in a position to argue that Brezhnev is pursuing personal rather than national interests. They would object that to make the concessions now being demanded of Brezhnev would leave them, after his retirement, to pay the real price for his present "triumphs."

When Brezhnev says, and Izvestia repeats, that detente requires constant progress, that to stop now would endanger past achievements, he may be speaking not only to the West but also to those who are dragging their feet in Moscow. He may be warning them that the national mood in the United States does not favor such progress, and that detente itself is therefore in danger.

The Soviet press repeatedly rejects the argument of Western critics of detente who claim that it has been of more benefit to the Soviet Union than to the West. At the same time, however, this is the very argument that is being used in the internal Soviet debate over detente. At one time, Soviet supporters of increased trade with the West painted the benefits to be derived from it in such glowing colors as to imply that it was worth making the concessions the West demanded, because the Soviet Union stood to gain so much. Now it is the disruption of the West's alliances that is presented as a major Soviet gain from detente.

"The whole point is," says Izvestia in another article, "that the further things progress, the more difficult it is to persuade NATO member countries to bring further sacrifices to the NATO altar." Britain, Holland, Belgium, and Denmark have "already" announced cuts in military spending. West Europe is increasingly unwilling to depend on the "dangerous zigzags" of a strategy laid down by the Pentagon. NATO is "powerless to eliminate discord" even among such formerly reliable members as Turkey and Greece. The NATO meeting at the end of this month—which is to be attended by President Ford—will have to acknowledge, Izvestia concludes, that it is "increasingly impossible to keep the Atlantic team in harness and under control."

No doubt there are many other, less controversial, benefits of detente, but Izvestia has blurted out one advantage that is more important to the Soviet Union than anything it could gain from the U.S. withdrawal from Indochina. The Soviet Union can hardly be blamed if this is one result of detente, and for wanting to preserve both detente and its result at a time of misgivings about past foreign policies occasioned in the U.S. by the fall of South Vietnam. But the unity of the West is not incompatible with detente—provided the will is there, and the political leadership to make that will effective.

1975, Victor Zorza

NEW YORK TIMES 8 MAY 1975

Leftovers of War

In the final disengagement from South Vietnam and Cambodia, billions of dollars in American-built air, ground and sea facilities and equipment were abandoned by our former allies and captured by their enemies. There was no scorched-earth policy in the last days of the war to exacerbate the bitterness and terror of the departure. The booty of war exceeds by far what was captured from the French in the last shootout at Dienbienphu.

Although the material wealth in arms and facilities left in Southeast Asia is beyond rescue (apart from the planes recovered in Thailand), there are still burdens that remains within American control. One such problem is the disposition of 2.3 million gallons of Orange herbicide, the deadly chemical that defoliated forests and destroyed ricefields and remains a risk to life.

The Air Force has stored these drums of Orange on Johnston Island, an American military base between Hawaii and the Pacific Trust Territory, and also in Gulfport, Miss. Its plan to incinerate the herbicide "downwind" of Micronesia has encountered protests from scientists, environmentalists and representatives of people of the trust area. The Air Force maintains that incineration aboard a specially equipped ship in the Pacific Ocean would have no human danger or environmental impact; the Trust Territory's Environmental Protection Board does not want to subject its people or environment to possible hazards.

A longer and costlier alternative is to try to reprocess the pesticide by destroying its harmful compounds. As a result of protests, the Air Force is now looking into this possibility. This would reconvert the Orange into accepted commercial form as a pesticide registered by the Environmental Protection Agency. It is a lesser evil. Against the background of death and destruction and disengagement from war, it would be ironic if another Pacific people were subjected to dangers long after the fall of Saigon.

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 8 MAY 1975

Soviet admiral tells where his fleet is headed

Red Star Rising at Sea, by Admiral of the Fleet Sergei G. Gorshkov. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press. Illustrated. $15.

By Burke Wilkinson

This extraordinarily important and interesting book consists of 11 essays on the Russian Navy from its origins under Peter the Great to the present. The essays first appeared in Morskoi Sbornik, the leading professional naval journal of the Soviet Union. Excellently translated by Theodore Neely, they are, each in turn, analyzed and put in context by leading American fleet officers.

The reasons that Admiral Gorshkov's writings are so important are several. He is his country's foremost naval strategist and writer

Books

on sea power — a latter-day Admiral Mahan. He is also the creator and the commander-in-chief of the Soviet Navy, and has held his six-star post for nearly 20 years.

Gorshkov's backward look at naval history makes one clear point that he hammers home: "All of the modern great powers are maritime states." From this flows the inevitable conclusion: to support insurgencies, to expand her own territory and ultimately to dominate the world, the USSR must have a Navy second to none.

Thanks to Gorshkov's persuasive eloquence and driving energy, the Soviets are well on their way to doing so. The Soviets now possess the largest surface fleet in the world and the largest number of nuclear-propelled submarines. Their ocean research and shipbuilding programs are first-class. With good seaborne logistics, the Soviet fleets are able to operate in every ocean in the world and indeed are doing so. Recent maneuvers, deploying over 220 ships, were the most elaborate and far-flung they have ever undertaken.

The running comment by some of the brightest U.S. naval officers is terse and shipshape throughout. Admiral James Calvert wryly compares Gorshkov's version of the influence of sea power to "an unbiased history of the War Between the States from the Southern point of view" and Admiral Joseph Wylie also refers to the "rather myopic and selective" use of history. Admiral Arleigh Burke advances the interesting view that Gorshkov's essays might be plea as well as policy, for he could be experiencing "some difficulty in obtaining approval of the Soviet hierarchy for the building, support and operation of the Navy he envisages."

Even if Gorshkov's creation has so far fallen short of his dream, we must recognize that it is an awesome one, and presented with absolute clarity. As Admiral Elmo Zumwalt points out, "Gorshkov's writings do not force us to do much reading between the lines." Party line and all, they give us invaluable glimpses into an adversary mind, glimpses that are like searchlights in the fog of hearsay and hope through which the U.S. mostly regards the Russians.

In Gorshkov's own words: "The flag of the Soviet Navy flies over the oceans of the world. Sooner or later the United States will have to understand it no longer has mastery of the seas."

Admiral Gorshkov's book deals mainly with the sweep of naval history and the broad lines of strategy. For those who want chapter and verse the revised edition of Norman Polmar's "Soviet Naval Power" (National Strategy Information Center, $5.95) complements it very well. Polmar, who is an editor of "Jane's Fighting Ships," reinforces his own brisk narrative of the Soviet Union's rise to sea power with appendices giving the dimensions and characteristics of her warships today. A useful chapter called "Alarmist versus Realist" discusses some of the limitations that the structure and geography of the U.S.S.R. impose.

Commander Wilkinson, USNR, served two tours of naval duty [1941-46 and 1950-52].

DAY LD A032

BY JAMES DOYLE

CAMP PENDLETON, CALIF. (UPI) -- LON NOL, CLINGING TO THE PRESIDENCY OF CAMBODIA WITH HIS MIND IMPAIRED BY A STROKE, WAS PAID A $1 MILLION BRIBE TO RESIGN IN A LAST FUTILE ATTEMPT BY FELLOW LEADERS TO ORGANIZE AN EFFECTIVE RESISTANCE TO THE KHMER ROUGE REBELS, ACCORDING TO NOL'S SUCCESSOR.

"WE PAID THE PRICE TO HAVE LON NOL LEAVE AND THE COUNTRY FELL ANYWAY," MOURNED SAUKHAM KHOY, LAST PRESIDENT OF NON-COMMUNIST CAMBODIA.

LON NOL RESIGNED TWO WEEKS BEFORE THE COMMUNISTS OCCUPIED PHNOM PENH APRIL 17 AND FLED WITH HIS FAMILY TO HAWAII, WHERE HE BOUGHT A $100,000 HOME. HE IS PROTECTED THERE BY THE U.S. SECRET SERVICE.

U.S. OFFICIALS SAID LON NOL DID NOT WANT TO COMMENT ON THE BRIBERY REPORT.

SAUKHAM KHOY, TALKING WITH REPORTERS OUTSIDE HIS QUONSET HUT AT THE REFUGEE CAMP HERE WEDNESDAY, SAID NOL HAD A STRONG GRASP ON CIVIL AND MILITARY POWER IN CAMBODIA BUT WAS "NOT ABLE TO RULE" EFFECTIVELY AS THE COMMUNISTS CLOSED IN, BECAUSE OF IMPAIRMENTS FROM A STROKE SUFFERED IN 1971.

"IT WAS DIFFICULT TO DO ANYTHING WITH HIM THERE," SAID SAUKHAM KHOY, 60, WHO BECAME ACTING PRESIDENT WHEN LON NOL FLED.

FORMER CAMBODIAN MINISTER OF CULTURE LONG BOTTA SAID LON NOL'S BRAIN WAS "NOT SO WELL BECAUSE OF THE STROKE."

"IF WE DIDN'T GIVE HIM ENOUGH MONEY HE WOULDN'T LEAVE THE COUNTRY," SAUKHAM KHOY SAID THROUGH AN INTERPRETER, HIS SON VANRUOEN, AN AGRICULTURAL ENGINEER. OTHERS IN THE GOVERNMENT DECIDED THE ONLY HOPE TO SAVE THE COUNTRY WAS TO PAY LON NOL ENOUGH TO GET OUT, HE SAID.

ASKED WHETHER HE REGARDED THE PAYMENT AS A BRIBE, SAUKHAM KHOY REPLIED "YES." HE DID NOT SPECIFY THE SOURCE OF THE FUNDS, OTHER THAN TO SAY THE CAMBODIAN GOVERNMENT MADE THE PAYMENT.

"WE THOUGHT WE HAD ENOUGH TIME TO STRENGTHEN THE (ANTI-COMMUNIST) OPPOSITION TO FIGHT AFTER HIS DEPARTURE," LONG BOTTA SAID. "WE DIDN'T KNOW THAT WE HAD NO TIME AND THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD FALL."

ALTHOUGH SAUKHAM KHOY SAID HE STILL BELIEVES THE PAYOFF WAS "A WISE DECISION" AT THE TIME, LONG BOTTA SAID HE REGRETTED IT WAS SO MUCH.

"I WOULD HAVE JUST GIVEN HIM A QUARTER OF A MILLION," THE FORMER CULTURE MINISTER SAID.

SAUKHAM KHOY SAID THAT ALTHOUGH THERE WERE RUMORS LON NOL ESCAPED WITH A TREASURE IN GOLD, HE AND OTHER FORMER CAMBODIAN OFFICIALS AT THE REFUGEE CAMP HERE HAVE NO SUCH FORTUNES.

"IF WE WERE RICH," HE SAID, "WE WOULD NOT LIVE IN THIS CAMP. WE WOULD GO LIVE IN A HOTEL OR MOTEL OR WE WOULD BUY SOME HOUSES."

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CURRENT NEWS

PART II - MAIN EDITION - 1130

THIS SUPPLEMENTS PART I-EARLY BIRD EDITION

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WEDNESDAY, MAY 7, 1975

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER 7 May 1975 Pg. 3

U. S. Halts Plane Pullout

From Inquirer Wire Services

BANGKOK, Thailand — The United States agreed yesterday to suspend its pullout of aircraft flown to Thailand by fleeing South Vietnamese, but the halt came after the most valuable planes had already been moved to a U. S. carrier at sea.

The planes are claimed by the United States and by the new Communist government of South Vietnam.

Thailand, eager to avoid offending the Communists in Indochina and unsure of the reliability of U. S. support in the wake of South Vietnam's fall, is caught in the middle.

North Vietnam denounced Thailand for acting "in complicity with the looters and said: "Washington has blatantly pillaged the South Vietnamese people's properties."

The most valuable and formidable of 125 American warplanes, which are claimed by the new Saigon government as spoils of war, were already aboard the U. S. carrier Midway in the Gulf of Thailand by the time Foreign Minister Chatichai Choonhavan announced the aggreement.

The Thai cabinet had earlier in the day decided to hold on to the aircraft.

Pentagon sources said the Midway had left after loading 27 A-37 light bombers and most, if not all, of 25 F-5 fighters that South Vietnamese air force pilots flew to the U. S. base at Utapao, Thailand, last week.

The A-37s and the F-5s are the most important of 122 aircraft that North Vietnam and the new Communist government in Saigon have demanded be returned. The rest are mostly utility planes, light observation craft and older transports.

So far nothing has been said about 48 helicopters that sources said were loaded on the Midway in recent days off Sattahip, a port in South Tailand. These helicopters also were flown to Tailand, mostly by South Vietnamese. They may include some choppers used by Cambodians to escape from their country before it fell.

It appeared that the Pentagon's official acknowledgment Monday of the movement of the planes out of Thailand might have put the Thai government in a position where it had no choice but to insist that the shipment be stop-

PULLOUT...Pg. 2

PHILADELPHIA INQ.
7 May 1975 Pg. 24D

War Foes Focus on Bomber

By SAUL FRIEDMAN
Inquirer Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Leading doves and political reformers are turning their attention from Watergate and the Vietnam war to a major new target—the B-1 bomber.

After two months of quiet planning, representatives of more than a dozen labor, religious and citizens organizations are scheduled today to begin a national lobbying campaign to shoot the bomber program down.

The administration had asked for nearly $1 billion next year for continued work on the huge weapons program.

The House Armed Services has approved the entire amount; the Senate Armed Services Committee cut it by $222 million yesterday, and the anti-bomber lobby is mobilizing an effort to cut it even more or kill it when it comes to a vote in both houses within a few weeks.

Broad Coalition

But the coming congressional confrontation will be more than a battle over a new Pentagon weapons system.

The Air Force, which has spent more than $2 billion in

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NEW YORK TIMES
7 May 1975 Pg. 1

HOUSE UNIT VOTES ARMS FUND SLASH

By JOHN W. FINNEY
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 6—The House Armed Services Committee cut 7 per cent today from the Pentagon's weapons procurement and research programs in approving a $26.5-billion military authorization bill for the fiscal year 1976 beginning July 1.

The normally pro-Pentagon House committee cut far more deeply into the defense programs than has been its practice in recent years, obviously hoping to ward off greater reductions by a House that has changed with an influx of young, liberal Democrats.

"We can read the election returns," explained Representative Samuel S. Stratton of upstate New York, a senior Democrat on the committee. "We know that we face a hostile House and decided that it was better to make reductions in the committee rather than have meat-ax cuts made on the House floor."

Whether the new House, where sentiments on defense issues have never been clearly tested, will be content with the reductions made by the committee was still unclear to senior members of the committee as well as to Pentagon officials, who are unusually worried this year about the fate of the defense budget in Congress.

A group of six junior members of the House committee, all of whom voted against the bill today, is prepared to offer on the House floor a "counter-budget" calling for a 14 per cent reduction.

Representative Bob Carr, Democrat of Michigan, a member of the group, acknowledged in

ARMS FUND...Pg. 3

NEW YORK TIMES
7 May 1975 Pg. 1

FORD ASKS NATION TO OPEN ITS DOORS TO THE REFUGEES

By DAVID BINDER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 6—President Ford, described today as "damned mad" about widespread opposition to resettlement of 130,000 Vietnamese and Cambodians in this country, appealed tonight to the nation to "welcome these people."

"I am primarily very upset because the United States has had a long tradition of opening

Transcript of news conference is printed on Page 5-F

its doors to immigrants of all countries," he said at his evening news conference.

"We're a country built by immigrants from all areas of the world, and we've always been a very humanitarian nation, and when I read or heard the comments made a few days ago I was disappointed and very upset," he said.

His remark about the opposition to refugee resettlement was reported by Republican congressional leaders and administration officials who attended a White House meeting on the refugee issue with the President this morning.

"It just burns me up, these great humanitarians," the President was quoted further by Senator Hugh Scott, the Senate minority leader from Pennsylvania. "They just want to turn their backs. We didn't do it to the Hungarians, we didn't do it to the Cubans and, damn it, we're not going to do it now."

Mr. Ford was referring to

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JAMES KILLINGBECK, CHIEF, CURRENT NEWS BRANCH, OX 78765 HELEN YOUNG, ASSISTANT CHIEF

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NEW YORK NEWS 7 May 1975 Pg. 27

Sees No Danger in Viet Planes

Air Force Secretary John L. McLucas said here yesterday that the hundreds of U.S. military planes left to the Communists in South Vietnam will pose no danger to other Asian countries because many were in need of repairs and there is a lack of spare parts for them. He spoke to reporters before addressing the Wings Club at a luncheon.

FORD..

Continued

the resettlement of 40,000 Hungarian and 675,000 Cuban refugees in this country since 1956, after the Hungarian revolt and the take-over of Cuba by Fidel Castro.

But as the President spoke, antagonism to the Vietnamese refugee relief program spread in the House and the Senate and mail to the White House and Congress was predominantly against assistance for the Vietnamese.

White House spokesman reported that 2,809 messages contained in telegrams and letters opposed aid, while 2,451 were for it.

Speaking to reporters this morning, Senator Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, the assistant majority leader, predicted that President Ford's request yesterday for $507-million for refugee transport and resettlement would be cut.

"There is no political support for it in this country," he said.

Senator Byrd said he thought the Administration ought to see to it that "undesirables" be screened out of the resettlement process, naming "barmaids, prostitutes and criminals" as excludable categories.

In a Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing with Secretary of State Kissinger, Senator Joseph Biden, Democrat of Delaware, charged that the Administration had not informed Congress adequately about the number of refugees to be brought here.

At a news conference, L. Dean Brown, director of the Interagency Task Force on Refugees, disclosed that Florida Congressmen, led by Representative Robert L. R. Sikes, a Democrat, had compelled the Administration to trim the size of its refugees reception center at Eglin Air Force Base from a capacity of 20,000 to one of 2,500.

"They let us know they didn't want very many," said Mr. Brown.

Democratic members of the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration, including the chairman, Representative Joshua Eilberg of Philadelphia, told Mr. Brown yesterday that Congress would not give the full amount of aid sought by President Ford.

The Administration is also contending with coldness in the international community toward its appeal for assistance in resettling the refugees.

Mr. Borwn said repeatedly at the news conference that he was "disappointed" with the response of countries counted as friends of the United States.

He cited Australia as an example saying, "They are taking less than a hundred."

Mr. Brown also spoke sardonically of the United Nations High Commission on Refugees, to which the United States made an appeal for Vietnam refugee assistance two weeks ago.

"They put out a communiqué today finally and got some people on Guam," he said. "They sent two people to Guam."

However, there were also some positive signs for the Administration on the refugee problem.

Senators Jacob K. Javits, the New York Republican, and Claiborne Pell, the Rhode Island Democrat, submitted a bill in the Senate to authorize "such sums as may be necessary" to pay for transport, resettlement, education and vocational training of Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees.

Senator Javits told a reporter that he expected the bill to be ready for a vote in the Senate early next week.

"Of course I am worried about the House," he added.

Foreign Relations Committee staff aides said Senators Biden and Dick Clark, Democrat of Iowa, were expected to reject the Administration refugee assistance request.

Organized labor was also urged to support the Administration's refugee assistance program in a statement issued by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations and backed by its president, George Meany.

The statement accused legislators opposed to the refugees of "meanness of spirit," adding, "It is a meanness in which the American labor movement will not participate."

"Yes, we have 9 per cent unemployment," Mr. Meany said at a news conference, but adding, "If this great country can't absorb another 30,000 to 40,000 and find them jobs, we're denying our own heritage. The group is a drop in the bucket.

Asked whether the American businessmen, contract employes and newsmen evacuated by United States military forces from Vietnam would be billed, Mr. Brown said the Defense Department intended to obtain reimbursement. Not all of the passengers in these categories could be identified, he added.

BALTIMORE SUN 7 May 1975 Pg. 2

McGovern visits Cuban showcases

Havana (AP)—Senator George McGovern (D., S.D.) spent yesterday visiting showcases of Cuba's educational and mental health programs, then plunged into "substantive talks" on United States-Cuban relations in a late night meeting.

Senator McGovern conferred with Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, deputy prime minister for foreign affairs and a key man in Cuba's international economic affairs. Senator McGovern said his meeting with Mr. Rodriguez should be a prelude to an anticipated private talk with Prime Minister Fidel Castro.

BOMBER...Continued

developing the plane, hopes that the B-1 will be the first of a new generation of big bombers and that it will restore manned aircraft — like the B-52 — as a top strategic weapon in the age of the nuclear missile.

On the other side, the new anti-bomber coalition includes groups active in Watergate, environmental battles and the anti-war movement, testing their political strength in a new campaign.

Furthermore, leaders of the coalition decided as a matter of strategy to attack the $95-billion defense budget requested by the administration by focusing on a single weapons system—the B-1.

They hope that their battle against the B-1 becomes as effective as the one several years ago which turned public opinion away from the anti-ballistic missile (ABM).

UAW Secedes

Among the organizations sponsoring the campaign against the B-1 are Comon Cause; the liberal Americans for Democratic Action; the conservative National Taxpayers Union; Environmental Action; the Federation of American Scientists, Clergy and Laity Concerned; and the American Friends Service Committee.

But this time the United Auto Workrs (UAW) has refused to join the coalition and is lobbying hard for the B-1 program, a union spokesman said, "because we believe it vital for the national security."

The spokesman denied that the UAW position had anything to do with the jobs at stake. However, many congressional offices have recieved appeals from UAW Region 6, on the West Coast, which have included material printed by Rockwell International, the prime contractor for the B-1.

The UAW-Rockwell appeals contend that the B-1 program, if it is approved by Congress, will support at least 192,000 jobs, more than half of them in California.

PULLOUT... Continued

ped.

Some Pentagon sources implied that the Thais might have been willing to allow the planes to go, even while voicing public protests for the benefit of the North Vietnamese and the new leadership in Saigon.

The United States contended that military aid laws gave it title to the planes, which carried about 3,700 South Vietnamese refugees to Thailand.

Meanwhile, in New York, Secretary of the Air Force John L. McLucas said the hundreds of U.S.-supplied aircraft left to the Communists as they took over South Vietnam would not pose a threat to other Southeast Asian nations.

McLucas told reporters before a luncheon meeting that the planes left in South Vietnam were "ineffectual at this stage and will be worse in six months."

He noted that many of the aircraft needed repairs before the government forces fled and that they lacked spare parts. It is generally regarded, he added, that a plane would have to be "cannibalized if it is left for six months in order to make it operative again."

The UAW support for the B-1 is an indication of the difficulties that peace and reform groups face in their transition to a campaign against defense spending.

The recession has made many members of Congress leery about ending a defense program and putting more men and women out of work.

The anti-bomber forces argue, however, that the B-1 program, if it is allowed to grow to the dimensions that the Air Sorce wants, will encourage wasteful spending and inflation and thus "deepen the economic crisis."

The B-1 fleet, including the 244 planes that the Air Force seeks, plus crews, tankers, weapons and other equipment aboard the bombers, would end up costing about $75 billion over a 10-year period, according to congressional estimates, or about half the cost of the Vietnam war. The planes alone would cost at least $20 billion.

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ARMS FUND... Cont'd

an interview that the proposed cut was "probably too ambitious" to beaccepted by the House. But the purpose of the proposed reduction, he explained, will be "to stimulate" a floor debate on the nation's global military role in the post-Vietnam period.

"It is apparent," he said, "that we cannot make any real savings in the defense budget until we have a re-examination of our military role in the world."

The authorization measure, passed 32 to 6 today by the committee, sets a spending ceiling. The appropriation of the funds will be in a separate bill.

The Administration's principal justification for the $94-billion total defense budget proposed for the coming fiscal year is that it is necessary to continue a 25-year-old policy of maintaining a military balance around the world.

Following the American withdrawal from Vietnam, there is a reluctance among some Congressional liberals to make deep cuts in the defense budget or to propose withdrawal of troops from abroad that could be interpreted as a weakening of the nation's global military posture.

Reassessment Is Aim

At the same time, some junior members of the committee, such as Representative Les Aspin, Democrat of Wisconsin, believe that certain weapons programs should be challenged and that the groundwork should be laid for a reassessment of th defense budget in feuture years.

According to Mr. Aspin's calculations, the committee bill would add $1.2-billion to the over-all budget approved al last week by the House in setting a ceiling of $70-billion on the deficit in the coming fiscal year. This fiscal consideration, in Mr. Aspin's opinion, may aid liberals in making further cuts on the floor, since both conservatives and liberals will be faced with a decision on whether they want to add to the deficit or to make reductions in nondefense programs to stay within the deficit d ceiling.

Mr. Aspin contended that some of the reductions made by the committee, which said it had cut $3.7-billion out of a pentagon request of $29.8-billion, were "phony." In particular, he pointed to a committee reduction of $1-billion in the Navy's shipbuilding program that he contended was just a deferral of payments that would have to be made in future years.

In its reductions, the committee included elimination of $1.3-billion that the Administration had asked for military aid to South Vietman—a request that became moot with the downfall of the American-supported Government in Saigon.

In its legislation, the committee authorizes weapons procurement and research and development programs, which represent about one-fourth of the total defense budget. The administration had requested $28.5-billion for weapons procurement and research, an amount the committee reduced to $26.5-billion.

Within the House committee, the junior members scored at least a partial victory in knocking out three of the six controversial and expansive early warning planes, known as AWACS, that the Aif Force wants to build.

The Senate Arm ed Services Committee, which is still working on the authorization bill, boted 8 to 7 today to eliminate $222-million in advance production funds that the Air Force had requested for its B-I strategic bomber program. The committee approved about $600-million to continue development of the supersonic bomber, designed as a successor to the B-52.

WASHINGTON STAR 6 May 1975 (7) Pg.12

Struggle For Power In Asia?

From News Services

Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore says that a rapid American military withdrawal from Asia could lead to a power struggle there between China and Russia.

"If this withdrawal takes place precipitately," Lee told the Commonwealth summit conference in Kingston, Jamaica, "it could give the Soviet Union a chance to move into areas China considers vital and so force China's hand."

On the next to last day of the 34-nation meeting, Lee offered his assessment of the Asian scene in the aftermath of the Indochina war.

LEE SAID it will take up to 18 months before the world will know "how swiftly China, Vietnam and the Soviet Union have moved to consolidate their respective positions to increase their own influence and diminish that of the other."

He described conditions that could cause problems for Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines and Indonesia, already troubled by Communist insurgents, but said they should do nothing to offend Peking.

Thailand must "make a U-turn" from its alliance with the United States, he said, and reach an accommodation with h China to prevent future power struggles. Lee said China is "the more benign of the Communist powers" and has no territorial ambitions on Thailand.

Lee's comments came as the United States and Thailand announced a 28 percent reduction in U.S. troops over the next two months in an effort to phase out the American military presence in that country.

IN CAMBODIA, a possible scenario for a Sino-Soviet power struggle could be shaping up.

According to U.S. intelligence reports, Soviet officials are furious that the new Communist government in Phnom Penh unceremoniously deported seven Russian diplomats along with other foreigners.

The reports said the "humiliating" expulsion of the Soviet officials was a calculated move by the Cambodian Communist Central Committee, not the whim of lower-echelon officials.

The Soviet Union had recognized the American-supported Lon Nol regime until its fall was certain, eventhough the Khmer Rouge insurgents were fighting President Lon Nol's troops with Russian as well as Chinese weapons.

"ONE OF THE reasons the Russians are so angry," said a U.S. Defense Department official, "is the fact that the Chinese are using Pochetong Airport (near Phnom Penh) at will. The Russians are not allowed to use the airport and neither are the French.

NEW YORK NEWS
7 May 1975 Pg.36

Keep Troops Out: Khmer

Bangkok, Thailand, May 6 (AP)—The Khmer Rouge radio in Phnom Penh said today that Cambodia would respect the national and territorial integrity of neighboring states but would not allow any foreign troops on its soil.

The broadcast said Cambodia would continue to seek good relations with countries of Asia, Africa, North America and South America. It did not mention establishment of diplomatic ties or requests for foreign aid.

It was not known whether the reference to "foreign troops" included the North Vietnamese, who have had units in eastern Cambodia since the early 1960s.

WASHINGTON STAR
6 May 1975 (7) P.12

Anderson To Leave Marine Post

By Vernon A. Guidry Jr.
Washington Star Staff Writer

The exodus of Marine Corps generals that traditionally follows the appointment of a new commandant has begun with internal notice from the "No. 2 Marine," Gen. Earl E. Anderson, that he is retiring.

Anderson, assistant commandant of the Marine Corps since 1972, was a top contender for the commandant's job. But Lt. Gen. Louis H. Wilson, commander of Fleet Marine Force Pacific, has been nominated by the White House to replace Gen. Robert E. Cushman Jr. as commandant for the next four years.

Cushman was also said to have begun the retirement process. The commandant, sources said at the time, recommended Anderson as his successor but Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger and Navy officials sent Wilson's name to the White House.

The appointment of a new commandant is usually followed by the resignation of high-ranking officers in what one Marine Corps observer has termed the Corps' "Rite of Purification."

The most widely cited exodus occurred in 1960 when Gen. David M. Shoup, then a junior two-star general, was named commandant. A number of Marine three-star generals promptly retired. Wilson is a senior three-star general.

A question of economics complicates the picture this time around for those who would, as one officer put it, "read the tea leaves" to determine who backed Anderson over Wilson.

Those officers who have not initiated the retirement process well before October will lose substantial retirement benefits due to changes in the way retirement pay is computed.

Anderson and Cushman are scheduled to retire July 1. Wilson is scheduled to appear before Congress today to begin the confirmation process.

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NEW YORK NEWS 7 May 1975 Pg. 6

We're Not Favoring Arabs, Henry Insists

Washington, May 6 (AP)—The United States definitely is not tilting toward the Arabs and there is an even-handedness in its treatment of Israel and the Arabs, Secretary of State Kissinger said today.

"The United States is attempting to achieve a just and durable peace in the Middle East," Kissinger told reporters after briefing the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for three hours.

Asked About Sale

"We are definitely not tilting toward the Arabs." Kissinger responded to a reporter's question. "It (the U.S.) is attempting to achieve peace according to its best judgment and in close cooperation with all parties."

Kissinger's comments came after he was asked about the sale of Hawk antimissile systems to Jordan.

Kissinger said the U.S. had sent military shipments to Israel during the past month "in fairly large quantities," and added that Jordan will not get delivery on the Hawk missiles for about a year or perhaps longer. Kissinger said the Hawk sale had been in negotiation for more than a year and just happened to be consumated at this time.

Earlier, U.S. officials, requesting anonymity, said Kissinger had given Jordan's a "verbal commitment" to help in its air defense while he was on a negotiating trip to the area more than a year ago. These officials said King Hussein completed details for delivery for "a small number of Hawks" and other equipment while on a private visit here last week.

Meetings Needed

Kissinger told reporters that President Ford wants to talk to President Nnwar Sadat of Egypt and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel before making any final decision on what role the United States will play in the Middle East in the future.

The secretary said his primary purpose in meeting with the committee was to seek congressional advice before a new U.S.-Middle East policy is formulated. He said he will follow the same procedure before the final decision on new U.S. policy in Asia.

WASHINGTON POST 7 May 1975 Pg. 44

Salyut Said to Fail Once More

By Thomas O'Toole
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Soviet Union appears to have abandoned its orbiting Salyut space station, which would be the fourth straight time the Soviets have launched one of their $500 million space laboratories without revisiting it.

Western space observers say that Salyut 4 appears to be drifting aimlessly in orbit, each day slipping a little more off course for Soviet cosmonauts to reach it. The 20-ton space laboratory was put into space late last year and visited only once, by the cosmonauts of Soyuz 17 last January.

Another sign that the Soviets have given up plans to revisit the Salyut space station is the departure of the Soviet tracking ships from their normal stations in the Gulf of Newfoundland and the Gulf of Guinea. The tracking ship Komarov has returned to its Black Sea port of Odessa and the Korolev to its port in the Baltic Sea.

In another development, the Soviet tracking vessel Gagarin left port in Cuba and steamed to 4 position in the Atlantic just north of Puerto Rico. This strongly suggests the Soviets will attempt a deep space flight to Venus, since the "window" for a Soviet flight to Venus opens up in the second week of June.

Soviet tracking ships position themselves near Puerto Rico to help relay radio signals to unmanned spacecraft that have left the Soviet Union and have been put into "parking" orbit around the earth before leaving for Mars or Venus. Presumably, the Gagarin put to sea a month ahead of time for practice sessions with ground controllers in the Soviet Union.

"There's a good chance that this time the Soviets will attempt to put a spacecraft into orbit around Venus," suggested Charles Sheldon, Soviet space expert of the Library of Congress. "It's just possible we'll see two Soviet flights to Venus next month, one an orbiter mission and the other a lander."

Sheldon pointed out that the Soviets did not launch a spacecraft toward Venus the last time earth was close enough to attempt a flight to the planet. Such opportunities occur every two years.

"The last time the Soviets skipped a window was to Mars more than two years ago," Sheldon said. "It turns out they skipped the window while they were upgrading their launch vehicles, sp they could be getting ready to carry a lot more weight to Venus with the bigger launch vehicle."

WASHINGTON POST 7 May 1975 Pg. 1

CIA Probers Keep Secrets From Staff

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Senate Committee on Intelligence Operations has decided to keep secrets even from its own investigators.

In a stringent display of security precautions, the committee has adopted a "need-to-know" rule similar to that employed by the Central Intelligence Agency, whose operations are under investigation.

In addition, the committee, headed by Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho), has decided to make secret automatically any documents or records that its staff receives, even if unclassified to begin with.

This practice would prohibit the committee staff from making public even the news stories they clip unless authorized to do so by a majority vote of the 10-member committee.

"The reason for this is the committee wants to retain control over the information to be released," Church declared in an interview. "It's not for the purpose of preventing publication, but to retain control."

Making public unclassified documents turned over by either the administration or by other sources, Church also maintained, might not give "the true picture" of the issues involved.

"The committee wants to keep things in context," he said.

Under the separate "need-to-know" rule, Senate committee staff lawyers and investigators assigned to dig into a particular aspect of the CIA's operations — or of any other intelligence agency under investigation — will be kept in the dark about other secret activities of the same agency.

They will be brought up to date about operations outside their limited spheres of investigation only if their superiors decide they need to know about them in carrying out their own inquiries.

Church has repeatedly promised as open and as public an investigation as possible without jeopardizing national security. He has also said on several occasions that the committee insists there be "no strings attached" to any of the documents it gets and is reserving the right to make them public eventually.

The committee's intentions, however, are apparently much more modest. Church acknowledged that White House aides expressed concern over the "no strings attached" pronouncements at a recent meeting. They were assured that senatorial restraint would be exercised in handling sensitive information.

"I explained to them that the committee reserved the right to decide, buy that before any information was made public, we would confer with them and secure from them a statement of their own position," Church said. He said he also explained that the committee does not intend at this point to make "raw documents" public.

"That seemed to satisfy them," he said.

The Senate inquiry, and a parallel but still-to-be started House investigation, were prompted by allegations and disclosures of illegal or improper domestic spying operations by the CIA.

The Senate committee's rules were held back from reporters for more than a month on the grounds that they were still being refined. They were finally adopted April 9, but first became available to the press only about three weeks after that.

Under the rules, all senators on the committee are to have access to all of its records, but even they may examine "sensitive or classified documents . . . only at secure reading facilities." Of the approximately 50-member staff, only staff director William G. Miller, chief counsel Fritz Schwarz and minority counsel Curtis R. Smothers are automatically entitled to all classified infomation that may be developed.

Sen. Church said it has also been agreed, at least in principle, that some top secret disclosures may be limited to him and to Sen. John G. Tower (R-Tex.), the ranking minority member, if their colleagues agree. "That has not arisen yet," Church said.

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EDITORIALS

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
7 MAY 1975

Mideast: back to basics

What ever happened to United Nations Resolutions 242 and 338 on the Middle East? Is it not time they again were brought back into play?

These, it should be recalled, were accepted by both the Arab states and Israel as providing the basis for negotiations to end their bitter conflict. After the October war in 1973 they became the terms of reference for convening the Geneva conference. Then, as Secretary of State Kissinger launched his step-by-step shuttle diplomacy to avoid the pitfalls of a conference no one wanted, less and less was heard about the resolutions.

Again there is talk of Geneva. But all parties, including the Russians, are gingerly dancing around the issue, obviously reluctant to return there without the groundwork laid first. President Ford, when he meets with the Egyptian and Israeli leaders next month, will probably explore whether a step-by-step approach can be resumed.

Whatever the outcome of those meetings, however, it seems clear there will have to be a link with Geneva to break the present deadlock — and the Security Council resolutions provide that link. A public reaffirmation of them — by the United States, the Soviet Union, the Arab states, and Israel — should form the framework within which negotiations, in whatever cast, are revived.

Taken together, they provide the elements of a final peace accord. Resolution 242, among other things, calls for Israel's withdrawal from territories it occupied in the 1967 conflict and the Arabs' acknowledgement of Israel's territorial integrity and the right to live "within secure and recognized boundaries." Resolution 338, sponsored by the Americans and Russians after the 1973 war, calls for implementation of 242 and for negotiations between the parties to achieve a peace settlement.

Semantically, the problem has always revolved around the diplomatically phrased term "withdrawal from territories." The Arabs say this means from "all" land seized by war. The Israelis argue that the phrase does not endorse or preclude the pre-1967 boundary and that its right to a "secure" frontier is recognized. Surely there is room for compromise here. Neither the U.S. nor the more moderate Arab leaders have ruled out minor territorial changes in the pre-1967 line to accord with the resolution.

In any event, the objectives of a final settlement ought to be restated to clear the air of apprehensions on both sides. Israel must withdraw from Arab lands and the Arabs, including the Palestinians, must recognize Israel's right to exist. That has to be the final goal; without it there can be no negotiation and the alternative will be war. If all sides say where they are headed, this should make the path of negotiation easier.

Meanwhile, it is plain that American pressures on Israel continue to grow. Mr. Ford's strategy to meet first with President Sadat is not lost in Jerusalem. Nor is Washington's decision to hold back deliveries to Israel of Lance missiles and other sophisticated equipment while agreeing to provide Jordan with *modern* Hawk missiles.

What the much-touted "reappraisal" of U.S. policy in the Mideast adds up to has yet to be disclosed. But there grows a determination in the White House to avert another Mideast war at all costs, to get a final peace settlement — and to do this even at the risk of domestic political consequences. Whether Washington is "tilting" toward the Arabs or toward Israel is not the relevant issue. It is tilting toward peace — and the survival of Israel.

Hence the importance of using every mechanism possible, including the UN resolutions, to keep sights focused on that overriding goal.

BALTIMORE SUN - 7 MAY 1975

Thailand's Post-Vietnam Dilemma

After the fiasco in Vietnam, the United States will have to be exceedingly discreet in its relations with friendly Asian governments. Under no circumstances should this country force an ally unwillingly to adopt hostile positions toward a Communist neighbor it has reason to fear. To do so would be to incur certain obligations (we shy away from the word "commitments") to protect the ally from adverse consequences that might ensue. Given the mood of the American people and the disillusionment that has swept through non-Communist Asia, such obligations would be lacking in credibility. Whatever the future U.S. course will be in Asia, especially if vital sea lanes are threatened, this is hardly the time to invite adventures that we or our allies or our adversaries might come to regret.

The need for U.S. circumspection is evident within the Bangkok government, which was sorely embarrassed when Thieu regime pilots escaping capture by the Communists flew 125 warplanes to U.S. bases in Thailand. The United States immediately claimed these planes, holding that Washington retained permanent title to them under terms of military aid agreements negotiated with the former authorities in Saigon. But the new revolutionary government of South Vietnam demanded the "return" of the aircraft, holding that they were the property of the Vietnamese people. In these circumstances, the Bangkok government characteristically tried to bend with the wind. First, it said it was up to the United States to decide what to do with the planes, then ordered a halt to their removal after Liberation Radio in Saigon pointedly said "it is time for Thailand to reconcile its policy toward Vietnam or Vietnam will reciprocate accordingly."

We would guess that when this matter is finally resolved the United States will retain possession of *most or all of the planes*, especially sophisticated A-37 light bombers and F-5 fighters. It is hard to conceive after all the humiliations of recent weeks that Washington would permit the Vietnamese Communists to augment the $5 billion military arsenal they captured with the collapse of Thieu regime forces. But in denying the enemy this war booty, the United States should try as best it can to reduce the awkwardness for Thailand. This may be accomplished by a gesture of accommodation or an effort to negotiate or even by preemptive action that will *permit Bangkok to mute Communist anger by blaming* the Americans.

Whatever the outcome, relations between Thailand and the United States are not going to be easy *in coming months*. Even before the Thieu regime fell, the government of Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj demanded the removal of the 23,000 U.S. troops and 345 U.S. planes in Thailand by next March, and the first phases of the withdrawal already are in the works. Whether the pullout will be total remains to be seen, but it is obvious on all sides that the U.S. bases in Thailand were there to wage war in Vietnam and Cambodia, not to put down indigenous insurgency. Now that the wars in Vietnam and Cambodia are over, it will be in the best interests of Bangkok and Washington to reduce the U.S. presence to the point where it no longer can be exploited by Communists, within or without the country.

NEW YORK NEWS - 7 MAY 1975

THERE ARE CHILLING SIGNS

—that the new Communist regime in Cambodia, less than three weeks in power, has begun a bloody reign of terror.

Robert Anderson, *spokesman for our* State Department, reported on Monday that word has filtered through of one incident in which 80 former government Army officers and their wives were executed.

Anderson said that the U.S. also has "reliable information" about Red orders to liquidate all "top political and military leaders" who had opposed them.

Even more ominous than Anderson's words is the silence of the several hundred foreigners —eight of them trained newsmen—who were trucked out of Cambodia several days ago. They have refused to talk about what they saw in Phnom Penh and en route to safety for fear of jeopardizing the safety of 250 other non-Cambodians awaiting repatriation.

It is becoming clear, however, that the Communists forcibly drove all residents of the capital and other major cities out of their homes and into the countryside. Their purpose in uprooting the populace in such savage, ruthless fashion can well be imagined.

The brutal outrages occurring in Cambodia are, we suspect, relatively mild in comparison with the slaughter that may take place in South Vietnam once the Communists have fully digested their conquest—and gotten rid of prying outsiders.

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WASHINGTON POST - 7 MAY 1975

Mr. Ford and the Mideast

IN DECIDING TO MEET with the leaders of Egypt and Israel next month, President Ford has done a good bit more than make a politically inspired move to distinguish his own foreign-policy profile from that of his harried Secretary of State. He has ensured that the United States will be actively engaged in a new effort to bring about a Mideast settlement. The President prudently refused at his press conference to make too much of his forthcoming meetings with President Sadat of Egypt and Prime Minister Rabin of Israel. But Mr. Ford would hardly choose to identify himself with this kind of difficult diplomatic project, at this pre-election time, if he were not prepared to push it through.

Though the administration says it has not completed its "reassessment" of Mideast policy, some aspects of it are evident. By announcing the review against a backdrop of complaints of Israeli inflexibility, by suspending consideration of Israel's new arms requests (while proceeding with a new missile defense system for Jordan), by treading water on Israel's large aid requests, and by a general manipulation of atmospherics, the administration has conveyed its conviction that Israeli policy must be a little more forthcoming. The altogether serious American rationale is that, by softening its position, Israel will be better able to get into a continuing diplomatic process with the Arabs, to its own large and later advantage. No one doubts, however, that a continuation of such American pressure will produce a raw collision between the administration on one side and Israel and its American supporters on the other.

Some cynics will argue, to be sure, that a public spat with Israel is merely a charade meant to distract the Arabs and buy time: time to normalize the status quo by reopening the Suez Canal, to work on alternate energy supplies, and so on. We trust this is not the case. A spat with Israel is not necessarily a bad thing but it must be a spat with a legitimate purpose. The only legitimate purpose we can imagine is to facilitate a settlement, not to circumvent one. The relevent question is, in our view, is the administration going about this in the right way?

The answer isn't yet clear. Dr. Kissinger, even while presiding over a pressure campaign against Israel, declares that the United States hopes for "new decisions" from "all of the parties," not just Israel. This would be a sensible approach. Israel was ready to give the particular slice of territory the Egyptians wanted in the last, failed negotiation—but only for a price in terms of permanent peaceful coexistence that Egypt is not yet ready to pay while large parts of its own and other Arab territory remain under Israeli occupation. We would hope that both countries would be ready to adjust their positions. This would seem to offer President Ford the best hope of actually helping the diplomatic process he is about to personally join. One further way to open up the potential for diplomatic maneuver would be to bring the Syrians more actively into the next round.

There is, however, a more basic consideration. Americans, Israelis and Egyptians all agree that the convening of the Geneva conference under joint Soviet and American auspices should not and does not preclude further step-by-step diplomacy managed by Americans alone. For the step-by-step effort to have a better prospect, however, the parties must have a clearer idea at least in principle of what final goal they are stepping *toward*. Otherwise, the parties may continue to fear they are stepping toward an abyss, as Israel felt in the last go-around; or they may fear that they are surrendering concessions prematurely, as Egypt felt.

The answer, as we see it, comes in two parts. One part is for the Israelis to say that they are negotiating for real and enduring peace, which means to them not only clear acceptance of their right to exist as a Jewish state but a new, open and constructive relationship with their neighbors. And the other part is for the Arabs to say that they are negotiating for the return of their territory, *all* of it, plus self-determination for the Palestinians within some newly established state, presumably on the West Bank of the Jordan River and in Gaza. The purpose of negotiation would then become to reach agreement on the terms and the timetable by which each of the parties proceeds to satisfy the other's final goals. If this is the general direction in which President Ford is now taking American policy, then all of the parties most directly concerned should support that effort and all of us should wish him well.

NEW YORK TIMES - 7 MAY 1975

Philippine Suppression

Of all the Asian strongman rulers with whom the United States has found itself strategically engaged, the Philippines' President Marcos is emerging as one of the most cynically skillful in defusing potential domestic opposition to his authoritarian rule.

For two months now a strange and obscure process of military justice has been played out against former Senator Benigno Aquino, leader of the opposition Liberal Party, an eloquent 42-year-old populist who was the favorite to defeat Mr. Marcos for the Presidency in 1973—if free elections had been held as scheduled. Instead Mr. Aquino was arrested within hours after President Marcos declared martial law in 1972, and he has been held in a military prison ever since.

Worn down by fruitless legal maneuverings against the regime, Senator Aquino seems to have given up his fight. Last Friday, after nearly a month of a self-imposed hunger strike, he received the last rites of the Roman Catholic Church and told his friends and supporters: "There comes a time in a man's life when he must prefer a meaningful death to a meaningless life."

President Marcos has so far been deaf to pleas for Senator Aquino's release and, if necessary, exile. The United States Government has made it clear that the Senator and his family would be welcome to this country if he were to be permitted to leave on his own.

Following the collapse of the American position in Indochina, President Marcos has been quick to raise public questions about the value of his alliance with the United States. The question could well be asked in reverse: Are America's long-term strategic interests really best served by placing military reliance in regimes which can overcome opposition only by brutally supressing it?

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PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER - 7 MAY 1975

Ford plea for refugees is in the American tradition

President Ford has asked Congress for $507 million to finance the evacuation and resettlement of refugees who fled the Communist takeovers of South Vietnam and Cambodia. The bill, referred to the House Judiciary Committee, does not contain the authorization for the use of American troops which resulted in a House rejection of his earlier request last week.

It is, thus, a "clean" bill to handle a dirty situation, and Congress should act promptly to provide.

That doesn't mean that Congress shouldn't ask questions or require some kind of screening program for the refugees. In the chaos of the evacuation, many deserving Vietnamese were left behind while others managed to buy their way out of the country — sometimes by paying off Americans.

There is no reason why, as a number of congressmen declared at a Judiciary subcommittee hearing on the subject, the refugees who can afford to pay their own way shouldn't be required to do so. Nor is there any reason why, as Rep. William Cohen of Maine said, American companies shouldn't reimburse the Defense Department for expenses of evacuating their American and Vietnamese personnel.

Still, it is disturbing to note the intensity of some of the opposition to the refugees. "In my opinion," declared Rep. Elizabeth Holzman of New York, "persons engaged in stealing American funds, who operated tiger cages and assassinated people, are undesirable." Well, one can hardly argue with that, but that is not the immediate issue.

The U. S. Government now estimates that about 140,000 refugees will seek asylum in this country. If their ranks include some few corrupt generals and avaricious businessmen who did well financially out of America's misguided attempt to do good, the vast majority of refugees are people who invested their lives in a cause, a lost cause, that they believed in and that the American government supported.

Most of them are decent people, as deserving of our aid and compassion as the Cubans who fled Castro in the Sixties and the Hungarians who fled Russian tanks in the Fifties, and to whom America opened its doors.

Yet the issue is not what kind of people they are but what kind of people we are. Like President Ford, we cannot believe that Americans will turn their backs on their own tradition of giving asylum to political refugees.

NEW YORK TIMES - 7 MAY 1975

Denying the Heritage

President Ford is right to be angry at the querulous and uncharitable responses of too many Americans t[illegible]he plight of the Vietnamese refugees. His request fo[illegible] million to assist the resettlement of approximately 150,000 Vietnamese over the next two years is a reasonable and honorable response to a tragic human situation. The United States can do nothing less.

Those citizens who are unemployed or who are financially pinched by inflation and high taxes have understandable fears that the nation is taking on yet another burden while their problems remain unsolved. But those fears are based on a misconception of the facts.

About 60 per cent of the refugees are children, while many others are elderly persons too old to enter the job market. Thus, only 30,000 of the Vietnamese refugees are heads of households and likely to seek work. Of these, many are doctors, lawyers and businessmen who can readily find places for themselves in American life and contribute needed skills.

* * *

What is harder than the fears of the unemployed to explain and justify is the antagonism of many members of Congress, including well-known liberals, and other leaders of opinion throughout the country. Several liberal members of the House of Representatives seem not to be aware that the war in Vietnam is over.

No nation is eager to welcome criminals, prostitutes, war profiteers, or practitioners of political torture. But it grossly distorts the whole nature of the refugee problem to focus on the tiny minority of persons who might deserve one or another of those terms of opprobrium, or to exaggerate their number. There is no possible way to make a just determination about the political or moral character of individual refugees.

If some Vietnamese engaged in dirty work, they usually had American advisers or were financed by American money. In some respects it was a dirty war. But now that it has all ended badly, it would be the ultimate disgrace for Americans to turn their backs and adopt a holier-than-thou attitude toward those Vietnamese who aligned themselves with the American war effort in their country.

It is likewise blatantly contradictory to play upon fears that the Vietnamese may take away jobs or end up on welfare rolls and at the same time argue that many of them are too rich to deserve help.

* * *

Most of these refugees have lost all of their worldly possessions. Many are separated from loved ones. All have lost their country, a lasting sorrow that perhaps only other migrants and exiles can fully comprehend. They deserve to be cherished as fellow human beings and given a welcoming hand as new Americans.

George Meany, president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., has pledged the labor movement's help—even in this time of economic adversity—to asist the Vietnamese refugees to find jobs. "The United States has an inescapable moral responsibility," Mr. Meany observed. "We are a nation of immigrants. Rejecting them would be denying our heritage and the history of this country as a haven for the oppressed."

No matter what one may have thought about the rights and wrongs of the Vietnam War, those words express the true American tradition.

NEW YORK TIMES - 7 MAY 1975

Rocket Launch Pads Found Near Jerusalem

From News Dispatches

Rough wooden launching ramps for Katyusha rockets have been found south of Jerusalem, Israeli officials reported yesterday. It was believed that the ramps had been used for firing rockets that landed harmlessly in Jerusalem near Parliament Saturday.

An unfired rocket was still in one of the launchers, pointed at Jerusalem, police said. It was later disarmed.

In Beirut, a spokesman for said. It was later disarmed.

In Beirut, a spokesman for the General Command of the Palestine Revolution said a guerrilla group planted explosives in Tel Aviv's industrial district Monday night, setting off fires that caused widespread damage. There were no reports of such fires from Israeli authorities.

An Israeli newspaper, Haaretz, said yesterday that Foreign Minister Yigal Allon has been invited to Romania for talks and it speculated that the visit could include discreet contacts with senior Soviet officials. Romania is the only Communist nation that has diplomatic relations with Israel.

The Times of London, meanwhile, said oil tankers have been alerted to reports of a plot by Arab skin divers to hijack a tanker in the Persian Gulf.

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AVIATION WEEK - 5 MAY 1975 (7)

The Apollo-Soyuz Experiment

The visit of the U. S. Apollo astronauts to the Soviet space launch complex at Tyuratam and their inspection of the actual Soyuz spacecraft with which they will dock has apparently cleared the last operational obstacle to the launch of the joint manned space venture now scheduled for mid-July.

This is a good time to take a look at what has been accomplished since the project was first proposed more than three years ago and to try to appraise its value.

Apollo-Soyuz was conceived in those grandiose days of Nixon-Kissinger live-television summitry. It is one of the few tangible survivors of that champagne bubble atmosphere of detente along with the badly tarnished SALT agreements. From the Soviet viewpoint, the goals were obvious. First, to tap into the mainstream of U. S. space technology, which had spurted a generation ahead with Apollo. Second, to blur the international image of U. S. superiority with at least the appearance of parity by flying a joint manned mission. Third, to develop the technical base for an international space rescue capability. This last objective was shared by the U. S. But other U. S. goals sought from this venture remain obscure and may be non-existent beyond the political parameters.

Apollo-Soyuz must be viewed strictly as an experiment. There is no new technology involved. Both countries will be exercising well-used spacecraft and conventional operational techniques. The experimental questions to be answered include:

- Can the U. S. and the USSR work together in a joint operational program in space?
- Can an international space rescue capability be developed that could be applied to future space stations and spacecraft?
- Can the experience developed through Apollo-Soyuz be expanded to future joint ventures in space?

Only the flight experience of the nine-day Apollo-Soyuz mission in July can provide the answers to these questions.

That the Apollo-Soyuz program has survived to the final countdown toward launch is due to the flexibility, stamina and ingenuity of the technical working groups of both countries. There has been a formidable series of technical, philosophical, linguistic and operational problems to solve. But it now appears that a practical operational duality has been hammered out that promises to meet the test of the nine-day mission in space this summer. In all fairness to the Soviets, it should be noted that their investment in the program has been substantial, and they have provided a very thorough and conservative training and test program in support. They built new Soyuz docking simulators complete with the U. S. adaptor module at Star City (see cover), a new mission control center at Kalinin in the Moscow suburbs and have flown two unmanned Cosmos space flights and a manned Soyuz 16 mission to test ASTP equipment and configurations. They have committed two boosters and two Soyuz spacecraft to the mission itself.

There have been some problems uncovered in the Soviet space program that raise as yet unanswered questions about booster reliability and spacecraft systems functions and still pose the fundamental problem of working openly with what is basically a closed system. The Soyuz is providing only a very limited capability—even less maneuvering margin than the Agena targets for Gemini rendezvous. The Apollo must do most of the work of the mission in space.

The interface of the open, public NASA space program with the tightly closed, compartmentalized Soviet space program is still a technical and philosophic irritant. The Soviets apparently still do not realize that many of the problems within their own space program stem from this irrational secrecy and compartmentalization that terribly inhibit a healthy technical flow. They made strenuous efforts to impose these standards on the Apollo-Soyuz mission. Some timid NASA officials initially were all too willing to accept these strictures along the Henry Kissinger philosophy that nothing must jeopardize agreement with the Soviets. However, there has been a healthy change in the U. S. position and Brig. Gen. Thomas Stafford, commander of the Apollo crew, has been a tower of strength in bringing the Soviets to face the realities of a joint program. His steadfast refusal to fly the mission until he and his crewmen were permitted to inspect the actual Soyuz spacecraft and launch facilities was a key battle in this philosophic struggle. Many Americans would feel much safer if men of Stafford's experience and determination were entrusted with SALT negotiations instead of the technically naive and mathematically modeled theorists now in the saddle.

All Americans who have followed the U. S. manned space flight program from its inception will also have some special good wishes for Deke Slayton as he makes his first space flight after 12 years of unstinting labor running the astronaut office after a foolish flight surgeon's decision grounded him unnecessarily. At a time when many foreigners are wondering about this country's current mood, the dogged determination of Deke Slayton should give them a better idea of American spirit than some of the bilge being pumped out of the Harvard Yard.

We think it has been partially worth the effort put into the Apollo-Soyuz project by this country to have a sizable group of NASA and industry technicians get some practical hard-headed experience in working with their Soviet counterparts and acquiring a realistic view of their technical capabilities and philosophy. We think the rest of the value of the mission will come from determining just how serious the Soviets are about future joint ventures in space and how much they really want to give and how much they want to take.

—Robert Hotz

NEW YORK TIMES - 7 MAY 1975

Army-I.B.M. Computer, Pact Criticized on Cost, Is Ended

WASHINGTON, May 6 (UPI) —The Army and the International Business Machines Corporation have agreed to end a contract under which computers were being purchased at a cost of $1-million a computer higher than open market prices, Representative Jack Brooks, Democrat of Texas, said today.

Mr. Brooks, chairman of the House Government Operations Committee, said the termination could save up to $10-million. He said that the Army had entered into the contract for nine computers for the Army Material Command at $2.7-million each when the computers could have been bought on the open market at about $1.7-million.

Mr. Brooks said that the Army would purchase six computers at $2.7-million from I.B.M. The remaining three will be purchased on the open market, and I.B.M. will forgo a penalty clause that would have raised the price of the computers already installed.

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FEATURES COLUMNISTS

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT 12 MAY 1975 (7)

WHEN IT COMES TO DEFENSE, IT'S "GI, DON'T GO HOME!"

It takes little more than a glance at Western Europe's military lineup to understand why U.S. remains the underpinning of Allied defense.

Reported from
WEST EUROPEAN CAPITALS

Thirty years after the end of World War II, potentially hostile armies still stand guard in a divided Europe.

And as on V-E Day—May 8, 1945—it is the U.S. and Russia that are the backbone of strategic military might from the Baltic Sea to the Mediterranean.

In Eastern Europe, Moscow has only limited confidence in the reliability of its Communist allies in any crunch.

In the West, armies are so sapped by poor morale and public indifference that they could not meet a Communist attack without Americans at their side.

Commanders of the 673,000 troops from seven Allied nations stationed in West Germany agree that it is the 180,000 U.S. soldiers who make up the heart of this force.

Rating the armies. A size-up of the six other Allied contingents holding the line from Denmark to Austria—based on a first-hand survey by correspondents of *U.S. News & World Report*—shows:

- France, which is virtually boycotting NATO, has spent so heavily on nuclear arms that its conventional military strength has critically deteriorated. French draftees regard themselves as underpaid, poorly housed and badly treated.
- Belgium sends its best troops to West Germany, but their effectiveness is hampered by poor equipment and the short term served by draftees.
- Britain's armed forces, while highly regarded for their proficiency and equipment, have been cut in size three times in 17 years. Also, British military energy is spent on keeping a lid on civil war in Northern Ireland.
- Canada's all-professional force, man for man, is rated the best in West Germany. But troops are few and lack the latest equipment.
- The Dutch, once acclaimed as among the best in NATO, now are graded worst in terms of appearance and dedication.
- Only West Germany gets high marks from everyone—including Americans—for the size, quality and training of its armed forces.

For a close-up look at combat readiness of Western European armies—

PARIS

France's contribution to the defense of Western Europe is ambiguous.

- There are 60,000 French troops based in West Germany, but they are not committed to NATO.
- France is a member of the Alliance but it has withdrawn from the integrated command structure. And there have been no NATO bases in France since U.S. forces were expelled by President Charles de Gaulle in 1966.

Discontent among French. Poor troop morale, an uneven weapons system and political infighting also combine to make the French Army the most troubled major force on the Continent.

Dissension among French soldiers reached a peak early this year when about 150 of them marched in protest through the streets of Karlsruhe in West Germany. Their main grievance: French draftees were paid only about $17 a month, while German troops received four times as much. French pay has since been increased to $50 a month, and men now receive transportation-paid leaves to visit their homes once a month.

Recruits also complain that they are forced to live in old, run-down barracks; their reading material is censored; and they are harassed by military police.

Says one close observer:

"The French are years out of date. They treat their soldiers as children. Their noncommissioned officers are less educated than the soldiers under them. Their barracks have been neglected for 30 years."

Discontent is by no means confined to lower ranks. Some French officers find it hard to adjust to a peacetime army after 23 years of constant fighting that ended with withdrawal from Algeria in 1962. Many senior commanders still feel that they were betrayed, not just in Algeria but in Indo-China as well.

But another military expert notes: "In spite of low morale in the French Army, the officers do their jobs well and are

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WALL STREET JOURNAL
7 MAY 1975

Weapons Budget Cut $3.7 Billion By House Panel

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON—The House Armed Services Committee voted, 33 to six, to cut $3.7 billion from the Defense Department's weapons budget. But more than a third of the eliminated funds had been destined for South Vietnam.

The committee approved a total of $26.1 billion for the fiscal year that begins July 1 and for the three months ending Sept. 30, 1976, a transition period required by Congress' decision to change the start of the government's fiscal year to Oct. 1. The Pentagon had requested $29.8 billion for the 15 months.

The authorization bill approved yesterday and similar legislation before the Senate Armed Services Committee set spending ceilings. Actual appropriations, which will be made separately, could be lower.

What is more, some liberal Democrats who ran for Congress last year promising to cut defense outlays will try to make deeper cuts when the authorizing bill comes to the House floor later this month. But high unemployment could dampen the zeal of some liberals for reducing weapons procurement. And some liberals are reluctant, following the fall of South Vietnam, to do anything that might make the U.S. look militarily weak.

The collapse of South Vietnam's non-Communist government was responsibile for the largest single cut made by the Armed Services Committee. The panel eliminated $1.3 billion for arms aid to that country.

The committee reduced the Navy's shipbuilding budget about $1 billion, money the Navy says it will need in later fiscal years to make up for inflation. But the committee said it is too early to tell how bad inflation will be when those payments are made.

The B1 strategic bomber, which has strong opposition in the Senate committee, received full support from the House panel. Rockwell International Corp. is doing the research and development work.

Yesterday, the Senate Armed Services Committee cut $222 million in production-related money from the Pentagon's request for the B1 bomber for fiscal 1976 and the

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DEFENSE -- CONTINUED

able to train and discipline draftees. If you walk around a French camp, you get a salute. Around a U.S. camp, you may—or you may not."

Equipment and position. What most worries many Allied officers about the French Army is not its men but its equipment and tactical disposition.

France spends only about 2.9 per cent of its gross national product for defense. Top priority goes to nuclear submarines and developing new aircraft and weapons for export.

"The latest models of French Army equipment are very good," reports a military source.

"I mean everything—from nuclear submarines and combat aircraft to smaller vehicles," he adds. "But France has become the world's No. 3 arms exporter. As a result, the latest models are not in the hands of French troops."

One obstacle is that the proud French still resist adopting arms of other nations. A joint French-German tank project broke down when the Germans decided to arm their version of the vehicle with a British cannon that they considered superior.

About two thirds of the 60,000 French troops stationed in Germany are draftees, who serve terms of only 12 months. This forces a rapid turnover of personnel not long after training cycles reach their end.

What's more, many military commanders feel that French forces are in the wrong place—the bulk of them in two mechanized divisions assigned to Southwestern Germany hard against the French border. Critics contend they should be shifted close to the Czechoslovak border, where trouble is more likely to come.

As one strategist sees it:

"Logistically speaking, the French Army is prepared only to fight a 15-day war—a kind of 15-day Maginot Line. The U.S. has been criticized for exactly the opposite concept: building up supplies in Europe as though they are about to fight World War II all over again."

Technically, France is not part of the Alliance military network at all. But the efforts by the late President de Gaulle to pull out of the Alliance completely never really filtered down to troop level. The French continue to co-operate with NATO units in planning and occasionally on maneuvers.

"The French now have fewer complexes about sharing information and contingency plans," insists a NATO officer. "Troops on the ground have always got on well. If the balloon goes up, the French will fight well alongside us."

Like their French counterparts, troops in the Belgian Army complain that they are underpaid. Nearly half of the 65,000 soldiers belong to a union, which is pushing demands that the Army be paid as well as the national police force.

What really bothers NATO leaders is that starting this year the tour of duty for Belgian conscripts serving in Germany is being cut from 12 to 10 months, and this will in time undermine performance. One expert's judgment:

"Their equipment is mixed and really not very good. But the Belgians are loyal to the Alliance, and they do their job. The difference between the Belgians and the Dutch in NATO is that the Belgians do more and talk less. The Dutch talk more and do less."

LONDON

British troops in NATO are rated as good, but officials worry because they are part of a military force that is small and growing steadily smaller.

Under heavy budgetary pressures, Britain has cut back its armed forces three times in the last 17 years. The latest reduction, announced in December, 1974, will knock 12,000 from the Army's strength of 178,000 men and women.

Defense spending—now around 8.7 billion dollars a year, or 5.5 per cent of gross national product—is to be trimmed by 11.2 billion over the next 10 years until it reaches 4.5 per cent of projected national output.

One important result: The four brigades held ready in England to reinforce the 55,000 British troops in West Germany will be slashed to a single brigade.

Comments an American military aide:

"Britain's forces now are down to such a low level, it would be very difficult to cut further without hurting the Alliance. Essentially, the recent cuts amount to a focusing of British forces on a single mission—NATO."

That mission is a key one. The British Army of the Rhine (BAOR) is stationed astride the strategic West German plain, facing some of the Soviet Union's best attack troops.

Small, efficient army. All the British soldiers are volunteers, and they draw nearly unanimous praise from Allied officers. Some observers criticize their lack of field training and argue that British tactics are too inflexible. But the BAOR is rated a very efficient unit.

The endless violence in Northern Ireland is regarded as both a help and a handicap. About 14,000 troops are tied down in Ulster. They shuttle back and forth constantly to Germany. So, at any given time, the BAOR is likely to be short two or three battalions when conditions become tense in Ireland.

Some authorities argue that the Northern Ireland experience helps sharpen British troops—gives recruits experience under fire and provides officers a chance to improve tactics.

Another view from a German officer who asked: "What good is street fighting as training for the defense of Europe?"

But aside from concern over reductions in strength, few would argue with the British officer who said:

"It's a far better army than Britain has ever had before in peacetime—more professional, more humane, better motivated and better trained. This is a force with a single aim—to become the best bloody army that ever existed, whatever its size."

For the present, though, the honor of being the best troops in Western Europe belongs hands down to the Canadians. But they are few in number. Said Gen. Michael Davison, commander of the American Seventh Army and head of the Central Army Group that includes contingents from the U.S., West Germany and Canada:

"The Canadians are highly professional and very skillful. Technically, they're the best—real pros. I'm struck also by their age. They must, on the average, be five to seven years older than the rest of us in the enlisted ranks."

Comparatively high pay is one incentive for career Canadian soldiers. A bachelor corporal living in barracks gets almost $700 a month—equal to the combined pay of 14 French draftees.

The Canadian Army spends so much on pay, in fact, that some Alliance officials believe modernization of weapons

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BUDGET -- CONTINUED

three following months. Last month, the research and development subcommittee had voted to cut $388.3 million. Yesterday morning the full committee went along with this recommendation but in the afternoon decided on the more modest reduction.

The result of the Senate committee action, if sustained throughout the legislative process, will be to slow the Air Force's attempts to move the controversial bomber into action. The delay could also push up the price tag on the bomber, currently estimated at $345 million a plane.

The House committee cut $45 million from the budget for development of the Trident missile system, a project of Lockheed Aircraft Corp.

It also rejected a Pentagon request for $300 million to replace weapons taken out of inventory for other countries and for authority to stockpile weapons to sell or give to allies in dire need. In the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, the U.S. stripped weapons from its own stocks for the Israelis. The Pentagon wants to prevent a repetition.

The panel reduced the authorization for the AWACS warning plane $260 million, which will limit the Air Force's procurement to three planes instead of six. Boeing Co. is developing this plane, designed mainly to control fighter planes over Europe.

The committee lopped $186 million from the budget for the Advanced Airbourne command post, limiting it to research and development. This flying command post for U.S. officials in a nuclear crisis is another Boeing project.

Also eliminated was $21.8 million for advance procurement of the Navy's A7E aircraft, made by LTV Corp.; $27.5 million to modify the Navy's P3C and sea aircraft made by Lockheed to carry the Harpoon missile and $22.9 million for the Air Force's Sidewinder missile, made by Raytheon Co.

But it gave the Navy $14.3 million that it didn't request for A6E aircraft, made by Grumman Corp., and it gave the National Guard $115 million it didn't request to buy A7D planes made by LTV.

The committee agreed to the civilian and military manpower ceilings requested by the Pentagon. It also voted to place a 5% ceiling on pay increases for the uniformed services between Jan. 1, 1975, and June 30, 1976, provided that an identical pay "cap" is placed on civilian federal employes and provided that the Pentagon suspends a proposed increase in commissary charges. This would mean a net saving of about $828 million in the Pentagon budget.

The bill approved yesterday doesn't contain money for payrolls, small-weapons procurement, military construction and other items, which will swell total defense spending in the coming year to about $90 billion.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 7 May 1975

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT 12 MAY 1975 (7)

WITH SOUTH VIETNAM'S FALL— IS THAILAND THE NEXT DOMINO?

DEFENSE -- CONTINUED

and equipment is being neglected.

Five years ago, the Ottawa Government cut its armed forces in West Germany in half. Still on hand: Some 5,000 men—2,800 of them in a crack mechanized battle group. Because of the high quality of the manpower involved, the impact of that reduction is still being felt in NATO today.

BONN

Far and away the largest—and many say the most powerful—military contingent committed to NATO is that of West Germany.

Its Army of 340,000 men forms the cutting edge of a ground-forces complex that totals 673,000. The Bonn Government pours proportionally more into material and equipment than any other Allied country—nearly 4 billion dollars out of a defense budget of 14 billion.

"Right now," said a German officer, "we are every bit as good as the Americans—perhaps a bit better because we don't have as serious a drug problem."

General Davison, the American commander, declares: "The best answer is to say that I have as much confidence in the performance of German troops as I have in ours."

About one half the German Army is composed of draftees, who serve 15 months. Although it is easy under German law to gain exemption as a conscientious objector, the number of youths taking that route is starting to decline.

Support for Germans. Professionals in other armies rate some German equipment—notably the Leopard tank and the Marder (Marten) armored personnel carrier—as better than their own.

Asserted General Davison:

"The Marder is one of the best in the world—better than anything we have. The Leopard II is going to be a truly outstanding tank. We ought to look at it seriously for our own use."

Behind the German military effort is broad public support for maintaining a strong defense system.

"Our people take military necessity seriously," explained a Defense Ministry official. "That's because of geography. We would be the first to be attacked."

Public resistance forced officials to abandon a brief experiment in permissiveness that for a time threatened to eat into the Army's efficiency. The last straw for traditionalists came when the Army bought tens of thousands of hair nets for soldiers who refused to visit a barber. Now, stiff regulations are being enforced once again.

Political pressure also recently forced the economy-minded Bonn Government to shelve plans for cutting its active forces by 30,000 men. Down the road, Germans see a delicate problem arising as their military power increases while their neighbors get weaker.

"Comparatively, we are getting too strong inside the Alliance, confided one German expert. "It's the old story of the Germans' having to be strong enough to cope with the Russians without worrying the Luxembourgers."

Summing up: NATO forces in Central Europe—with the single exception of West Germany—today show glaring soft spots in manpower, weapons and commitment. Furthermore, demands are heard in some Allied countries for even further reductions in military strength.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies keep upgrading the power of their armies, which already far outnumber Western Europe's defenders.

It is this growing disparity that leads Allied strategists to one conclusion:

Western Europe's defenses depend on a strong American Army almost as much today as when the first GI's were made part of the Atlantic Alliance.

BANGKOK

The "domino theory"—sworn to by many people, scorned by others—will soon be tested here in Thailand.

Two dominoes, South Vietnam and Cambodia, have already fallen to the Communists. A third domino, Laos, is for all practical purposes controlled by Communists in Hanoi.

Now Thailand, once a staunch ally of the U.S. and a base for American air attacks on North Vietnam, is beginning to feel the heat as its neighbors collapse.

In faraway Washington, also, concern is felt about the domino impact of the Communist successes in Indo-China on Thailand and other Asian nations. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger underlined this concern at a news conference on April 29, saying:

"There is no question that the outcome in Indo-China will have consequences not only in Asia but in many other parts of the world.

"To deny these consequences is to miss the possibility of dealing with them. So, I believe there will be consequences. But I am confident that we can deal with them, and we are determined to manage and to progress along the road toward a permanent peace that we have sought, but there is no question that there will be consequences."

Thailand is already afflicted by Communist-run insurgencies in three separate areas—the Northeast, the North and in the Southern tip, along the border with Malaysia. China and, to a much greater extent, North Vietnam have given political support, some weapons and even training to the Thai rebels.

Once Hanoi has tightened its grip on the Indo-China peninsula, the flow of supplies across the Laotian and Cambo-

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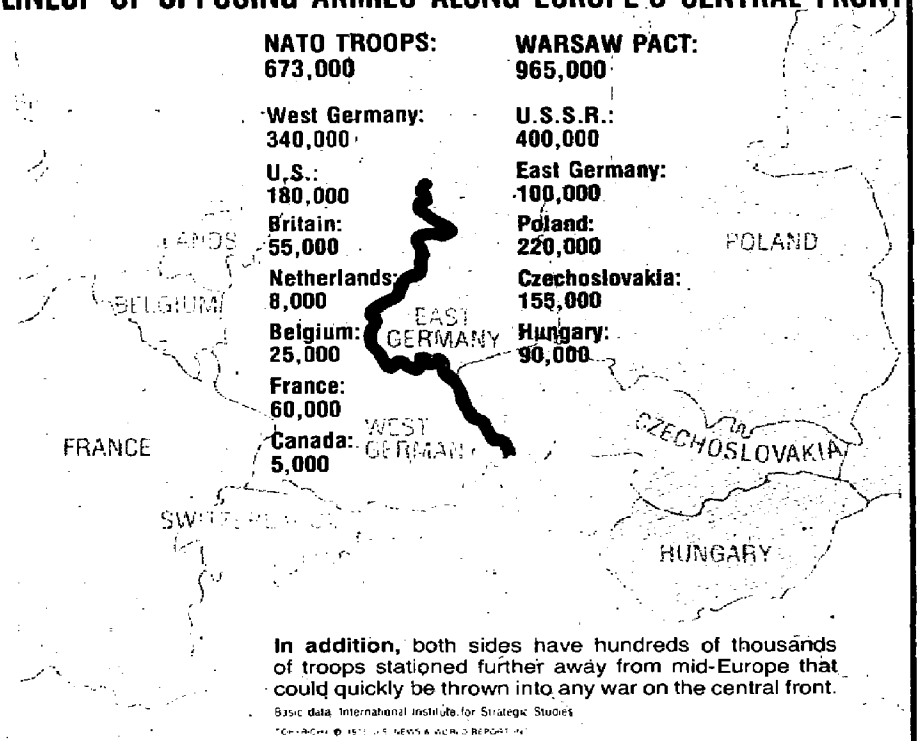
LINEUP OF OPPOSING ARMIES ALONG EUROPE'S CENTRAL FRONT



In addition, both sides have hundreds of thousands of troops stationed further away from mid-Europe that could quickly be thrown into any war on the central front.

Basic data: International Institute for Strategic Studies

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THAILAND -- CONTINUED

dian borders is expected to increase. Some experts believe that recruiting inside Thailand will be made vastly easier by the Communist successes in Cambodia and South Vietnam.

Outlasting a welcome. Hoping to ease the anticipated pressure, Thailand already is moving to establish better relations with Hanoi and Peking. The Bangkok Government announced on May 1 that an "enormous withdrawal" of U.S. troops and planes would soon start. Up to 8,000 of the 25,000 U.S. servicemen there are expected to leave.

Hanoi earlier made it clear that it has little interest in a working relationship with Bangkok as long as U.S. forces are still on Thai soil.

Some diplomats believe it is already too late for Bangkok to mend its fences with North Vietnam. Says one:

"After all, Thailand provided bases from which Americans attacked the North Vietnamese. Thailand sent 'volunteers' to fight in Laos, at least 17,000 of them, and the 'Black Leopard' Division to fight Communists in South Vietnam. Hanoi isn't going to forget that easily or soon.

"Also, the Vietnamese Communists are somewhat to the left of the Chinese, and they will feel it important to throw their weight behind many revolutionary forces in Southeast Asia. Thailand is a made-to-order target for intensified insurgency—but without a direct invasion."

Some Thai officials hope that Peking, once it has diplomatic relations with Bangkok, will curb North Vietnam's expansionary designs. Other officials are not at all sure of that. Peking has diplomatic links with Burma and Malaysia—but radio stations in Southwest China continue to support "liberation movements" in both countries.

A restricted rebellion. Communist insurgency in this country is relatively new—dating back only to the early 1960s. There has never been any full-scale uprising; fighting has been largely confined to light skirmishes between insurgent bands and police or local militia.

The bulk of Thailand's 120,000-man Army has never been put into the struggle, although units are based in the disaffected areas. Nevertheless, one rebel attack on an armored cavalry post in the North recently cost the lives of 17 Thai soldiers. Another firefight, in the Northeast on April 24, resulted in the death of 12 people, including an Army colonel and a major.

The three areas of insurgency:

• **The North.** In the rugged terrain along the border with Laos, Meo and other hill tribesmen have been in revolt since 1967. Although most of the weapons and other supplies come from Laos, Thai officials fear that China may send in supplies through Northeast Burma.

• **The South.** Poor plantation laborers and tin-mine workers form the backbone of the rebel organization. Some support is provided by ethnic Chinese Communists who are still dug in in jungle hideouts in neighboring Malaysia. Thai officials expect new weapons to be smuggled in by junk from Communist-controlled Cambodia.

• **The Northeast.** This is by far the most dangerous of the insurrections. The rebels are Thai citizens but ethnic Laotians, most of them with relatives in the Communist Pathet Lao—a partner in the coalition Government in Vientiane. Some of the Thai rebels have been trained in Hanoi, and supplies move easily across the Mekong River into Thailand. Laos is the "secure border area" that facilitates revolution in a neighboring country.

All told, the insurgents probably do not number more than 8,000 men under arms—3,000 in the North, 3,000 in the Northeast and 2,000 in the South, plus some Communist-led Moslem separatists in the deep South. The rebels probably can count on 10 times that number for support in nonmilitary activities.

In theory, the insurgents are all led by the illegal Communist Party of Thailand, but the propaganda and the ideology come from the "Voice of the People of Thailand," a radio station based at Kunming, China. A training camp called "Hoa Binh"—which, ironically, means peace—is in North Vietnam.

Attracting recruits. Recruiting, particularly in the North and Northeast, is relatively easy for trained Communist cadres. The people are poor and uneducated, and have long been neglected by the Government in Bangkok. And as the flow of weapons from North Vietnam increases, youths in the villages find the romance of taking up guns irresistible.

The Government, on the other hand, has difficulty recruiting officials to work in villages where living conditions are primitive, dialects are hard to learn and chances for promotion are few.

As a result, dealing with the rebels is left largely in the hands of the Thai military, which is in woeful shape. A senior officer explained:

"We are not in a position to defend ourselves. If the Khmer Rouge had kept going after taking Pnompenh, or if the Pathet Lao had crossed the Mekong River, they could have walked almost unhindered to Bangkok."

The Thai Armed Forces are also divided on the nature of the danger. One group wants internal security to be given top priority; another group insists the military should be geared up to resist aggression from outside. A Thai general comments: "Why worry about being invaded by a large army when we can't even subdue the guerrillas operating inside the country?"

One thing stressed by officials in Bangkok: Thailand is not going to go Communist except at gunpoint. The question, then, is whether the country needs and can afford a bigger, more-effective military force.

Since 1965, the United States has given this country more than 600 million dollars' worth of military equipment, plus additional millions in "funded assets"—an arrangement by which the U.S. pays part of the cost of a frigate, for example, and the Thais pay the remainder. The U.S also outfitted 20,000 Thai troops who served in Vietnam and 17,000 who fought in Laos.

Furthermore, the United States provided employment and profits when it began using Thai air bases for the wars in Indo-China. A deepwater port with huge warehouses was built at Sattahip, along with an air base for B-52 bombers at nearby U Tapao.

Now U.S. protection is to be withdrawn within a year, unless Thai leaders change their minds, and the flow of military support seems certain to dry up. There is a degree of bitterness in Bangkok directed at the U.S. over its failure to do more in the last days of Vietnam and Cambodia. Deputy Prime Minister and Defense Minister Pramarn Adireksarn, for example, says the U.S. "can't be trusted." And referring to congressional restraints, Pramarn declared, "The U.S cannot do what it promises, even if it wants to."

American military commanders believe that a U.S. pullout from Thailand is inevitable, no matter what the Thais finally decide they want. Nevertheless, suggestions are heard that a compromise might be worked out to keep some American forces here.

The U.S. Air Force now has eight tactical squadrons in Thailand—five of F-4 Phantoms, two of F-111s and one of A-7 Corsairs. In addition, there are 15 B-52s at U Tapao, plus support aircraft, totaling 350 planes.

Experts maintain that, with the exception of key bases at U Tapao and Sattahip, the Thai installations could be given up without damaging the U.S. military position. U Tapao would be designated home for a skeleton air force, and Sattahip would be the port for delivery of ammunition and supplies.

Sattahip, especially, is of strategic importance to the U.S., which is facing possible loss of facilities at Subic Bay in the Philippines.

Decision in Washington. The key to what happens may well rest in the hands of Congress. Without appropriated funds, the bases would have to be given back to Thailand.

On the Thai side, the decision depends to a large degree on the extent of hostile Communist activity along the nation's borders.

The Government wants to maintain some of its ties with America. It claims that the U.S. has pledged to honor its military commitments to Bangkok despite planned and future withdrawals of the American forces. With enemies on nearly every border, Thailand realizes it needs the U.S.—as friend and ally.

WALL STREET JOURNAL 7 MAY

GE Gets $8.5 Million Of Work for Air Force

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON—General Electric Co. received two Air Force contracts totaling $8.5 million for turbojet engines.

Goodyear Aerospace Corp., a unit of Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., received an $8.2 million Air Force contract for a radar reconnaissance system.

Raytheon Co. was awarded a $3.7 million Army contract involving the Sam-D antiaircraft missile system.

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NEW YORK TIMES 7 MAY 1975

Transcript of the President's News Conference

Following is a transcript of President Ford's news conference in Washington last night, as recorded by The New York Times.

PRESIDENT: Will you please sit down. Good evening, Miss Thomas.

QUESTIONS

Lessons of Vietnam

Q. What are the lessons of Vietnam in terms of the Presidency and Congress and the American people, in terms of secret diplomacy and fighting a land war in Asia. Also, would you welcome a Congressional inquiry into how we got in and how we got out of Vietnam?

A. Miss Thomas, the war in Vietnam is over. It was sad and tragic in many respects. I think it would be unfortunate for us to rehash allegations as to individuals that might be to blame, or Administrations that might be at fault. It seems to me that it's over, we ought to look ahead, and I think a Congressional inquiry at this time would only be divisive, not helpful.

Q. Mr. President. May I ask you then don't you think that we can learn from the past?

A. Miss Thomas, I think the lessons of the past in Vietnam have already been learned—learned by Presidents, learned by Congress, learned by the American people—and we should have our focus on the future, and as far as I'm concerned, that's where we will concentrate.

Middle East Negotiations

Q. Mr. President, your forthcoming meetings with Egyptian President Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Rabin, do they represent the beginning of a new American-led negotiation in the Middle East for a peace settlement?

A. They do not represent a new negotiating process. I am meeting with President Sadat and Prime Minister Rabin for the purpose of getting from them yny recommendations they might have as to how we can maintain the peace in the Middle East; how we can come to some final settlement that will be beneficial to all the parties.

We're in the process of reassuring our Middle East policy and they can make a very valuable contribution with their on-the-spot recommendations.

Q. Mr. President, do you now see any hopeful signs that there is any movement there off dead center?

A. I'm always optimistic. I believe that the leaders of all of the countries, both Arab and Israeli, as well as others, recognize the seriousness of any new military engagement in the Middle East and the ramifications that might come from it. So I'm optimistic that as we try to move ahead, aimed at avoiding a stalemate, avoding stagnation, that we can work with other countries in order to insure the peace and a settlement that'll be satisfactory to all parties.

Opposition to Refugees

Q. Mr. President, you've been reported as being damn mad about the adverse reaction of American people to the Vietnamese refugees, and I would like to ask you, how do you explain that reaction, what in your judgment is the cause of that?

A. Mr. Lisagor, I am primarily very upset, because the United States has had a long tradition of opening its doors to immigrants from all countries. We're a country built by immigrants from all areas of the world, and we've always been a humanitarian nation, and when I read or heard some of the comments made a few days ago, I was disappointed and very upset.

I was encouraged this afternoon, however. I understand that the executive committee of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. passed a resolution urging that the United States open its doors to make opportunities available for the South Vietnamese who have been driven or escaped from their country.

I understand that the American Jewish Committee has likewise passed a resolution this afternoon endorsing the policy of making opportunity in the United States for South Vietnamese, and I am very proud of those Governors like Governor Pryor of Arkansas, Governor Askew of Florida, Governor Longley of Maine, Governor Evans of Washington, Governor Ariyoshi of Hawaii as well as Mayor Alioto who have communicated with me and indicated their support for a policy of giving the opportunity of South Vietnamese to come from this country to escape the possibility of death in their country under the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong and individuals who wanted an opportunity for freedom. I think this is the right attitude for Americans to take and I am delighted for the support that I have gotten.

Q. I'd like to foHow that and ask you, why, in your judgment, is there such a widespread adverse reaction to them?

A. I understand the attitude of some. We have serious economic problems. But out of the 120,000 refugees who are either here or on their way, 60 per cent of those are children. They ought to be given an opportunity. Only 35,000 heads of family will be moved into our total society.

Now I understand people who are concerned with our economic problem. But we have assimilated between 50 and 100,000 Hungarians in the mid-50's; we have brought into this country some 500 to 600,000 Cubans. They've been good citizens. And we ought to welcome these people in the same way—and despite our economic problems.

I'm convinced that the vast majority of Americans today want these people to have an another opportunity to escape the probability of death. And therefore I applaud those who feel that way.

Q. Mr. President. I'd like to ask a political question. What steps have you taken so far toward the creation of a campaign organization in 1976 and if you haven't taken any steps, what steps do you plan to take in the future and when do you plan to take them?

A. Within the last week a group headed by Dean Birch have indicated that they would like to get started in a very informal way to kick off a campaign at the proper time. This group is meeting wtihin the next few days, I understand. They expect to get a great many more who will join them. The precise time when we will take the formal step to declare my candidacy has not yet been determined, but I would only reiterate my intention to become a candidate.

Q. Mr. President. You've said many times that you intend to become a candidate and yet there seems to be continually skepticism in some quarters of your own party that you really will be. Why do you think that skepticism has endured?

A. I'm surprised myself that there's any skepticism. I know my intention; I've said ir repeatedly, as you've indicated. I intend to be acandidate. I believe that I have the best opportunity to solidify the Republican party, getting strength from both the right aa well as the left within the Republican spectrum, and to put on a good campaign against the individual that the Democratic party nominates. There should be no skepticism about my intention. I will be, at the proper time, a candidate in the legal sense, and no one should feel otherwise.

Re-election Speeches

Q. Mr. President, will you this year be going out and speaking at Republican gatherings, doing the kind of political thinngs that Presidents often do in the yeat before they run for re-election?

A. I undoubtedly will make an effort to help the Republican party. I think that's a proper function for a president. I did it a week or so ago for the Republican party in the state of Virginia and I'll do similar activities in the future. But that effort will be aimed at helping the party. We need a strong two-party system and I have a responsibility to try and help the Republican party.

Miss McGrory may I congratulate you on your Pulitzer Prize and I'm delighted to recognize you.

Amnesty for Americans

Q. Thank you very much Mr. President. I was wondering if now that the war is over for everybody and we are admitting many thousands of Vietnamese, including, we are told, some young men who did not obey their country's draft laws, have you reconsidered your position on an amnesty towards young Americans?

A. Miss McGrory, about six months ago I initiated a program under former Congressman Charles Goodell and a group of eight others to grant relief or amnesty to some 120,000 individuals who were either deserters or did not comply with the Selective Service laws. As a recollect up to a week . . . that group had applied. I assume that most of them will have a change in their status. I hope so. And therefore I have taken, I think, a step that was right, it is a good program and I just wish that more had taken advantage ofit.

At the present time we're in the process, or they, the commission, are in the process of handling the applications. I hope they'll expedite and be very generous in their considerations of the reocrds of those who have. . . . There's always a chance in the future if the facts justify it.

Q. Mr. President, even though the war is over, sir, there are many Americans who msut still live with the agonies that it caused them. I speak primarily of those wounded and crippled and the families of those who died.

A. Well, first, let me say very emphatically, they made a great sacrifice. The 56,000 that died and the countless thousands who were wounded, I honor and respect them. And their contribution was most significant.

I think their contribution was not in vain. Five Presidents carried out a national policy. Six Congresses endorsed that policy. Which was the policy of our country and they carried out that responsibility as a member of our armed forces.

I think we should praise them, congratulate them, and we have an unbelievable commitment to them in the future. All we can is thank you very much for wht they've done for freedom.

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Foreign Policy Developments

Q. Mr President, you mention that you spoke to some Virginia Republicans the weekend before last and at that time you said that in 1976 we will have some excellent results in foreign policy. After the past few weeks we can all use a little bit nof news. Could you tell us just what do you expect in '76?

A. Yes, I think between now and the end of 1976 we're going to make progress in the negotiations for a SALT II agreement. It hasn't been finalized, but the atmosphere is good.

There's going to be some hard negotiating, but I will approach that important meeting with Mr. Brezhnev aimed at achieving results. And I think his attitude will reflect the same.

I think you're going to find a greater solidarity in our — Europe. I'm going to Europe the latter part of this month to strengthen that solidarity and to work on a more unified position in solving our joint economic problems, in trying to solve the enerby problems that are serious for all of us.

It's my judgment that we can move ahead even in the Pacific. We'll have to —not reassess but assess how we can proceed. But it's my aim to tie more closely together South Korea and the United States, to reaffirm our commitments to Taiwan, to work more closely with Indonesia, with the Philippines and with other Pacific nations.

These are the kind of, I believe, forward movements in foreign policy that'll be beneficial in the maintenance of peace.

Foreign Commitments

Q. Mr. President, is your job going to be complicated by what happened in Southeast Asia. You've gone out of your way in the past week or two to say that the United States will honor its foreign commitments. What sort of private feedback are you getting from foreign capitals? Is there a lack of confidence or a loss of confidence in the United States?

A. We do get recation from foreign governments wondering what our position will be, asking where we will go and what our policy will be.

We have indicated to our friends that we will maintain our commitments. We understand the perception that some countries may have as a result of the setback in South Vietnam, but that perception is not a reality because the United States is strong militarily, the United States is strong economically, despite our current problems, and we are going to maintain our leadership on a worldwide basis and we want our friends to know that we will stand by them and we want any potential adversaries to know that we will stand up to them.

Rockefeller Commission

Q. Mr. President, there've been persistent reports here in Washington that the Rockefeller Commission is looking into reports that somehow or the other discussion of the assassination of Fidel Castro may have somehow triggered the assassination of John Kennedy Can you tell us, is there any connection between those two events?

A. I cannot give you the inside information on the Rockefeller Commission because I established it for the purpose of investigating the C.I.A. and making any recommendations concerning it.

It's my understanding that they are taking a very broad look. Until I get their report, I think it would be premature for me to make any comment as to precisely where they are going with their investigation.

Now, as a former member of the Warren Commission, a commission that I think did a good job—we found as a Warren Commission, no connection of anything between Cuba and the United States. We found no evidence of a conspiracy, foreign or domestic.

G.O.P. Accomplishments

Q. Mr. President. After eight years of a Republican in the White House, there probably will be lot of people who next year will say it's time for a change. Now, what accomplishments can you cite to rebut the argument that there should be such a change?

A. Well, I don't think there ought to be a change. I strongly believe that a continuation of the basic policies of the last eight years will be good for America, and let me take a minute or two to talk about foreign policy.

A Republican Administration endec the war in iVetnam. They withdrew 550,000 American military personnel They brought back all of the P.O.W.'s

The United States, under a Rep bli can Administration, took the first meaningful steps in trying to control nucleai ars—and I think we're going to have continued success in that area.

In the domestic area we have gone through a difficult time, but when you look at the over-all—a period of eight years—I think domestically there will be far more pluses than minuses, and therefore it's my judgment that the American people, if we sell the program properly, we will have an excellent opportunity of prevailing in November of 1976.

Q. You tell us among other things the economic issue, I assume that what you're saying is, but what if the economy is at a low ebb next year—if unemployment is about what it is now? *Can you win?*

A. I don't think the economic conditions in 1976 will be comparable to those today. I think we're at the end of the recession. I believe that we can economically in the third and fourth quarters of 1975 and they ought to improve in 1976. Therefore, in my judgment we will be looking in the future toward better times at home and a good foreign policy abroad.

Indochina Evacuation

Q. Mr. President, Events in Indochina outran tehe deliberative process of the Congress and you wern't given the clearly defined authority to U. S. forces to evacuate there because of Cambodia and Vietnam. And my question goes to the matter of whether it was a personal dilemma for you as Commander in Chief to use the U. S. forces without the expressed concurrence of the Congress.

A. Our prime objective, of course, both in the evacuation from Phenom Penh and Cambodia and in Saigon was to bring all Americans out of both *locations.*

Now in the process ita did appear to be wise, particularly in Saigon, to take out a number of South Vietnamese. We did that because, number one, we felt that a number of the South Vietnamese had been very loyal to the United States and deserved an opportunity to live in freedom, and secondly, the possibility existed if we had not brought out some South Vietnamese that there could have been an anti-American attitude develop that would have complicated the evacuation of our American personnel.

So I felt that what we did could be fully justified in not only in evacuating Americans but evacuating some of the South Vietnamese who wanted to come to the United States.

Kissinger and Evacuation

Q. Secretary Kissinger said that all of the Americans who wanted to leave South Vietnam were evacuated. But there may be some reason to believe not all were evacuated. Some organizations, for example, report at least eight missionaries captured in the northern part of South Vietnam. So I'm wondering *if there is some process to check* this sort of thing out, and what could be done about it.

A. We certainly made a maximum effort to get every American out. We found in the last week that on a certain day they could tell us that there were a thousand Americans that were ready to come uot, and we'd take three or four hundred out. Then the next day we would find that a number of other Americans had come into Saigon and wanted to get out.

So, we certainly made a tremendous effort to get all Americans out. I'm sure there are some who were left. At this time, I can't give you the specifics as to how we will seek to get any American who are still there; but we will do all we can to achieve that result.

Martin Role Praised

Q. Mr. President, you praised Ambassador Graham Martin's record in Vietnam and you've also defended the evacuation of Vietnamese civilians. Yet there is some evidence that Mr. Martin's actions made it impossible for some Vietnamese to escape who were longstanding employes of the United States Government. And others were evacuated on the basis of their ability to pay. Have you investigated any of these charges and do you still believe that Ambasador Martin's record is one of effectiveness?

A. Because of the ability of Ambas*sador Martin to handle a tough situation* —and it was very difficult—we got all Americans out and we got roughly 120,000 plus South Vietnamese.

I'm familiar with some individuals who are critical of the way in which Ambassador Martin handled it. I never had much faith in Monday morning quarterbacks, or grandstand quarterbacks. I would rather put faith in the man who carried out a very successful evacuation of Americans and a tremendous number of South Vietnamese.

And rather than be critical of somebody who I think did a good job, I think we ought to praise him. And if some of these people want to in hindsight, who didn't have the responsibility, criticize him, I think we'll accept it for what it's worth.

Q. Mr. President, there have been some references tonight to the economic situation. The over-all unemployment rate is 9 per cent, but among black teenagers and young black males and some other minority groups it is three times that. What plans do you have to cope with the social consequences of that kind of unemployment?

A. We are concerned about the unemployment of the youth particularly, and the highest percentage, of course, of unemployment falls in the black youth group. I submitted to the Congress about a month ago a request for $450-million as I recollect, to fund a young people's employment program for this *coming summer.*

Now, unfortunately, the Congress hasn't approved that funding and the steps that have been taken I think will hamper the possibility of getting that funding to meet this problem, and they've added about $3-billion over and above, extra funding that I don't think can be justified. If the Congress would

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PRESIDENT --- CONTINUED

approve the request that I made for roughly $450-million, we would be in a position right now to do something about the problem that you raised.

Q. Mr. President, the record of recent years is that that kind of summer job and that kind of things has not prevented what really is a chronic long-term problem of 30 per cent unemployment among young minority groups. What I' really asking is this. A great many economists think that instead of coming out of this recession dramatically, we're just going to have a long period of stagflation where we don't have a really serious situation but we don't have things very well indeed, and this kind of chronic unemployment among minority groups just persists. And what I'm trying to find out is other than summer jobs and that kind of thing, do you think this is really a serious problem that the United States ought to address and try to do something about, and if you do, wht are your plans for it?

A. Yes I think it is a serious problem, but the most important problem is to meet the present difficulty which begins with the end of the school year, and that's why I think Congress ought to act quickly on the request that I made for summer employment. Now in the long run the best way to get the young people properly employed in our economy is to have a healthy economy, not a government-dominated economy. I think we're in the process of coming out of the recession. I'm optimistic in the future and when we, in the third and fourth quarters of this year, have the success that I think we're going to have, some of the problems will be answered that you have raised.

Mr. Jones.

Cambodian Executions

Q. You apparently had some intelligence report about a blood bath in Cambodia. I'm wondering if you can bring us up to date on anything in this area, in Cambodia, and whether or not there is any report of a blood bath in South Vietnam.

A. We do have some intelligence reports to the effect that in Cambodia some 80 or 90 former Cambodian officials were executed, and in addition, their wives were executed. This is very hard intelligence, yet, I think, very factual evidence of the blood bath that has taken place, or is in the process of taking place in Cambodia.

Now, turn to Vietnam. As you know, there is a very tight censorship in South Vietnam. The news that gets out is pretty heavily controlled by the South—by the North Vietnamese and by the Vietcong. So we really don't have the same kind of hard evidence there that we have had in Cambodia in the instance that I've indicated.

But I think probably the best evidence of the probability is that 120,000 plus South Vietnamese fled: because they knew that the probability existed that if they stayed their life would be in jeopardy. That's the best evidence of what probably will take place.

Q. I'd like to follow up on that. You say you don't have any hard evidence. Do you have any report—any intelligence reports that indicate that the—

A. Not at the moment, we do not.

Q. Mr. President, may I ask you something, sir. Simply a matter of style, and nothing of substance. Reading Mr. Hersey who spent a week with you, and reading others, you seem to be a kind of a peaceful, quiet man. A placid man. Do you ever get mad at people? Do you ever chew people out? Do you yell? Do you fire people? Do you kick people around?

A. I have learned to control my temper. I get very upset internally but I've learned that that's not the best way to solve a problem. I do have occasional outbursts on the golf course, but in dealing with people I've found that the best way to meet a personnel problem or to handle serious matter where a decision has to be made, if you can keep cool, you can make a better decision, and I've learned that over a long period of time.

Q. Mr. President, if I may follow up, sir, you were described as very angry about these rumors that you were going through a political charade and secretly not going to run—a story in a news magazine a week or so ago. I mean, how did you express yourself, you know,—

A. I didn't shout, I didn't raise the devil with anybody. I simply indicated to my staff that the stories were totally untrue, which they are, and that no such meeting took place where such a policy was outlined by me. I found the best way to handle the matter is to be very firm, very calm, but very forthright, dealing not only with my staff but with others. I think they understand what I mean by the way I say it, but you don't have to shout to do it.

Banning of Handguns

Q. Mr. President, Attorney General Levi has proposed the banning of handguns in high crime areas and the Justice Department says that the White House cleared that position before he made it clear. Does that represent an extention of your proposal that the Saturday night specials only be—

A. Well, it's my understanding that the Attorney General, when he made that speech, indicated that this was an alternative way of meeting the problem created by Saturday night specials. It is my understanding that he did not recommend this as the way to handle the problem.

I think it's a unique approach and it is being discussed with the Department of Justice within our domestic council. But there is no firm decision on whether that approach or any other approach is the right way to meet the problem.

Q. Mr. President, do you expect effective gun control legislation to be passed, and are you going to get behind . . .

A. I am not going to recommend the registration of gun owners. And I am not going to recommend the registration of guns. Now—handguns, I should say.

If we can find some responsible way to do it other than that approach, we certainly will consider them.

Mortgage Rates Shifting

Q. A number of Americans it is said, lower and middle-class, are being priced out of the housing market. And now there's new evidence that mortgage rates may be turning around; indeed the F.H.A. has increased its rate by half a percentage. Can you tell the American people tonight that makers of houses, potential buyers of houses — can you give them any assurance that in the next month, in the next year or two, more housing will be available at relatively moderate prices and that interest rates will stay down?

A. The most encouraging development in the housing area is the fact that the inflow of deposits in the savings and loans has gone up very substantially. My recollection that in the last reported month about $4-billion dollars in deposits flowed into savings and loan. And that over the last three months, it has been a very favorable inflow into the S. and L.

This means, of course, that there is money available for home buyers. And it's my judgment that once we start the upturn from the present recession, that the consumer interest in buying homes will increase significantly and with the money available in the S.&L. I think the prospects for an upturn in the housing industry are very encouraging.

Q. Do you then approve the F.H.A. increase?

A. I approve the increase because if you're going to have F.H.A. handling of mortgages; if you're going to have the Government guarantees, they must be competitive with other interest rates. And I happen to think that an F.H.A. loan, or a VA. loan, either are very good. And we want those competitive with the regular conventional interest rates.

And therefore, to make them competitive, I agreed with the decision.

Q. Thank you very, very much.

TIME 12 MAY 1975 (7)

No Pictures, Please

In Russia for the final round of joint training exercises for July's space link-up of an Apollo and a Soyuz spacecraft, U.S. Astronauts Tom Stafford, Deke Slayton and Vance Brand visited a site never before seen by Americans the secrecy-shrouded Soviet space-launch center, located in low, rolling hills some 1,300 miles southeast of Moscow near the city of Leninsk in Kazakhstan.

Last week in Moscow, the astronauts expressed confidence that the joint mission would take place. They noted that the Soviets had two Soyuz craft ready at the space center, one a stand-by that would be launched if the first had technical difficulties. The astronauts also discovered some basic differences between the U.S. and Soviet launch techniques. Unlike U.S. rockets, which are restrained on the ground until close to maximum thrust is developed, Russian launch vehicles leave the pad as soon as they have achieved the minimum thrust needed for lift-off. Also Soviet rockets are aimed to go into orbit from a launch pad that can be revolved into the proper position, while U.S. rockets are electronically guided into orbit after they are airborne.

The Americans also found that their hosts, Cosmonauts Alekse Leonov and Valery Kubasov, enjoy more luxurious living quarters than U.S. astronauts use at Cape Canaveral. For now, the world will have to be content with the astronauts' verbal descriptions of the little they saw at the space center. The Russians scheduled the visitors' arrival and departure to occur after dark, and requested that they leave their cameras in their hotel rooms

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NEW YORK TIMES
6 MAY 1975(7)

Congress's 'Inaction' On War

By Thomas F. Eagleton

WASHINGTON—On Jan. 5, 1957, President Dwight D. Eisenhower, concerned about possible Communist advances in the Middle East, addressed a joint session of Congress to request authority to use military force, if needed, in the region.

Congressional liberals, feeling that the United States was best served by a strong and flexible President, were suspicious of the request. They moved in the Senate to strike the word "authorized" from the draft of the White House resolution and, when the resolution passed, it read part "if the President determines the necessity thereof, the United States is prepared to use armed forces."

The Middle East resolution was considered a great liberal victory in 1957. It also represented a virtual renunciation of Congress's constitutional duty to authorize—and proscribe—the use of American forces in a war.

In the Congressional handling of the recent Vietnam evacuation, history has repeated itself.

On April 10, 1975, President Ford requested "clarification" of his legal authority to use United States forces in South Vietnam to rescue American and foreign nationals. Clarification was needed.

I share the view of many constitutional scholars that the President, as Commander in Chief, possesses an inherent right to rescue endangered Americans. However, there is no precedent to support an inherent right to use United States forces to rescue foreign nationals.

The President's request presented an important opportunity to proscribe by law the use of force for the Vietnam evacuation. More important, Congress had the chance to resurrect the concept, advanced by the Founding Fathers, thatthe executive and Congress would participate together in decisions potentially involving war.

But Congress fumbled the ball. When the President was forced by events to order the evacuation from South Vietnam on April 29, the House of Representatives had not yet completed the final stage in enacting the necessary legislation. Two days later, when the House finally had the opportunity to express Congressional will and intent, the House voted overwhelmingly not to act.

This unfortunate decision raises grave questions about the willingness of Congress to fulfill its constitutional responsibilities. The President obviously had no authority to use the United States forces to rescue foreign nationals in Vietnam. Yet our forces evacuated thousands of Vietnamese. Asked to explain, President Ford tried to justify his action on "moral" rather than legal grounds. Yet Congress let the precedent stand. Future Presidents might now conclude that the Commander in Chief had an inherent right to do what Mr. Ford did.

The failure of the war-powers resolution to specify those emergency situations wherein the President may unilaterally commit United States forces to battle has left the war powers of Congress and the President as vague as ever.

Lacking such a statutory definition, power accrues to the branch that invokes it. And, once again, in rescuing foreign nationals from Vietnam the President has invoked powers the Founders did not grant the Presidency.

The President can move all too quickly to usurp Congressional powers. He has only to order troops into battle. Congress, on the other hand, can only impose its will through the legislative process.

That is the tragedy of the House's recent action. On the verge of reimposing itself in the decision-making process, Congress rejected the opportunity to legislate.

From the beginning the debate over the President's request for "clarification" was marked by distrust of the executive branch, fear of military involvement in Vietnam, and a conspicuous lack of confidence that a law, however tightly drafted, would be faithfully executed. In the end, liberals, long disenchanted by the imperial Presidency they helped create, unintentionally threw their considerable weight in the direction of Presidential omnipotence.

To avoid the remotest of possibilities—that President Ford would send forces back into Vietnam despite his written promise not to—Congress chose to leave a precedent for unilateral and unrestricted Presidential rescue authority.

White House references to "moral" justification and the pleasure Congress seems to derive in abrogating its constitutional responsibilities should alarm those who see the rule of law as America's primary source of strength.

Congress has again failed to act in a forthright and timely manner to proscribe a Presidential war-making initiative. By its inaction, and by its refusal even to provide expost facto authorization for the Vietnam evacuation, Congress has once again shirked its constitutional duty.

Thomas F. Eagleton, junior Democratic Senator From Missouri; is author of "War and Presidential Power: A Chronicle of Congressional Surrender."

BALTIMORE SUN - 7 MAY 1975

Marquis Childs

U.S. Must Reassess 'Benign Neglect' of Japan

Washington.

Whatever reassessment may mean for the Middle East, and to date it seems to have meant mostly delay, the debacle in Vietnam cries out for reassessing American policy in Asia. Belatedly first things must come first and spinning out the guilt of Vietnam in an endless wrangle can only multiply the damage of American failure and defeat.

Reassessment must begin with Japan, which is infinitely more important to American security than all of Indochina. Concentration on Southeast Asia and the hapless lot of the Vietnamese who never could be "saved" by a foreign power has meant neglect of Northeast Asia.

Indifference and neglect have eroded the relationship with the Japanese, for 20 years a fruitful partnership. The "Nixon shock" that came when, without prior notice to Tokyo, the United States opened the way to Peking and a presidential visit was only one instance of indifference to the sensitivity of a partner sheltering under the U.S. nuclear umbrella.

By the mid-1970's Japan will be capable of producing enough plutonium for 200 atomic bombs a year and their skill in rocketry is increasing. But there is still a strong and pervasive anti-war sentiment among the Japanese, who are proud of their remarkable success in promoting their interests without possessing large armed forces. This is the conclusion of Ralph N. Clough, a foreign service officer who spent 13 years in and around mainland China and is now a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, in a timely book, "East Asia and U.S. Security."

"If Japan again became militarily powerful," Mr. Clough writes, "its domestic politics and its attitude toward other countries could not fail to be profoundly altered. The military and military-related industry would gain influence in national affairs; the martial spirit would be stimulated and the heightened influence of military views and concepts also could lead to restrictions on Japanese democracy, as many Japanese fear it would . . ."

As the third largest economic power in the world, Japan 18 months ago was unreatened by the oil crisis with ruinous inflation and at the same time serious unemployment and recession. Japan is obliged to import all its oil, and at the peak of inflation wholesale prices rose at the dizzy rate of 7 per cent in a single month.

But by the end of 1974 with a tight money policy Japan was well on the way to recovery. Unemployment was only 2 per cent, owing somewhat to the fact that Japanese employers rarely fire their workers, and, instead, cut work hours. The rise in wholesale prices had dropped to virtually zero. While the gross national product dropped 1.8 per cent, in contrast to the dramatic 9 and 10 per cent jumps in previous years, this was absorbed without serious political or social dislocations.

News of an import fully as great as the collapse of South Vietnam, it scarcely has been reported in the American press. On the basis of a restored and healthy economy Japan, America's largest trading partner with the exception of Canada, will be able to continue to extend its trade relations not only with the West but in Asia.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 7 May 1975

THE NEW REPUBLIC - 3 MAY 1975(7)

The End is the Beginning

by Frances FitzGerald

It is now exactly 25 years since the United States first entered the war in Indochina with a gift of military aid to the French. As the end draws near it is clear that the course of the war has had all the rigidity of a fugue: there are variations, but each event refers back to others in history, and the end is the beginning. In March the Communist troops seized control of the central highlands of South Vietnam; they had done the same in 1954 as they drove the French from the country. As it happened the ARVN commander of the highlands military region had fought with the French at Dien Bien Phu. As the offensive progressed Nguyen Van Thieu began to act more and more like Ngo Dinh Diem in the last months of his life: he refused all compromise, isolated himself more and more from his generals and waited passively, as it were, for a miracle. Ambassador Graham Martin clung to Thieu the way Ambassador Frederick Nolting had clung to Diem, offering no way for the Vietnamese to change the government by peaceful means and thus each day increasing the risk of assassination for Thieu, who waited until it no longer mattered to resign.

Like his four predecessors, President Ford could have ended the war with a political compromise. The stakes were, perhaps, lower but the way out was a good deal easier for him than it was for them. The North Vietnamese and the PRG had designed it that way in the political articles of the Paris peace accord. An ambush on three sides being so often their strategy, they kept the offer of a cease-fire and a political settlement open until the very end. But Ford refused that offer. He asked the ARVN to die at Xuan Loc the way the Eisenhower administration had asked the French to die at Dien Bien Phu, holding out a promise of military aid the way Nixon in 1954 had held out a promise of atom bombs. (Not one atom bomb, not three, but two.) Nothing, it seemed, but total defeat and the collapse of an army would do.

How to explain these repetitions of history? How to explain the rigid repetitiveness of American policy over 25 years? Quite clearly the policy of support for the war was not a simple mistake based on a misreading of the Indochinese. As the Pentagon papers show, not one of the five Presidents who supported intervention had any confidence that the war could be won. Certainly Ford and Nixon, if not Johnson and Kennedy as well, saw the end, however, far off. Their intelligence analysts erred on tactical matters, but they tended to be right about the essentials. They even made correct predictions about psychological events such as the Vietnamese reaction to an American withdrawal. The protection of Americans from angry mobs of "allied" soldiers and civilians figured in the Pentagon's contingency planning since 1965. American officials, of course, rarely dwelled on these gloomy predictions in public. And in a sense it was not Da Nang, the city, that fell some weeks ago, but the world of illusion they had created about the war. Many believed in the illusions, but it was with no real hope of success that five administrations proceeded on a course that led to the death of 55,000 Americans and the near-destruction of three Indochinese societies.

American policy is inexplicable in terms of Indochina alone, and indeed American officials often explained it in other ways. For 20 years or so they described it variously as an effort to stop communism, to contain China or to deter national liberation movements all around the world. With détente and the opening of relations with China, these explanations tended mysteriously to appear in reverse. All of a sudden the United States was actually helping China by continuing the war; alternatively it was helping the Soviet Union against China in Southeast Asia. President Nixon and Secretary Kissinger, however, took a new tack. As they explained it, the reasons for the war were intangibles: they were questions of "face" and "credibility" and the image of the United States around the world. With the beginning of the current offensive, Kissinger and Ford revived one of the oldest of the explanations—the domino theory—while at the same time adding a series of new ones. the Indochina war was, it seemed, "linked" to almost every foreign policy objective the United States had in the world with the result that the fall of Saigon might eventually mean the fall of Israel, Portugal and so on. To take all of this new rhetoric seriously is, of course, to imagine that Kissinger lives in some strange, metaphysical landscape where symbolic battles are fought over the future of civilization itself. To take it seriously is to believe that Kissinger looks at Indochina with the detachment of a schizophrenic.

The detachment, of course, is real. The rigidity and the brutality of American policy in Indochina has entirely to do with the fact that no American President has ever really cared what happened to the Indochinese. What is questionable is whether any other official explanation for the war is correct, whether in fact any administration pursued the war for genuine reasons of foreign policy. Conceivably Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson did, at least in part. But by linking the fall of Saigon to American "credibility" everywhere on earth, the Nixon and Ford administrations, guided by Henry Kissinger, seemed to detach themselves from all the other objectives of their foreign policy. As time passed it became more and more clear that their theories were but another kind of cover-up and that the war continued because a few cynical men wished to prove themselves right and to retain their old authority with the American public. They did not realize, of course, that it was too late—that Americans had rejected their theories and no longer cared. Isolated as Nguyen Van Thieu, they continued to play all of the old games with greater desperation. In the last few weeks of the war Kissinger, at least, indicated that he was ready to sacrifice not only more Vietnamese lives but much of American foreign policy in his battle with Congress.

Frances FitzGerald, a free-lance writer, is the author of the Pulitzer prize-winning *The Fire in the Lake.*

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
7 MAY 1975

Viet Cong tally troops, arms captured

Belgrade

Viet Cong forces put out of action 2.5 million enemy troops and captured military arms and equipment worth about $5 billion during the eight-week thrust that led to the fall of Saigon, the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug reported from Peking

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THE NEW REPUBLIC - 3 MAY 1975(7)

Myths and Interests

by Adam Yarmolinsky

It was one of John Kennedy's recurrent nightmares that he might find himself a survivor of a nuclear holocaust, asking his companions, "How did it all happen?" We survivors of the holocaust in Southeast Asia find ourselves in similar circumstance, and no quantity of refugee ferry flights, no Saigon airlift, can stay that question.

If people need to understand the sources of their irrational behavior in order not to repeat it, countries need to all the more, since they are less easily restrained by external means. And if we conclude that we were dragged into Vietnam by the military, or stayed there as long as we did because we were misled by the military, then we may find ourselves contemplating a similar scene of desolation a generation hence, asking the same question—if anyone is alive to ask it.

Myths tend to come in matching pairs. The right-wing myth—now being energetically propounded by Barry Goldwater—that the civilians would not allow the military to win the war, is matched by the liberal myth that the military would not allow the civilians to stop the war, or at least bamboozled the civilians into going on with it. The fact is that responsible civilian officials knew just what was going on in Southeast Asia. As Robert McNamara observed as he politely cut off his first formal staff briefing as Secretary of Defense (which, as I recall, reported fighting in the Plain of Jars), "we all read the newspapers."

What the civilians didn't know was the domestic political reaction to giving up. And four successive Presidents have tried to postpone that discovery by whatever means they could find. It is still too early to tell what the reaction will amount to. But we can already observe the fascinating spectacle of an administration pushing against the weight of popular opinion, in order to avoid what it fears will be an unpopular result.

The sum of popular reactions is almost certain to be ambiguous enough so that no politician would be willing to risk his future on a repetition of the same behavior patterns. The only lesson anyone can safely draw is that we ought to try to avoid ending up in a situation where our only reason for carrying on with a military intervention is that we are afraid of the domestic political consequences of getting out. It follows that we ought not to begin what we may not be prepared to finish.

Fortunately or unfortunately—and I would suppose fortunately for most of the world—military intervention on the cheap is no longer possible. When the United States first went into Vietnam, it wasn't a real war to the people who made the decisions. It was rather, in their view, a necessary if not painful exercise of national will. And when they discovered the war was real, it was too late. They had made a commitment, not to whoever happened to be occupying the presidential palace in Saigon, but to the American electorate, and to what passes for the world community, from which it took a decade to extricate ourselves.

The ultimate result in Vietnam should have been predictable in advance, simply because no reasonable American statesman could, with a straight face, argue in the councils of state that whether Ho Chi Minh or Ngo Dinh Diem exercised the fragile authority emanating from Saigon was a matter affecting the most vital interests of the United States. And if American political leaders didn't believe it, there was no reason why North Vietnamese political leaders should believe it either. The North Vietnamese must have known too that the embarrassment of not winning might be enough to keep us in the war for a long time, accepting and inflicting incredible human costs. But it wouldn't be enough by itself to give us the will to win, at a politically unacceptable cost in American casualties, and a morally unacceptable cost in still further destruction of another country and its people.

The result was not widely predicted because we did not understand the costs, for a number of reasons. These reasons included the general euphoria about the use of military force that pervaded Washington after the abandonment of the frightening doctrine of massive retaliation, as well as the residue that remained from the Dullesian visions of the monolithic nature of world communism. We supposed that somehow we could easily fight limited wars in other people's jungles, and that Moscow could easily turn on and off the fighting in other people's countries.

The age of innocence is over now, and no one—not even Gerald Ford—still claims to be able to see a light at the end of the tunnel. "No more Vietnams" used to be a fashionable slogan. But the maxim about learning history in order to avoid repeating it implies that events do not recur in easily recognizable patterns; otherwise there would be very little to learn.

One commentator has already distinguished the Arabian peninsula from the Indochinese peninsula because it lacks extensive tree cover. If the United States contemplates a cheap and easy war to protect its Middle East oil supplies—doubtfully a vital national interest—we risk another Vietnam, without foliage. But there are still some things for which the United States must be prepared to pay any price. If the United States can decide what really are its vital interests in the Middle East and can make clear its decisions, then other nations are much more likely to respect those interests—and we should not have to pay either the price of victory or the price of ignominy.

Adam Yarmolinsky, a Defense official under Kennedy and Johnson, is a professor at the Univ. of Massachusetts.

BUSINESS WEEK - 12 MAY 1975 (7)

Booz-Allen vs. Litton

The Navy has enlisted Booz-Allen Applied Research, a subsidiary of Booz, Allen & Hamilton, Inc., to help prepare its cost-overrun case against Litton Industries, Inc. Litton claims the Navy should pay $1.45-billion for the five landing helicopter assault ships the company is building at its Pascagoula (Miss.) shipyard. The Navy insists it should not have to pay a penny more than $946-million. Booz-Allen experts will inspect the trouble-plagued Pascagoula yard to evaluate Litton's claim that the extra $505-million cost is the Navy's fault because of such things as contract changes, "delay costs," and "cost of disruption."

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR - 7 MAY 1975

Viet 'bloodbath' fears may be dissolving

By Daniel Southerland
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor
Hong Kong

If one were to believe the United States Embassy in Saigon, a "bloodbath" was well under way within days after the Communists took over large parts of South Vietnam.

But independent investigation by this reporter and interviews with a number of refugees from areas occupied by the Communists show that a number of the reports of alleged killing carried out by the Communists that the embassy was transmitting to Washington were derived from second-hand sources and were poorly documented.

There is little doubt that the staunchly anti-Communist embassy officials who passed on the reports tended to believe them. This apparently was not a case of deliberate fabrication. After all, there had been executions throughout the long history of the Vietnam war.

Once the reports went out in the form of official cables, with high-level signatures attached, there was apparently even more of a tendency in Washington to accept their veracity. Pentagon officials soon began to speak of the summary executions of "thousands" of Vietnamese.

The 'why' of the issue

The "bloodbath" issue is important, first because of what it would mean in human terms if it did occur and, second, because it could become a political issue in the United States once politicians start trying to apportion the blame for "why Vietnam was lost" and "whether more should have been done to prevent its loss."

There were some lower-level American officials in Saigon who doubted the reports of widespread killings in the initial stages of the Communist take-over simply because they thought, based on past history, that the Communists would not operate thay way. They predicted executions would come only after the Communists held firm control.

But is is worth noting that high-level members of the Roman Catholic Church in South Vietnam, who might be thought to have much to fear from a Communist take-over, were convinced that the Communists were anxious not to repeat mistakes of the past. Leftist sources in Saigon reported that when Communist officials briefed their cadres on the "reconciliation policy" of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, they sometimes specifically said that it was designed to "avoid the excesses of the past."

Some killings reported

Many Vietnamese refugees suggested that if there was a "bloodbath" in the early stages of the Communist take-over, it was carried out by fleeing Saigon government troops who took control of several refugee ships and terrorized the passengers.

Quite a few refugees reported that the Communists, while attempting to reestablish order, did kill looters among Saigon troops. Prominent among the looters were Vietnamese marines, supposedly the best troops Saigon could field.

But when an American official interviewed a marine who reported that eight of his friends were executed in the city of Da Nang, the interviewer apparently failed to try to determine if any of the marines in question had done any looting.

To point up the contrast between what the U.S. Embassy in Saigon reported and this correspondent's own interviews with refugees, it might suffice to examine two embassy cables that indicated widespread killings occurred in Da Nang.

One cable, drafted April 19th, said that information on the alleged killings was supplied by an officer assigned to the national police headquarters in Da Nang.

No support for allegations

The cable said that shortly after seizing Da Nang at the end of March, the Communists began "detaining" Buddhist youths who had participated in a demonstration aimed at helping the Communists take control. The Buddhists, it said, belonged to the National Reconciliation Force (NRF), a non-Communist group that actively had cooperated with the Communists following their take-over of a number of cities.

But when asked about the alleged killings, a leading member of the NRF in Saigon said that he had no information from NRF refugees to support such allegations. One refugee whose cousin was a Buddhist leader in Da Nang said the allegations amounted to sheer fantasy.

The U.S. Embassy cable said that 30 persons were executed at one time in a widely known public market in Da Nang. An earlier cable, citing a report from an elderly, educated refugee, said that 1,000 people were killed in a mass execution within three hours after the Communist take-over. Among them, it said, were "primarily uniformed military men, policemen, long-haired 'hippie' types, and looters."

A Vietnamese Air Force officer who escaped from Da Nang two weeks after the take-over confirmed that Buddhists belonging to the NRF had circulated throughout the city in the early stages urging the people to remain calm and not to loot. But the officer, who could hardly be accused of having pro-Communist sympathies, laughed when told about the embassy reports of widespread executions.

He said that military officers were being told by the Communists to report to assembly points and that they were later sent to "education courses" outside Da Nang. He said that there was some fear as Communist troops entered the city but that gradually people began to relax.

The officer predicted that eventually the Communists would get around to arresting those persons who were considered "bad" or "corrupt," and that they would be tried by "people's courts." But he said that he doubted strongly that anything like a bloodbath would occur.

A businessman from Da Nang who escaped about 10 days after the take-over gave a similar account to newsmen of events in "post liberation" Da Nang.

The Federal Diary

WASHINGTON POST - 7 MAY 1975

Ford Panel to Study Pay Systems

By Mike Causey

President Ford soon will appoint an important, top-level federal committee to study streamlining the various systems the government uses to arrive at its civilian-military payroll, which now runs around $55 billion a year."

The committee will have a November deadline for its report on the systems, tracks and payline methods federal statisticians now use to determine what cooks, typists, generals, ambassadors—and federal statisticians themselves—should make. It also will be expected to make recommendations—all with an eye to economy—which Mr. Ford may want to translate into "corrective" federal pay legislation as part of his next budget.

Federal officials say the committee has no plans or mandate to tamper with the present comparability-with-industry salary law. That is supposed to guarantee the government's 1.2 million white-collar civilians' "catch-up" raises each October to put them on a wage par with comparable jobs in the private sector.

Instead, as this column reported April 29, the main focus of the study will be on whether the government should abandon its system of paying nationwide rates for its 18 different grade levels in favor of an area wage system for clerical personnel and a regional pay system for professionals.

Mr. Ford's new pay team is expected to include the chairman of the Civil Service Commission, head of the Office of Management and Budget, and secretaries of Defense and Labor. Officials from VA, which has its own pay system for medical personnel, the State Department, which has several different pay systems, and other agencies will be called in to help, but probably will not serve as regular members.

Insiders say that President Ford, like many taxpayers and federal workers themselves, believe the federal pay system is cockeyed, resulting in overpayment in many jobs, and not enough money especially for top executives.

Many people believe that the federal pay disparity results from the fact that the government pays a single national rate for most of its jobs, but takes "catch-up" pay data from industries that pay employees local or regional rates.

The Civil Service Commission already has several pay studies under way, and they will be used by the presidential panel when it looks at the possibility of local or regional wage scales.

The committee will also study the various systems that are used to give different kinds of raises, at different times of the year, to white-collar government personnel, the half-million wage board (blue collar) employees. Rates for the military, Foreign Service and VA medical system are tied to the white-collar federal pay system.

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Part II--Main Edition--7 May 1975

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER 7 May 1975

Vietnam defeat could bring a new wave of McCarthyism

By ERIC F. GOLDMAN

As Communists settle into their rule of Cambodia and South Vietnam, American foreign policy is obviously in a shambles. At the same time, the nation faces a less apparent, but more serious problem: the possibility of another rampage of McCarthism — Joseph McCarthyism — here at home.

In 1949 Communist forces took over China, and the cries went up in the United States that we had "lost" that huge land. Sen. Joe McCarthy, he of the genius for malevolence, rumbled in with his assault on those Americans he accused of being responsible for a "Red" China.

McCarthy confined his own marauding largely to people involved in foreign policy, but his implication went much further. He helped mightly to spread across the country a sulking, snarling sense of a vast conspiracy working away against sound Americanism in domestic as well as international affairs.

Soon many upper-status conservatives, irascible from a generation of New Dealism, middle-level families battling an insistent mortgage or a black moving into the neighborhood, and hundreds of thousands of unmitigated yahoos—all these joined in a formidable legion. They denounced in the same breath "the Communists in Washington who handed over China," advocates of civil rights, and that woman down the street who signed a petition for a birth-control center in the community.

In recent days, President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger were talking portentously of the "blame" for the fall of Cambodia and South Vietnam. If we had lived up to our "commitments" after the Paris peace accord of 1973 and sent adequate arms, the Communists would not have triumphed. The finger was pointed directly at Congress and, less directly but no less unmistakably, at all critics of the Johnson-Nixon-Ford Vietnam policy.

Ford and Kissinger, of course, stopped far short of McCarthyism. At Tulane University, the President even emphatically called for "reconciliation," no "recriminations" and a turning of attention to matters other than Southeast Asia. Yet the Ford Administration has sown seeds, and whether the President himself will stay steady in the path of nonrecrimination may be doubted.

Ford will not become a full McCarthyite; he is too decent and sensible a man for that. But in the 1950s President Dwight D. Eisenhower was decent and sensible, too. Yet, he found reasons to acquiesce in the emerging McCarthyism, thereby greatly encouraging it.

If a new wave of McCarthyism does hit the United States, it is likely to spatter a far larger group than before. In the late 1960s and 1970s, many millions of Americans thought our Southeast Asia policy utter folly, and said so in conspicuous ways.

Another period of McCarthyism would also be—if it takes the familiar pattern of making liberal domestic policies part of a crypto-Communist conspiracy—far more destructive of efforts to make sense out of the home scene.

A 1970s McCarthyism, with its call for hairy-chested analogies and bomb-rattling in world affairs, could raise other grave dangers. The United States may have had serious international problems in the era of Joe McCarthy the First. But the American place in the world was as sunny as Ike's smile compared to the present harrowing mess, seeping from an explosive Middle East down to a festering Latin America out to those millions of Asian refugees frantically bicycling to a dubious future.

It is all so melancholy—and so unnecessary! The simple fact of the matter is that the United States did not "lose" China in the 1940s and did not "lose" Cambodia and Vietnam in the 1960s and 1970s. They were never ours to lose.

Their conquest by Communist armies resulted from long-running social and political forces over which the United States had little control.

As for the Paris peace accords of 1973, they did not commit America to continue arming South Vietnam; they gave it the right to replace weapons. If President Nixon sent private assurances to President Thieu, they were just that—private and without binding force.

So melancholy, so unnecessary—and yet likely. If the United States is not to undergo the ravages of another sweep of McCarthyism the millions of Americans susceptible to its blandishments will have to do what few large groups have been willing to do in any country at any time. They will have to forego the joy of accusing somebody else, and find it within themselves to summon the good sense and the guts to face the genuine facts concerning a world in revolution.

(Mr. Goldman is the Rolling professor of history at Princeton University. He served as special consultant to President Johnson from 1963 to 1966. He is author of the book "The Tragedy of Lyndon Johnson.")

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 7 May 1975

Atomic-bomb proposal jars Argentina—and Americas

By James Nelson Goodsell
Latin America correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

A Peronist legislator's proposal that the Argentine Government build an atomic bomb has set off a major debate in Argentina and sent ripples of concern over South America.

In introducing legislation that would authorize manufacture of a nuclear bomb for national defense, Edgar Cossi Isasi said construction of the device would win "increasing recognition in the international area" for Argentina.

The proposed legislation comes at a time when a considerable amount of hemisphere attention already is focused on Argentina because it has Latin America's first operating nuclear reactor.

Put into operation in January, 1974, and built by a West German company, the facility at Atucha, a suburb of Buenos Aires, is to be followed by two more reactors in 1979 and 1981 in Mendoza and Bahia Blanca.

Mr. Cossi Isasi's bill has won some tentative support from Peronist legislative sources, but the issue is receiving widespread attention in the Buenos Aires press where comment on the measure — both pro and con — has been appearing in recent days.

In Brazil, the proposed legislation is causing major concern. With Argentina already using an atomic reactor, Brazilians with whom Argentines compete for hemisphere hegemony are openly worried — and any Argentine effort to construct an atomic weapon would likely be viewed as a hostile act in Brazil.

Moreover, Argentina last year signed an agreement with India to exchange nuclear information. Argentines also viewed India's recent explosion of a nuclear device with interest. Retired Gen. Juan Guglialmelli, for example, wrote that India's nuclear capability was important "not only for the political and military implications but also because it concerns a country on the road to development, with anguishing economic and social problems."

The implication in this was that Argentina also is a developing nation — and many Argentines see the Cossi Isasi proposal as a step in boosting Argentine prestige in the hemisphere and thus aiding its development.

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RADIO - TV DEFENSE DIALOG

RADIO TV REPORTS INC. WASH., D.C., SUMMARIES NOT TO BE QUOTED.

THURSDAY, MAY 8, 1975 (BROADCASTS OF MAY 7, 1975)

SUMMARY OF NETWORK NEWS IN THIS ISSUE

John CHANCELLOR, Robert HAGER, Richard VALERIANI, and Ray CULLEN, all of NBC News, report on refugees and Vietnam. HAGER reports that the bodies of the two Marines killed at Tansonnhut Airport were left behind in Saigon, that both families have been notified and that the McMAHON family is very upset. VALERIANI reports that the State Department is being inundated by calls from citizens and organizations wishing to sponsor or offer jobs to Vietnamese. CULLEN reports on governmental structure set up at Camp Pendleton by the Vietnamese to coordinate their activities with the government. CHANCELLOR reports on reports out of Saigon concerning the normalization of Ho Chi MINH city; on a statement by Rep. Peter RODINO urging haste in approval of funds for the refugees; on charges that Lon NOL was bribed with one million dollars to step down; that Mr. FORD proclaimed the last day of the Vietnam era and ending some benefits. John PALMER, NBC, reports on the expected opening of the Suez Canal and what it will mean to the stability of that region.

Walter CRONKITE, Lesley STAHL, Terry DRINKWATER, Murray FROMSON, all report on Indochina and refugee news for CBS. STAHL reports on efforts to spur passage of relief funds for the refugees and on certain provisions being written onto the bill. DRINKWATER reports on Cambodians arriving in California and on charges that Lon NOL was bribed to relinquish power and that clothes are being distributed to the refugees. FROMSON has a lengthy report on the switch in Thai foreign policy from pro-American and anti-Communist support to a policy of neutralism, ostensibly a change forced on the Thais by the presence of neighboring Communist governments. He reports on what this means to the U.S. as far as its bases there are concerned and on the internal situation in Thailand as regards the insurgents, the economics and politics after the military government ended. CRONKITE reports the last shiploads of Vietnamese refugees have arrived in the Philippines; that the bodies of two Marines killed in Saigon were not taken out; that President FORD proclaimed an official end to the Vietnam war era; on the takeover of power by the Vietcong and conditions in Saigon as portrayed by wire service reports and an East German film; and on the retrieval of former Viet aircraft from Thailand.

Bob SCHIEFFER, CBS, reports that President FORD is in the process of reassuring and strengthening American committments to South Pacific allies. CRONKITE reports that the SALT talks at Geneva have been resumed because of an impasse. Eric SEVAREID, on analysis for CBS, comments on opposition to the resettlement of refugees as being contrary to the American way and on the U.S. role in taking in refugees over the years.

Howard K. SMITH, Tom JARRIEL, Ted KOPPEL, Arnold COLLINS and Harry REASONER, all of ABC, report on relevant news. JARRIEL reports on the reassessment of U.S. Asian policy and on new lines of defense extending from Japan to Korea to the Philippines to Australia and Indonesia; and on the inclusion of Taiwan in that select circle and what that may mean to detente with China. KOPPEL reports specifically on Mr. FORD's inclusion of Taiwan and the reaffirmation of committments to that country. He includes a statement by the Taiwanese Ambassador. COLLINS reports on the situation in Saigon as portrayed by an East German film. SMITH and REASONER report on Mr. FORD's ending the Vietnam era; the situation in Saigon; congressional action on refugee aid; and that the bodies of two Marines killed in Saigon were not evacuated.

PREPARED BY THE AIR FORCE SAFAA AS EXECUTIVE AGENT FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE TO BRING TO THE ATTENTION OF KEY DOD PERSONNEL MATTERS WITHIN THEIR OFFICIAL RESPONSIBILITIES.

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NBC NIGHTLY NEWS NBC TV
7:00 PM MAY 7

News About Vietnam; Refugees

JOHN CHANCELLOR: Good evening. This afternoon we heard from our last remaining correspondent in Saigon, Jim Lorry, who hasn't been heard from in eight days. During that time there was a total news blackout on the capital of South Vietnam but that is now to be lifted. Lorry sent us a telex that said the NBC staff there is safe and that there is, in his words, complete freedom of movement, city functioning just as before the liberation if not slightly better, no shortages except bureau money. Saigon draped in revolutionary flags, literature and music stores and restaurants open per usual, says Lorry. Further messages have been received from the Associated Press, UPI, Reuters News Service, and we should be getting some details about life in Saigon soon. This is some film shown by East German television made in the past few days of life in Saigon. That's the presidential palace, picture of Ho Chi Minh. Reuters reported today that 30,000 people gathered near the palace to celebrate the victory. The UPI reported today that there seemed to be no reprisals by the victorious troops, that security in Saigon has been more or less on the honor system. The impression we get from all of these reports and from this East German film is that information coming out of Saigon is being carefully controlled. Still this is what the place looked like a few days ago with the North Vietnamese tanks standing in front of the presidential palace. These films were made in Hanoi at a political rally. The premier of North Vietnam Pan Van DONG made a speech. The man seen here in civilian clothes is the legendary Ngo Nguyen GIAP, who did more than anyone to win the war. Out on the streets of Hanoi people were celebrating both the victory and Mayday. Here you will see a North Vietnamese buying maps of Saigon. And here is a poster showing a united Vietnam, north and south. Saigon is the symbol of victory won by these people, but many analysts believe that despite their joy at winning the war they will not be unified with the South for some time to come. North Vietnam, despite the Mayday firecrackers and dragons, is a tightly regimented society, it will take some time to bring the easy-going southerners up to the regimented standards of the north.

Two United States Marines; Lance Corporal Darwin JUDGE of Marshaltown, Iowa, and Corporal Charles McMANN, Jr., of Wilburn, Mass. were killed in a rocket attack on Saigon's Tansonnhut Airport two days before the fall of South Vietnam, and their bodies supposedly were on the way home for burial. But today the Pentagon said they're not, not yet. Robert Hager visited the McMANN family today in Wilburn and he has more on the story.

ROBERT HAGER: For more than a week the McMANN family waited here at their home under the impression that the body of their son Charles was in transit here. But last night a Marine officer came to this house to tell the family that somehow in those last chaotic moments the body had been left behind in Saigon. The Defense Department says they thought the body was on the carrier Midway. But when the Pentagon cabled the Midway about funeral arrangements, it found out the bodies weren't onboard and were'nt on any other evacuation ship. In the terrible confusion of the pullout they had been left behind in a hospital in Saigon. In Wilburn the McMANNS, unaware of all this, had already arranged with their church for a funeral and made other arrangements with a nearby funeral home. Today the family was angry that the Marines had not informed them earlier, and the father asked to tell his story to reporters.

MR. McMANN: We took good faith that they were sending him home. And it seems to me that waiting eight days and have them every day tell me that he'll be coming, he'll be coming. Then last night -- all of a sudden -- eight days later tell me they never got him out. It would appear to me that they must have known this a week ago. They had nerve enough to say they killed my boy, why didn't they have nerve enough to tell me they didn't get him out.

HAGER: Just a few days ago the family got a letter from their son postmarked the day he was killed. In the letter McMANN told his mother not to worry and said he hoped he would be home very soon. Robert Hager, NBC News, Wilburn, Mass.

CHANCELLOR: In Marshaltown, Iowa, Corporal JUDGE's brother Loren, an Air Force sergeant, said the JUDGE family is optimistic that their body will be returned, and that, in Loren's words, "the bible says to pray for those in authority over you rather than ridicule them, support them."

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Peter RODINO, the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, today called

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President FORD's request for humanitarian aid for South Vietnamese refugees legislation of the highest national priority. RODINO said, "when this country forgets its immigrant heritage and turns its back on the oppressed and homeless, so indeed has written finish to the American dream." The State Department, acting on that premise, has set up an office to take telephone calls from Americans who would like to sponsor Vietnamese refugees. Richard Valeriani has that story.

RICHARD VALERIANI: The telephone center which is open from eight in the morning until midnight has been taking in more than 1,000 calls a day since it was set up on Monday. The calls are coming from individuals as well as organizations willing to guarantee jobs or some other kind of support for the refugees. Anybody can be a sponsor if he can provide the support. State Department employees and a battery of temporary secretaries fill information forms which indicate whether the call is to sponsor a specific person or family he knew in Vietnam, or somebody with special skills, or just any refugee. The forms are then passed on to voluntary relief agencies which have the job of certifying the sponsors and matching their requests with the refugees. Administration officials are confident sponsors will eventually be found for all 125,000 refugees from Vietnam. Richard Valeriani, NBC News, Washington.

CHANCELLOR: A group of refugee Cambodians reached Camp Pendleton, California today. There are already more than 12,000 South Vietnamese refugees at Pendleton and they've taken some practical steps to prepare themselves for the transition to American life. Ray Cullen has that story.

RAY CULLEN: The refugee camp is divided into five major tent areas. This one is home for 4,000 refugees. A governmental structure has been organized by the Vietnamese headed by a 20 member executive committee. Overall is a village chief who coordinates activities with the military camp commander. There is also a chief for each area and a chief for each row of tents. They meet daily to discuss common problems. The refugee government was set up by a former Saigon banker and MIT graduate.

VIETNAMESE BANKER: The first action that we took was to get right away a nucleus of Vietnamese responsible and try to cooperate in the management of our camp.

CULLEN: Schools have been organized and teachers recruited from among the ranks of the evacuees. English classes began this week. Older children learn English through folk songs. The English classes and other parts of the program were all designed to aid in the transition of the refugees to American life. Ray Cullen, NBC News, Camp Pendleton, Calif.

CHANCELLOR: The second convoy of foreign refugees coming out of Phnom Penh in Cambodia is now reportedly only 36 miles from the border of Thailand. The convoy may have as many as 250 people in it, including five Americans, and it may be the last out of Cambodia. When it does get out the newsmen will be able to tell the full story of the Khmer Rouge takeover of Cambodia. Newsmen who got away in the first convoy have promised to say nothing until everybody got out.

At Camp Pendleton today it was charged that Lon NOL, once President of Cambodia, had to be given a one million dollar bribe to step down and leave the country. The accusation was made by Sakhan KHOY who served as acting president after Lon NOL quit. KHOY said it was a good buy, Lon NOL was so strong, he had all the military and civil power but he was a sick man. KHOY added that the cabinet had decided the million dollar bribe.

And this should be noted. President FORD officially proclaimed today to be the last day of the Vietnam war era. He did so in cancelling some wartime benefits; (unintelligible) allowances, death pensions for survivors and benefits for non-service disabilities, for men and women entering the military after yesterday.

***(Commercials and other reports)

CHANCELLOR: The President met at the White House today with the Prime Ministers of Australia and New Zealand. He told them that the fall of South Vietnam has in no way weakened American resolve to stand by allies and friends. Mr. FORD met later with British Prime Minister Harold WILSON.

Suez Canal

CHANCELLOR: And finally this evening a story about one of the great works of mankind, which hasn't been working for nearly eight years. The Suez Canal was closed by the Egyptians during their 1967 war with Israel, for a long time it was closed to shipping. But with American help -- our Navy helped to clear the mines -- the canal was cleared by the Egyptians and is going to be open soon. There was some news from there today and John Palmer has a report on that by satellite.

JOHN PALMER: On the morning of June 5th, 1967 a large convoy of merchant ships was northbound in the Suez Canal

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when war broke out between Egypt and Israel. Since then 15 of the ships have been stranded here, midway up the canal, in this section and in the great bitter lake, trapped by the debris of war. Now almost eight years and another war later the ships, with their corroded hulls and rusting engines, are about to complete the 100 mile trip up the waterway into the Mediterranean Sea. The final job in a $300 million clearing operation for next month's reopening of the Suez Canal. Only two are still able to make the trip under their own power.***

The prospect of the canal's reopening next month is being greeted here with the same kind of enthusiasm that must have accompanied the first opening of the waterway in 1869. It means badly needed revenue for Egypt and the savings of billions of dollars for world shipping. But most important it will create an international economic buffer zone, one that could discourage a fifth Arab-Israeli war. John Palmer, NBC News, at the Suez Canal.

CHANCELLOR: Palmer is quite right when he says the reopening of the canal will make war in that part of the world more difficult. When I was in Cairo last month talking with President SADAT of Egypt, I asked him if the reopening of the canal and the rebuilding of Egyptian cities along the canal would not be a deterrent to both sides. SADAT said yes. So the canal story is a bit of good news.

CBS EVENING NEWS CBS TV
7:00 PM MAY 7

Indochina and Refugee News

WALTER CRONKITE: Good evening. A House subcommittee is working into the night, so far with speed rare for Congress, on legislation to aid Vietnamese refugees. The panel began its consideration today with an appeal from New Jersey Democrat Peter RODINO, himself an immigrant's son, not to close the nations' doors to the homeless. Lesley Stahl reports.

LESLEY STAHL: The administration bill is being sponsored by House Judiciary Chairman RODINO who called the issue non-partisan.

REP. PETER RODINO: When this country forgets its immigrant heritage and turns its back on the homeless, the fearful and the oppressed of the world, we will have indeed written finish to the American dream.

STAHL: To get the bill passed the administration accepted two subcommittee recommendations: that large American companies like the television networks be asked to reimburse the government for any evacuation expenses; and that something be done about any so-called undesirable refugees. The setting up of detention camps was discussed.

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House members are not full accepting the administration's assertions that all refugee money will run out by this weekend. In fact, a final appropriations bill is not expected to pass both House and Senate for another two weeks. Lesley Stahl, CBS News, on Capitol Hill.

CRONKITE: An estimated 20,000 Vietnamese refugees believed to be the last large group evacuated from Saigon arrived in the Philippines today and were taken on to Guam. They were aboard 24 South Vietnamese navy ships all now flying the American flag. Other refugees, these from Cambodia, have arrived in Calif. and one of them made a startling accusation today. Terry Drinkwater reports.

TERRY DRINKWATER: More than 600 Cambodian refugees are now at Camp Pendleton. When their country fell to the Communists they fled first to Thailand and finally here, their new country. With them the last president of Cambodia, Sakhan KHOY. He said, through an interpreter, that his predecessor as president Lon NOL was given a million dollar bribe to leave Cambodia. KHOY said that Lon NOL was too sick a man to deal with the desperate situation in Phnom Penh just before the capital fell. So, he said, government leaders agreed to give him a million dollars in American money to leave. Lon NOL lives now in Hawaii, KHOY will live here temporarily in a quonset hut. But he said today, I am not bitter. The Cambodians at Camp Pendleton, like the Vietnamese, will be processed and then move on to their new homes throughout the United States. In the Vietnamese camp today a new problem, lost children. There are now nearly 15,000 refugees here and many youngsters have become separated from their families. For some of the refugees badly needed clothes were handed out today. Perhaps in response to President FORD's defense of the refugees last night many people came here to donate clothing. It was our way, one lady said, of making the Vietnamese feel welcome. Terry Drinkwater, CBS News, Camp Pendleton.

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CRONKITE: In Honolulu Lon NOL was not immediately available for comment. Last week, just before Saigon fell during the Communists' final assault on Tansonnhut Airport, two U.S. Marines were killed; Corporal Charles McMANN of Wilburn, Mass. and Lance Corporal Darwin JUDGE of Marshaltown, Iowa. Today the Pentagon said that in the confusion of the Saigon evacuation the bodies of those Marines were left behind. In Massachusetts McMANN's father had this reaction.

McMANN: (Same as Hager report on NBC)

CRONKITE: There's been no confirmation from the new Saigon government that it has the bodies. The State Department said it is pressing its inquiries.

President FORD has proclaimed this day as the end of the Vietnam war era as far as eligibility for some wartime veterans benefits. The proclamation does not effect GI Bill education and job training rights, but the White House says Mr. FORD will ask Congress to terminate those benefits on July 1st.

***(Commercials)

CRONKITE: With a massive show of potential firepower, Vietcong and North Vietnamese troops entered Saigon the morning of April 30th, gathering outside Saigon's presidential palace. Pictures of Ho Chi MINH, architect of the Vietnamese revolution, were carried in triumph. East German television, which shot this film, described the atmosphere as festive. Today for the first time in a week international communications with Saigon were restored. First reports from that city indicated there were no reported Vietcong reprisals and life there returned to normal within 48 hours. Even the black market is open, according to today's report, with new customers, the Communists, buying material looted from the American PX. But a week after the takeover, these reports say, there is no police force for Saigon and still no operating government.

The Pentagon says it retrieved more than 100 planes and helicopters from Thailand before the Thai government demanded yesterday that the removal be suspended. One hundred and twenty-two U.S. supplied South Vietnamese aircraft had been flown into Thailand just before Saigon's capture last week. A Pentagon spokesman said most of the aircraft left in Thailand were unserviceable. Both the United States and Communist South Vietnam had claimed those planes, putting Thailand in a diplomatic squeeze. Murray Fromson, in the second of two reports, takes a look at how Thailand is adapting to the recent developments in SE Asia.

MURRAY FROMSON: The Thais have suddenly been outflanked by Communists, socialists or neutralist countries. The most visible evidence is the presence of Khmer Rouge troops along the Cambodian frontier. So once again the Thais are forced to equate survival with flexibility, that is, the ability to make concessions to potential enemies. The Thais have applied the diplomatic flip-flop for two centuries, with the British, the French and the Japanese. In doing so they've been the only people in SE Asia never to have been colonized. From hawkish anti-Communism the Thais seem ready to bend like the proverbial bamboo back toward a more neutral position. After years of collaboration misgivings are being expressed about Bangkok's 20 year alliance with the United States. The removal of the U.S. military presence within a year is under negotiation. A U.S. troop cutback has just been announced, yet there's a nagging feeling that Washington may try to preserve some residual rights at the huge Utapao Airbase complex on the Gulf of Thailand. If that goes, said one American official the other day, we have nothing between the Philippines and Iran. From a peak of 64,000 men in 1968 the number of Americans still based in Thailand is 23,000, and they'll be cut nearly in half again by June. The artifacts of the American presence are everywhere. In a Bangkok shop the casings for bombs that were to be dropped on North Vietnam are now being sold after being converted into temple bells. But the Thais fate may hinge on how they deal with their internal problems, trouble is brewing in the north and NE provinces as it has been for nearly a decade. The seeds of insurgency have been implanted among people who are geographically closer to Hanoi and to China than to Bangkok. Since 1968 the number of guerrillas has grown from 500 to 7,500, according to intelligence sources. Not all the insurgents are Communists. The hill tribes of the so-called golden triangle that joins Thailand to Laos and Burma fiercely oppose any attempts to control their opium trade. The Communists are merely capitalizing on the disaffection caused by years of neglect, harrassment and corruption traceable to officials and army units assigned by Bangkok. Along the 1,000 miles of frontier with Cambodia and Laos the Thais have no more than 12,000 soldiers or border police scattered in pockets of platoon sized strength. The gap between Bangkok and the countryside is striking, a consumer society versus one still waiting to have its expectations fulfilled.

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THAI MAN: We have a rich government with very poor people. There's got to be correction, we can't go on very much longer under that system.

FROMSON: Since the overthrow of the military dictatorship 18 months ago, more Thais are speaking out than ever before, critical of the government. For the first time they're enjoying the benefits of free speech, a free press and assembly. There's a tendency to draw sweeping conclusions about the future of this country, especially by those who would justify the domino theory. But Thailand is not Vietnam or Cambodia, its foundation rests on a strong belief in Buddhism and the monarchy. It has an experienced, if somewhat mossback civil service, a healthy treasury, natural resources and a sense of nationhood as well as international recognition. If it fails to survive the fault will be mostly its own. Murray Fromson, CBS News, Bangkok.

CRONKITE: Communist led forces in Laos have captured the strategic town of Muang Kasi 75 miles north of the capital, Vientiane. Soon after the town was overrun though the Communists and non-Communist members of the Laotian coalition government signed a cease-fire to end the three weeks Communist offensive in the area.

Ford Reassures Allies

CRONKITE: Meanwhile President FORD is becoming more personally involved with foreign policy. He's scheduled meetings with leaders of 15 nations over the next six weeks and more from Bob Schieffer.

BOB SCHIEFFER: Today three of those foreign leaders beginning with New Zealand's Wallace RAWLING (?) were ushered in and out of the Oval office. The President's concern now is that the Vietnam debacle will cause other nations, especially those in the Pacific, to doubt U.S. resolve. So the message to RAWLING, and later in the day to Australia's Goulf WHITLAM (?) and finally to Great Britain's Harold WILSON, was the same, that the United States will stand by its friends and has no intention of pulling out of the Pacific or the rest of the world. The President struck that same theme during his news conference last night when he said the United States intends to strengthen its ties with South Korea and reaffirm its committments to Taiwan. That raised some eyebrows here, but officials said today it did not mean the United States was giving up on normalizing relations with Communist China. Even so it did seem to be a pointed reminder to the Chinese that the United States intends to honor its defense treaties with Taiwan and South Korea. By the way, as Mr. FORD was trying to brace up foreign policy today his 17 year old daughter Susan was embarking on a mission of her own.***

Bob Schieffer, CBS News, the White House.

SALT Differences

CRONKITE: In Geneva today the SALT talks between the United States and the Soviet Union were reset for a month because of differences over undisclosed complex issues.

Eric Sevareid Analysis

CRONKITE: Much of the early public reaction to resettling the Vietnamese refugees here was protest. But Eric Sevareid senses a swing in the pendulum of opinion and here is his commentary.

ERIC SEVAREID: President FORD appealed to the best instincts of the American people last night, a change from the last few years, and has every reason to think the homeless Vietnamese refugees will stay in this country, will be assimilated with the help of fairly generous funding that this Congress will provide. The flurry of opposition to welcoming these people -- most of them children incidentally -- now looks like just that, a flurry. In contrast thousands of Americans have offered their help to the refugees, even their own homes, a far harder thing to do than writing a telegram of protest. The total of the protest messages received at the White House so far around 3,000 is tiny compared to the mail received when people are deeply aroused by an issue or an incident. The refugee difficulty will become localized, more resistance in places where large numbers of them are deposited, particularly those places that already have a high rate of joblessness. But it is not beyond the wit of man to disperse the refugees into many other places. Leaders of the Roman Catholic hierarchy have now spoken in favor of accepting the Vietnamese, so have Jewish leaders and so have labor leaders, the most critically important group. Some of these refugees are going to want to return to Vietnam sooner or later, some will find their way to other countries and other countries should be pressed to help. The welcoming gestures from some countries that supported the Vietnam war, the Philippines for example

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and Australia, have scarcely been impressive. Indeed the Philippino panic to have the refugees shuttled away from them to Guam, tying up the rescue planes, probably reduced the number of the desperate that we were able to rescue. Refugee resettlement is supposed to be one of the things the United Nations is for and it will be pressed for action. The basic difficulty is a familiar one, the more the U.S. does in any such enterprise the more other governments lie back and let us do it. A 100,000 or so Vietnamese equals about one-fourth the number of immigrants taken in here each year by legal means. It is scarcely one-fourth of the number who get in each year illegally from Mexico and the Caribbean region. This, of course, is not 19th century America when immigrants were needed for an unsettled land and immigration has to be limited. No other country in the world stands for anything like the illegal immigration that we receive and it is that part of the problem that has to be firmly dealt with. Had America turned its back on these Vietnamese the world's judgment would be that we fought that war purely for power purposes, not for the human purposes of saving those people from totalitarian rule. It would have been the worst possible auspices for the bicentennial, the anniversary of the world equine declaration that this land was to be different, the foe of all those who tyrannized over the mind of man.

ABC EVENING NEWS ABC TV
7:00 PM MAY 7

Vietnam Refugee News

HOWARD K. SMITH: President FORD today marked the official end of the Vietnam era. He issued a proclamation cancelling some wartime benefits for servicemen and asked Congress to eliminate the GI Bill education program for anybody entering the military after July 1st. Meanwhile, there are indications that a new post-Vietnam defense policy is beginning to emerge. We have reports first from ABC White House correspondent Tom Jarriel.

TOM JARRIEL: As President FORD today signed a formal proclamation required by law designating midnight tonight as the last day of the Vietnam era the administration continued a reassessment of its SE Asia policy. It's taking form along these lines. It's hoped detente with the Communist giant Peking will continue, even though hard line presidential statements of support for the Nationalist government on Taiwan could result in the President's being disinvited to mainland China later this year. The U.S. concern is to draw clearly defensible lines based on considerations of geography and formal defense treaties. The line would begin with protection for Japan, it would extend across the 38th parallel in Korea, South Korea is viewed by U.S. officials as a forward defense area. American troops will remain there for the foreseeable future. The island of Taiwan is considered defensible and protected by treaty. The line would continue southward, putting the Philippines under the U.S. shield, plus Indonesia, Australia and New Zealand. Left on the Communist fringe with little more than a moral committment of U.S. help are Laos, Thailand, Singapore and Malaysia. Personal diplomacy aimed at reassuring South Pacific allies began today with a White House call, first by the Prime Minister of New Zealand Wallace RAWLING and later in the day by Australian leader Goulf WHITLAM. Both nations are protected by U.S. treaty obligations, both leaders were advised those pledges are still binding in the post-Vietnam era. Tom Jarriel, ABC News, at the White House.

TED KOPPEL: This is Ted Koppel in Washington. What appeared to give added meaning to the President's reaffirmation of support to Taiwan is the fact that it was the first time in more than two years that an American President has publicly recommitted the United States to that country. ABC News has learned, however, that the President inadvertently included Taiwan in his list of Asian countries to which he was reaffirming American support. Taiwan's Ambassador, however, Jin SHIN (?) was delighted to take the President's words at face value.

It is your understanding and the understanding of your government that in the event of an attack on your territory that the United States would in a military fashion come to your assistance?

AMBASSADOR JIN SHIN: Well we expect it to act according to treaty and to meet the common danger.

KOPPEL: Well that's ambiguous diplomatic language. Does that mean come to your military assistance?

AMBASSADOR SHIN: We certainly hope so, cause otherwise it would be difficult to read any other meaning into this particular clause in the treaty.

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KOPPEL: Administration officials are embarrassed by the incident, insisting that nothing has happened to cause a reassessment of America's new policy of detente with Peking, but unable to publicly retract President FORD's warm words of support last night for Taiwan. This is Ted Koppel, ABC News, Washington.

SMITH: Western communications with Saigon were restored today following a week long blackout. Reports from the Associated Press and UPI reporters who stayed behind when the Communists took over said that the city is back to normal with major hotels operating, markets open and no restrictions on the movement of foreign newsmen. A UPI dispatch says the actual takeover was smooth and quick. The AP says there was a big rally in Saigon today where the military commander of the city warned that there would be severe punishment for those acting as henchmen for foreign countries. East German television today released what are said to be the first pictures of Saigon since the city fell to the Communists. Arnold Collins narrates.

ARNOLD COLLINS: East German television today broadcast the first film to come out of Saigon under the new regime. A commentator said the film was shot within hours after the PRG takeover. Apparently happy South Vietnamese are seen marching through the streets in the city now also known as Ho Chi MINH city. East German television called it a fantastic welcome for liberators. It said the people gathered around tanks deployed in front of the South Vietnamese palace. Saigon's new look included pretty girls talking to friendly, smiling Vietcong soldiers. The East German commentator said that even on this first day of the Communist takeover, traffic and food and water supplies were back to normal and the people werepreparing to rebuild their country. Arnold Collins, ABC News.

SMITH: In Washington a House Judiciary subcommittee today began considering provisions of a measure to pay for the resettlement of the Vietnamese refugees. The Judiciary Committee chairman Peter RODINO urged swift action, saying, when this country forgets its immigrant heritage we will have written finish to the American dream. Labor Secretary John DUNLOP said that both federal and state employment officials have begun interviewing refugees at processing centers and the State Department has set up a toll free number for people offering jobs, training or other forms of assistance to Vietnamese refugees, and it said it's getting swamped with calls. A department spokesman said offers of assistance are coming in at about the rate of 2,000 a day. And in California local and state officials have begun making specific plans to deal with the impact of the Vietnamese refugees now located at Camp Pendleton.***

HARRY REASONER: The Pentagon said today that in the confusion of trying to evacuate Saigon the bodies of the last two Marines killed there were mistakenly left behind. It's believed the bodies of Lance Corporal Darwin JUDGE of Marshaltown, Iowa and Corporal Charles McMAHON, Jr., of Wilburn, Mass. were left in the 7th day Adventist hospital in Saigon. When it was discovered that the bodies were not on any of the evacuation ships or planes, the families of both men were notified. Today at his home outside Boston Charles McMAHON talked about the mix-up with his son's body.

CHARLES McMAHON: They didn't tell me four or five days ago. And it also seems to me if they can evacuate 130,000 Vietnamese refugees they could at least get the two boys who were killed out. (Rest of this statement is same as Hager report)

REASONER: In Marshaltown, Iowa the family of Lance Corporal JUDGE were reported to be optimistic that his body could be returned to the United States for burial.

Due to insufficient space items of relevance to DOD from the CBS Morning News and the Today Show NBC News of May 7, 1975 have not been included.

PLEASE NOTE: Complete transcripts of the following are available;

Vietnam: A War That Is Finished... CBS TV April 29, 1975.

Evening Edition EE TV May 5, 1975 Interview Rep. Wayne Hays, Rep. Charles Whalen, Stanely Karnow, New Republic.

Overseas Mission Syndicated Radio May 7, 1975 U.S. Ambassador to Sri Lanka.

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CURRENT NEWS

PART I - EARLY BIRD EDITION - 0730

PART II - MAIN EDITION - PUBLISHED AT 1130

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WEDNESDAY, MAY 7, 1975

WASHINGTON POST 7 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

U.S. Halts Plane Pullout in Thailand

By Bruce Palling
Special to The Washington Post

BANGKOK, May 6—The U.S. embassy here agreed today to a "temporary suspension" of the withdrawal American-supplied aircraft flown into Thailand last week by fleeing south Vietnamese pilots.

The agreement follows the removal of all of the more sophisticated jet fighters and cargo planes in the past two days to the carrier Midway in the Gulf of Siam and to Clark Air Base in the Philippines.

The U.S. embassy here has refused to disclose any details of the plane withdrawal even though the Pentagon announced the move yesterday in Washington.

Newsmen on a press tour of the Utapao Air Base today saw about 40 to 50 aircraft on the base which had presumably come from South Vietnam.

(See PULLOUT, Pg.4)

BALTIMORE SUN 7 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Soviet held ready to offer missile cuts after talks

By MICHAEL PARKS
Moscow Bureau of The Sun

Moscow—The Soviet Union is offering to negotiate reductions in the numbers of missiles allowed under strategic arms agreements with the United States once a new arms treaty is concluded, according to sources here.

The Soviet offer apparently is intended to improve prospects for fast agreement and ratification of the next treaty, whose broad terms were set in November at the Vladivostok summit meeting.

As the Kremlin sees it, the Ford administration would be able to use a public Soviet commitment to reduce the two superpowers' arsenals in order to overcome extensive criticism in the U.S. to the limits agreed upon at the Far Eastern Soviet port.

What Moscow hopes to gain beyond reduced opposition to the new agreement and to Soviet-American detente in general is not clear, however; some diplomatic sources have suggested, though, that the Soviet Union is seeking U.S. concessions on several highly technical but important issues in current negotiations on a treaty implementing the Vladivostok agreement.

The Soviet offer meets a key U.S. demand, which was incorporated in negotiations, to begin immediately after the conclusion of the next arms agreement to set lower ceilings on the numbers of strategic weapons and to curb development of new weapons.

The sponsors of the resolution—Senators Edward M. Kennedy (D., Mass.), Walter F. Mondale (D., Minn.) and Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. (R.,

(See SOVIET, Pg. 4)

NEW YORK TIMES 7 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Standing by Commitments, Ford Assures U.S. Allies

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 6 — President Ford, declaring that the United States had learned the lessons of Vietnam, said tonight that he would pursue a vigorous leadership "on a worldwide basis."

He acknowledged, in a nationally televised news conference, that United States allies had doubts, following the loss of Cambodia and Vietnam to the Communists, about this country's commitments.

But he said such doubts were "not a reality" because the United States would remain strong militarily and economically.

"We want our friends to know that we will stand by them and we want any potential adversaries to know that we will stand up to them," Mr. Ford asserted.

He also pledged "forward movements in foreign policy that will be beneficial to peace," including efforts to strengthen United States ties to South Korea and to reassure such Asian allies as Nationalist China, Indonesia and the Philippines of continuing support.

The President said that the "atmosphere is good" for a strategic arms limitation agreement with the Soviet Union, although the negotiations would be "hard."

(See FORD, Pg. 2)

WASHINGTON POST
7 MAY 1975 Pg.1

Pentagon Budget Slashed

By Michael Getler
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House Armed Services Committee yesterday voted a record $3.7 billion cut in the Defense Department's $29.8 billion request for new weapons but Pentagon critics on the committee called much of the reduction "phony."

Included in the cuts is $1.3 billion the Pentagon wanted in the next fiscal year for military aid to South Vietnam.

Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wis.), one of a handful of members on the traditionally pro-Pentagon panel who frequently challenge defense programs, said the Vietnam aid request is now "a moot point and shouldn't be considered as part of the overall cut."

(See BUDGET, Pg. 2)

GENERAL NEWS SUMMARY
FROM THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
MAY 7, 1975

World-Wide

FORD ASKED AMERICANS to welcome refugees from Indochina.

The President told a news conference he is "very upset" at reports of resistance to the refugees. He said he understood economic misgivings about the influx but added that only 35,000 of the estimated 120,000 refugees are likely to seek jobs and noted that the AFL-CIO yesterday urged union members to welcome them. Ford said the lessons of Vietnam have already been learned and a congressional inquiry would be divisive.

The U.S. will continue to be involved in Asia and will keep its commitments to Taiwan, the President said.

Ford reaffirmed his intention to run for the presidency in 1976 and said a GOP group led by Dean Burch will begin work on his campaign "in a very informal way." He said he thought Republican foreign achievements since 1968 and an expected economic upturn give him a good chance of winning.

Ford opposed registration of guns or their owners and said he isn't committed to

(See NEWS SUMMARY, Pg. 5)

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NEW YORK TIMES
7 MAY 1975 Pg. 30

President Assures Congress on Curbs For Nuclear Arms

WASHINGTON, May 6 (AP)—President Ford assured Congress today that his Administration was giving "priority concern" to preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons or the acquisition of nuclear explosive material for possible nonpeaceful uses.

In a message to Congress, the President said, "Whatever efforts are needed to allow the United States and other countries to enjoy the benefits of nuclear power, without fear, will be taken by the Government of the United States."

Mr. Ford said the United States was taking the lead in proposing measures to prevent terrorist groups from capturing or sabotaging nuclear materials and facilities.

The President included with his message a report on United States laws and regulations governing nuclear exports and safeguards.

"Current laws provide ample authority to control the export and re-export of nuclear-related material, equipment and technology," Mr. Ford said.

But, he said, existing policies and regulations were constantly being reviewed and "changed as appropriate" to make them more effective.

He also said the United States was encouraging the strengthening of international safeguards through participation in international discussions and through the adoption of an internation l agreement.

FORD ... CONTINUED

The President declined at the outset to entertain the suggestion that a Congressional inquiry might somehow determine where the policy of five President ann six congresses had erred in Indochina. And he urged the nation to look ahead rather than back as it began the post-Vietnam era.

"It sees to e that it's over," Mr. Ford said of the Vietnam experience.

He said that the war had been "sad and tragic in many respects" and that it would merely foster continued divisiveness to "rehash allegations as to individuals that might be to blame, or administrations that might be at fault."

"I think the lessons of the past in Vietnam have already been learned," Mr. Ford declared "Learned by Presidents, learned by Congress, learned by the American people, and we should have our focus on the future."

The news conference, in the spacious theater in the Executive Office Building next to the White House, was Mr. Ford's first since the fall of Phnom Penh on April 17 and the surrender of Saigon Last Wednesday. As a result it was dominated by the causes and consequences of the two events, which Mr. Ford said last week "closes a chapter in the American experience."

The President, evidently pursuing domestic unity as a prelude to efforts at strengthening United States diplomacy, had set the tone for his appearance tonight by proposing that "reconciliation, not recrimination" be the theme of the post-Vietnam era.

The President was said to believe that if he did not rally Americans behind his policies allies and potential foreign opponents might conclude that the political instability that has marked the last decade in the United States was likely to continue.

At his last full-dress news conference, on April 3 in San Diego, Mr. Ford noted the refusal of Congress to supply military assistance to South Vietnam and Cambodia and said it was "up to the American people to pass judgment on who was at fault and where the blame may rest" if those two nations should fall.

More recently, however, the President has led the Administration away from such suggestions. Secretary of State Kissinger told a Washington audience that the Congressional verdict on military aid would be accepted "without recrimination or vindictiveness."

And Mr. Ford, in a speech at Tulane university in New Orleans on April 23, proposed "a great national reconciliation." The time has arrived, he said, "to look forward to an agenda for the future, to unity, to binding up the nation's wounds and restoring it to health and optimistic self-confidence."

To Confer With Premiers

The President will begin specific discussions on diplomatic relations tomorrow in a series of private meetings here with Prime Ministers Harold Wilson of Britain, Gough Whitlam of Australia and Wallace E. Rowling of New Zealand. On Thursday, he will confer with Prime Minister Lee Kwan Yew of Singapore.

Later this month Mr. Ford will embark on a European trip, his first as President, during which he will meet with Western leaders at a conference of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Brussels. He will later to Spain, Austria and Italy and confer during the trip with President Anwar El-Sadat of Egypt.

Mr. Ford will meet her next month with Premier Yitzhak Rabin of Israel.

BUDGET ... CONTINUED

Another $1 billion was trimmed from the Navy's shipbuilding program, but no ship projects were actually cut back. The committee instead voted to defer a Navy request for money to cover anticipated contract claims and inflation on ships under construction.

"We're going to have to come up with that money and maybe more next year," Aspin said. "They just put it off, not cut it."

According to Aspin's arithmetic, the actual cuts in the panel's annual weapons procurement and research and development authorization bill amount to about $1.3 billion, not $3.7 billion.

The committee gave its full support to the $749 million Air Force request for its top priority B-1 bomber development project, and made a $45 million cut in the Navy's $2 billion request for its top-priority Trident missile-firing submarine.

The panel cut $260 million from Air Force plans to build a fleet of new radar-packed aircraft known as AWACS intended to warn of enemy air attack. The reductions limit the Air Force to the purchase of three rather than six planes next year.

The panel trimmed $185 million from another new plane the Air Force and White House want as a new airborne command post for the President in a nuclear emergency. The reduction keeps the project in development rather than allowing it to move into production.

The House committee—as in previous years—inserted an extra $115 million in the Defense budget to buy 24 more Texas-built A-7D attack planes for the National Guard. The Pentagon did not request these craft.

The House panel also denied a $300 million request by the Pentagon to set up a new fund that would allow quick replacement of weapons taken out of stockpiles for overseas sales.

In the Senate, the Pentagon also appeared to be avoiding, at least at this point, the major slashes in new weapons projects that some defense officials feared would be forthcoming from a new and more liberal Congress.

The Senate Armed Services Committee, meeting behind closed doors, voted 11 to 4 to approve five projects intended to improve the accuracy and lethality of long-range U.S. missiles

In so, doing the full committee overturned an earlier 3-to-2 vote by a subcommittee to kill these projects, which some critics say could stir up the arms race by threatening to knockout an opposing missile force in a surprise first strike.

The Senate panel, it was learned, also voted 9-to-6 to cut $222 million out of the B-1 project. But this reduction continues the B-1 in development and cuts out only the funds related to tooling up for actual production. The decision on whether to mass-produce the new plane is not scheduled to be made until November, 1976.

Because the government is moving toward a fiscal year that will eventually begin annually on Oct. 1, this year's budget request includes both the 12-month period from July 1, 1975 and an additional three-month transition period running from uly 1, 1976, to Oct. 1, 1976.

Thus, in the house committee action yesterday, a total of $1.7 billion was cut from the new authorization request of $28.2 billion for the 12 months of fiscal 1976. The Vietnam money and $300 million stockpile fund brought the total fiscal '76 request to $29.8 billion.

In addition, $390 million was trimmed from the $5.8 billion requested for new weapons procurement and development for the three-month transition period.

Aside from its fiscal actions, the House committee also tabled an amendment that would allow women to enter military academies and go into combat. Rep. Sam Stratton (D-NY) said he would take his academies campaign to the House floor but would probably drop the combat provision.

NEW YORK TIMES
7 MAY 1975 Pg. 67

Army on Airwaves

The Army, which like the other branches of the Armed forces is forbidden to use paid full-time advertising in recruiting, this week started its second test of the airwaves. Its a small one—$600,000 for 13 weeks on radio in 15 markets—and its being done by N. W. Ayer ABH International. The first test, in 1971, used both TV and radio by all accounts was very successful.

WASHINGTON POST
7 MAY 1975 Pg. 46

Spain Said to Want NATO Membership

According to an authoritative source in Washington, the Spanish government remains very much interested in NATO membership but recognizes that it continues to be unobtainable because of opposition from Denmark, Norway, Belgium, and to some extent, the Netherlands.

Spain wanted a firm bilateral defense guarantee from the United States but Washington balked at that, an American source said. The United States preference, is to obtain for Spain a direct NATO acknowledgment that U.S. access to bases in Spain contributes to NATO defense. This is the present focus of discussions, it was said.

It is questionable whether this can be arranged in time to be added to the NATO communique to be issued at the end of the forthcoming NATO summit conference in Brussels, however.

Events in Portugal are said to have underscored the importance of Spain to Western defense in the American perception. American diplomats have been telling their Spanish counterparts that European attitudes in time are likely to become more syimpathetic to Spanish participation in NATO.

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WASHINGTON POST - 7 MAY 1975 Pg. 46

Ford, Franco Seek to Heal Rift on Bases

By Miguel Acoca
Special to The Washington Post

MADRID, May 6—Wide differences between Washington and Madrid over continuation of U.S. military bases in Spain will be the key topic when President Ford visits here late this month for talks with Generalissimo Francisco Franco, informed sources said today.

While Spain is anxious to continue its military relationship with the United States, "We are not in the mood for just another piece of paper," a senior Spanish official said.

The Spanish bases are considered vital to the Western defense system particularly the U.S. nuclear submarine base at Rota in Southern Spain.

Pro-Arab Spain, however, has steadfastly refused to allow American use of the bases here to resupply Israel. It does not recognize Israel and there are no indications Spain intends to change its policy.

The hardened Spanish positions has become clear after four months of negotiations here and in Washington. The two countries, sources said, are far apart on the following:

- Continued American use of Torrejon, the big joint U.S.-Spain base in Madrid's suburbs. Spain also wants the Americans to giving up the mothballed Moron Air Base.
- A mutual security treaty.
- Modern military hardware for the Spanish armed forces.
- Contracts to manufacture U.S. weapons and components in Spain under licensing arrangements.

Coloring official Spanish attitudes toward the U.S. and a new agreement on the bases are such related matters as U.S. support of Morocco in its dispute with Spain over the Spanish Sahara and U.S. refusal to back Spain's case against Britain for the return of Gibraltar.

Franco, who at 82 sees his 36 years of authoritarian rule coming to a close, presumably would like to see these problems settled with American help before he fades from the scene.

Another thorny issue involves American strategy to link Spain to NATO. Spain has been excluded from the alliance because of Franco's association with the Axis powers in World War II.

Reflecting the view of the Spanish military, the air minister has declared publicly that Spain is not interested in joining NATO. The military also resent U.S. efforts to structure a "backdoor" NATO association for Spain through a joint declaration signed last summer. It said that the bilateral defense relationship "is complementary to that of existing security arrangements in the Atlantic framework and that equal treatment should be accorded to all the countries of the region."

Franco and the Spanish military were reportedly outraged by a recent U. S. weapons sale to Morocco, which is seeking to annex the phosphate-rich Spanish Sahara territory in northwest Africa and to oust Spain from two enclaves in Morocco.

Spanish officials are said to feel that the United States must recognize that Spain has been a faithful ally and that the bilateral relationship must be sharply upgraded to reflect present power realities in Europe and the Mediterranean.

It is felt that this is especially necessary following the U.S. setbacks in Indochina and political changes in Greece, Turkey and Portugal affecting the American military presence.

Franco invited President Ford upon learning that negotiations were proceeding so badly that they might not be finished by September, when the present agreement expires. He made it clear that, while he is eager to conclude a new bases agreement, any new accord must be rewarding not only politically but economically.

Spanish thinking has also been affected by the left-wing military government in neighboring Portugal. Spanish officials fear that if the worst predictions of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger come to pass and Portugal becomes a Communist-dominated country, Spain will become a target for subversion and guerrilla activities from Portugal, and they want guarantees of U.S. help.

Although Spain remains a politically restricted society, Spanish negotiators are conscious that Spanish public opinion is opposed to foreign military bases here. A newspaper yesterday criticized what it called plans to expand the joint Spanish-American air base at Zaragoza, which would become the main air facility if Torrejon is abandoned.

See RIFT, Pg. 4

BALTIMORE SUN - 7 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

House panel trims little from Ford military bid

By CHARLES W. CORDDRY
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—The House Armed Services Committee approved yesterday a $32 billion military procurement bill —$3.7 billion less than President Ford asked—after sidelining a proposal to let women attend the service academies and become combat officers.

At the same time, the Senate Armed Services Committee dealt the Pentagon a sharp blow by striking from its version of the bill a $222 million sum requested to make preparations for production of the B-1 supersonic bomber.

The Senate panel left intact $726 million to continue research and development with four prototypes of the B-1, but its action on the advance production funds reflected increasing congressional concern about the prospective production cost—more than $80 million a plane—of the bomber.

In its action on the bill, in which it made no cuts in B-1 funds, the House reduced the administration's requests considerably less than the nominal $3.7 billion cut indicated.

For example, the cut included $1.3 billion that had been sought for military aid to South Vietnam, a matter now academic. Another $300 million that was disallowed would have been used to stockpile weapons for sales abroad.

A slash of about $1 billion in ship construction requests was mainly a cut in expected escalation of costs—in money, that is, that would not be spent until later years. The committee said it could not accept the Pentagon's escalation estimates at this time.

The House and Senate panels' proposals are for a 15-month period starting July 1 —instead of the usual 12 months—because the government next year is shifting the beginning of fiscal years to October 1. The Senate committee has not yet completed action on its version.

Representative Samuel S. Stratton (D., N.Y.), who tried unsuccessfully in the committee to win entry to the service academies for women, said he planned to take the battle to the House floor.

On a motion by Representative Lucien N. Nedzi (D., Mich.), who heads a manpower subcommittee, the Stratton proposal was tabled, 24 to 22. The Maryland committee member, Marjorie S. Holt (R., 4th) voted with Mr Nedzi, who said there were issues other than sex discrimination, such as suits to establish quotas, that might have to be faced.

Mr. Stratton said the idea of combat coniures up pictures of women in foxholes, but that, in fact, they could serve in such roles as ship's officers and pilot instructors after leaving Annapolis, West Point or Colorado Springs.

Mr. Stratton told a reporter the General Accounting Office has made a study showing as many as 10 per cent of academy graduates do not get combat assignments anyway. He hopes to get a measure passed that will admit women to the academies and then let the controversy over combat duty be resolved at another time.

The annual procurement measure fixes ceilings on sums the services may spend on weapons research, development and production and military manpower. Except for certain increases in Army and Navy reserve strength (about 32,000 in all), the House committee approved Pentagon manpower proposals.

The panel voted for a 5 per cent limit on military pay raises for the January 1, 1975-June 30, 1976 period, provided that a similar kept on civilian raises in the federal establishment. It said that limit would save $828 million in 12 months, whereas a prospective 9 per cent increase would have added more than $2 billion to defense costs. Its net saving was arrived at after taking account of its ruling that proposed increases in military commissary prices be suspended.

The House committee shaved requests for several weapons systems, but in one case—A-7 attack planes for the National Guard—it added $115 million.

Originally yesterday, the Senate committee voted a $338 million cut in the B-1 request. On a motion of Senator Robert A. Taft, Jr. (R., Ohio), it restored $116 million by a 9-to-6 vote.

The Air Force had wanted the advance production money to buy materials and save time if it decided next year that the B-1 should go into production. Opponents argue that such action might have committed Congress prematurely to production.

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WASHINGTON POST - 7 MAY 1975 Pg. 43

U.S., Soviets Back Nuclear Pact Again

GENEVA—In a message to the 60-nation conference reviewing the five-year-old nuclear nonproliferation President Ford said yesterday that support for it "is a major tenet of American policy."

The Soviet Union also reaffirmed support for the treaty but the Mexican delegate accused the two major nuclear powers that signed it of dragging their feet on disarmament.

U.S. delegate Fred C. Ikle said that "we have to concern ourselves seriously with the threat of theft and other criminal seizure of nuclear materialm" The Soviet representative also called for international measures to prevent nuclear thefts by criminals and terrorists.

SOVIET ... CONTINUED

Md.)—said their support of any new treaty would depend on acceptance of this condition.

Soviet negotiators at the Geneva talks, which are due to recess shortly, made the Kremlin offer, according to sources here, and it is now being conveyed to congressmen and others outside the administration who are interested in strategic arms limitations.

Over the past weekend, a leading Soviet specialist on American affairs, Georgy Arbatov, said in a Radio Moscow broadcast to the United States that conclusion of the treaty agreed upon at Vladivostok will make it possible "to effect a transition from arms limitation to their reduction."

Dr. Arbatov, director of the Institute for U.S. and Canadian Studies and a Kremlin adviser on foreign affairs, endorsed the resolution proposed by Mr. Kennedy, Mr Mondale and Mr. Mathias as "a very realistic approach to the problem."

Moscow is willing to make this pledge to negotiate reduced ceilings on strategic weapons, multiple warhead missiles and new weapons systems explicitly when the next treaty is concluded, sources here said, if necessary to insure congressional ratification of the pact without full-scale controversy.

Moscow is concerned that Soviet-American rapprochement might be endangered if the treaty is widely criticized.

"What would be very damaging to detente would be a repetition of the trade agreement affair," a Soviet source said, referring to the collapse of the 1972 trade agreement after Congress severely restricted Soviet-American trade terms to force increased emigration of Soviet Jews in a move Moscow interpreted as aimed primarily at undermining detente.

Dr. Arbatov's comments, putting on the record what is being said privately, were viewed as significant because of their timing just before a recess in the Geneva talks for consultations.

But Dr. Arbatov was reported to be speaking not only on behalf of these circles, often described as the doves in distinction to the Kremlin's military and ideological hawks, but on behalf of the whole Soviet leadership following a meeting two weeks ago of the Communist party's policy-making central committee.

That meeting firmly supported the Vladivostok agreement. The party leadership declared firmly that "political detente must be supplemented by the relaxation of tension in the military field and used for the reduction of armaments and the struggle for disarmament."

Presumably, the central committee overrode objections not only to the Vladivostok agreement—the meeting was followed by calls in *Pravda*, the party newspaper, to follow the party's foreign policy line—but also approved the proposed follow-up negotiations for the affirmation of the need for reductions in arms levels as an unexpected note of the committee resolution.

WASH. POST 5/7/75

By Jack Anderson and Les Whitten

Washington Whirl—President Ford has told subordinates that he will press Congress for a full $100 billion military budget, as evidence to the world that the United States isn't planning any more pullbacks . . . Before Congress votes more military money, some legislators intend to ask tough questions about the billions worth of equipment abandoned in South Vietnam. . .

RIFT -- CONTINUED

Recently a member of the rubber-stamp Parliament presented a plea asking the government to evict the United States from all the bases.

Ford will be arriving in Spain at a time of widespread speculation that Franco is preparing to yield power to Prince Juan Carlos de Borbon, 37, his designated successor. Reports that Franco's retirement is imminent have even slipped into the controlled Spanish press. Important establishment personalities have gone so far as to write articles suggesting Franco's retirement.

PULLOUT ... CONT'D

Sources on the base said that about 20 aircraft were carried from Utapao to the Midway by giant helicopters Sunday and Monday. At least two aircraft were reported seriously damaged when they fell from the helicopters—one on the Utapao runaway and one on the Midway.

The aircraft already removed include F-5 jet fighters, A-37 jet fighter-bombers and also C-130 cargo planes which were reported to have been flown direct to the Philippines.

The Thai government's request for a suspension followed contradictory statements by various members of the Cabinet, with some declaring that the affair was solely an American problem while others considered that the aircraft should be held by Thailand until the government decided their fate.

Hanoi radio has claimed that the aircraft are the property of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and warned Thailand that any hesitancy about returning the planes could jeopardize relations between the two Vietnams and Thailand.

Thai Foreign Minister, Chatichai Choonhavan called the acting American ambassader, Edward Masters, in for a 25-minute talk on the matter today. Masters refused to answer any questions after the meeting.

Observers here consider it impossible that Thai military authorities did not know that the United States was taking the planes out of Thailand.

However, the armed forces are considered opposed to giving the aircraft to the Provisional Revolutionary Government. They are known to view the two Vietnams as posing the greatest military threat to Thailand. Additionally, the military leaders would be extremely reluctant to commit any hostile act towards the United States out of concern that U.S. military assistance program to Thailand be maintained at a high level.

Cynics say that the present situation is the best possible one for Thailand, with all of the sophisticated aircraft already gone and the Thai government now taking a "tough stand" to give the impression of surprise and anger at the unilateral action taken by the Americans.

There are, however, government officials who are genuinely angry at the United States for taking such action apparently without formal consultation.

To avoid the risky move of returning the other aircraft to South Vietnam, Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj said the remaining aircraft will stay in Thai custody until peace and order have returned to South Vietnam and the ownership question can be determined.

Foreign Minister Chatichai has also asked to see the United States and South Vietnamese agreement on military aid, saying that if there is an agreement about the title reverting to the United States Thailand would not interfere. Chatichai also requested that a delegation from the Provisional Revolutionary Government come to Bangkok to negotiate the return of the aircraft and other military supplies brought in by fleeing Saigon government forces.

Such contradictory statements highlight the dilemma in which the Thai government now finds itself, in its efforts to be accomodating to both sides.

[Foreign Ministry sources said today that a five-member North Korean delegation will fly to Bangkok Wednesday for talks on establishing diplomatic relations, AFP reported from Bangkok.]

NEW YORK TIMES
7 MAY 1975
Pg. 22

U.S. SHIP WITH 200 REACHES SUBIC BAY

SUBIC BAY NAVAL STATION, The Philippines, May 6 (Reuters)—The Stoddert, last of 46 American Evacuation ships to leave South Vietnamese costal waters, reached the Subic Bay Naval Base today with 200 South Vietnamese refugees, 19 of whom had been rescued from a sinking boat.

The Stoddert, a guided missile destroyer, was expected to be followed into port by five other ships carrying more than 5,000 people.

The ships include a chartered South Korean ship and two South Vietnamese vessels.

A Subic Bay spokesman said that more than 40,000 refugees had been funneled through here in the last four days. Most were flown out in transport planes, to Guam to be processed for entry to the United States.

WASHINGTON POST
7 MAY 1975
Pg. 48

Japan-China Pact

Agence France-Presse

TOKYO, May 6—Japan and China exchanged verbal notes in Peking today on their intergovernmental shipping agreement, clearing the way for its implementation starting June 4.

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WEDNESDAY MORNING, 7 MAY 1975

WASHINGTON STAR - 6 MAY 1975(7) Pg. 11

Schlesinger Reinforces View of CIA Role as Passive

By Jeremiah O'Leary
Washington Star Staff Writer

The finality of Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger's declaration that the CIA has never resorted to assassination could be construed as reinforcing the contention of administration sources that the agency discussed and knew about political murder plots but never was involved in a successful one.

Schlesinger made his statement late yesterday after testifying before the Rockefeller commission investigating illegal domestic activities of the CIA.

He emerged from his closed-door appearance and, unlike some former CIA officials, appeared almost eager to set the record straight. He said, "Let me make it very clear now that assassination has not been used as a tool by the CIA at any time, and I don't think that applies prospectively any more than it does retrospectively."

THE FORMER CIA director was even more emphatic in denying CIA involvement in the slaying of President John F. Kennedy.

"The suggestion of any CIA involvement is preposterous," Schlesinger said. "It is psychologically and intellectually impossible that the CIA could in any way be involved in the tragic event."

Analysis

He said any such suggestions could only emanate from sick imaginations. The agency's whole role, he said, has been to serve and protect the United States and its leaders.

Schlesinger refused to comment directly on reports of CIA involvement in plots to assassinate foreign leaders, but he said appropriate review bodies such as the Rockefeller commission and the congressional committees will want to review those issues.

THE SUM of Schlesinger's declarations are strongly supportive of statements to The Star by White House and CIA officials that the agency knew of, and even discussed, political murder but never was involved in a successful one.

This leaves open the implication that the CIA may have had direct involvement in plots for political murder that did not succeed — for example, perhaps plots against Fidel Castro, whose death was certainly desired by many Cubans. It is even more suggestive that the CIA knew of such plots but was not directly involved.

Commission officials said yesterday that the group, appointed by President Ford and headed by Vice President Nelson A. Rockefeller, is nearing the end of the labors it began last February. The hearings will be completed Monday, and then the commission will begin writing its report and recommendations for the President.

THE REPORT is to be handed to Ford on June 4 and will be released publicly soon after that. At that stage, the Senate Intelligence Committee, headed by Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho, will commence its hearings into the activities of all American intelligence agencies. Its House counterpart is almost totally dormant.

Also testifying yesterday was Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger. He denied having any knowledge or involvement in either alleged CIA domestic spying or foreign assassination plots.

"Since I have been in Washington, the National Security Council or the NSC staff, or the assistant to the president for national security affairs (Kissinger's other title) did not concern themselves with domestic intelligence; nor were they informed about domestic intelligence," Kissinger declared.

Asked about allegations of CIA assassination plots, Kissinger said none of those allegations pertain to the period of his service in Washington from 1968 until the present.

ANOTHER WITNESS yesterday, former CIA Director John A. McCone (1961-1965) said, "During my term of office, there was no, absolutely no assassination plot against Castro or any other foreign leader.

McCone said such plots were not consistent with the moral values of the United States or the CIA.

NEWS SUMMARY -- CONTINUED

Attorney General Levi's proposal for a handgun ban in high-crime areas. Ford said his coming meetings with Egyptian and Israeli leaders won't be part of any new U.S. negotiating effort in the Mideast.

* * *

A WEAPONS BUDGET $3.7 billion below Ford's request cleared a House panel.

Besides eliminating a $1.3 billion budget request for military aid to South Vietnam, the House Armed Services Committee reduced by $260 million the authorization for Boeing's AWACS early-warning plane and cut $186 million of procurement money for the flying command post that U.S. officials would use during a nuclear attack. The total authorization approved for July 1, 1975, through Sept. 30, 1976, was $26.1 billion.

That could be cut further on the House floor or when appropriations are voted. But the sentiment for defense cutbacks is being cooled by unemployment and the fall of two U.S. allies in Indochina.

The House panel tabled an amendment that would have let women enter military service academies and go into combat.

The Senate Armed Services Committee voted to cut $222 million in production-related money for the B1 bomber in fiscal 1976 and the following three months.

* * *

The U.S. removed from Thailand at least 25 of the estimated 125 warplanes flown there last week by fleeing South Vietnamese pilots. But then the removal was suspended in response to a request from the Thai government, which wants to evaluate U.S. claims to the planes. Vietnamese Communists have demanded that Thailand send them the planes.

* * *

Jordan's King Hussein said the Arab states are willing to make a final peace with Israel recognizing its right to exist on condition that Israel vacate all occupied territory and "recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinians in their homeland."

* * *

Secretary of State Kissinger said that the U.S. "definitely isn't tilting toward the Arabs" and that "fairly large quantities" of arms have been shipped to Israel in the past month. It probably was a mistake, he said earlier in an NBC interview, to have made Vietnam a test case for U.S. policy.

* * *

Home-mortgage lenders reject almost twice as many applications from minorities as they do from whites, a Federal Reserve Board study of six metropolitan areas indicated. But the 1974 data aren't sufficient to determine that discrimination exists, the Fed said.

A bill to bar discrimination on the basis of age, race, religion or national origin in granting credit was passed unanimously by the House Banking Committee.

* * *

State and local governments plan to increase taxes $3.6 billion this year while reducing construction spending $1 billion and expenditures for services $3.3 billion, a congressional survey made public by Rep. William Moorhead (D., Pa.) indicated. Nearly half of state and local governments are cutting payrolls, eliminating about 140,000 jobs.

* * *

San Francisco anesthesiologists' strike to protest soaring malpractice-insurance rates spread to Los Angeles and San Diego, where a dozen hospitals were forced to cancel all but emergency surgery.

* * *

Mexico attacked the nuclear disarmament policies of the U.S. and Russia at a 56-nation Geneva conference that is reviewing the five-year-old treaty banning the spread of atomic weapons. But U.S. support for the treaty was reaffirmed in a message from President Ford.

* * *

A dozen tornadoes struck eastern Nebraska, killing at least two persons in Omaha and injuring scores more. Gov. James Exon mobilized the National Guard.

* * *

The nomination of Lt. Gen. Louis H. Wilson Jr. as Marine Corps commandant was approved by the Senate Armed Services Committee.

* * *

A Commonwealth of Nations summit meeting ended in Kingston, Jamaica, with presidents, premiers or chief delegates of 34 former British colonies warning of a race war in Rhodesia unless the majority blacks there are allowed to enter the government.

* * *

Sen. George McGovern (D., S.D.) called for an end to the U.S. trade boycott against Cuba as he arrived in Havana for an "educational" visit.

* * *

Saudi Arabia banned contraceptives after the World Moslem League ruled that birth control violates Islamic law.

* * *

Died: Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty, 83, former primate of the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary who was convicted of treason in a Communist trial in 1949, and later spent 15 years in asylum in the U.S. embassy in Budapest, in Vienna; of a heart attack following surgery; **J. G. Underwood,** 80, president and chief executive officer of Harsco Corp., in Harrisburg, Pa.

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WEDNESDAY MORNING, 7 MAY 1975

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 7 MAY 1975 Pg. 19

Canada's air defense commitment

To stick with U.S.— but for how long?

By Don Sellar
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Ottawa

This week Canada is expected to renew its participation in the 18-year-old North American Air Defense Command (NORAD) agreement with the United States for at least five more years.

Defense Minister James Richardson, an enthusiastic NORAD supporter, will announce the decision to continue sharing with the U.S. in continental defense sometime before the current pact expires May 12.

The only uncertainty surrounding the new NORAD arrangement is the length of Canada's commitment. Mr. Richarson favors an unlimited term, but has been under pressure to opt for a five-year package.

A Parliamentary committee, dominated by members of the ruling Liberal Party, recently did some deep soul-searching about NORAD and concluded another review after five years would be in order.

Cabinet must decide

However, the cabinet, led by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, will make the final judgment on the matter. If it decides on an indefinite term, Canada would want the option to withdraw on one year's notice.

NORAD, a sophisticated surveillnce system, currently costs about $1.4 billion a year to operate. The U.S. foots the bill for 90 percent of the command, whose headquarters are at Colorado Springs, Colorado.

Only once since NORAD was formed did Canada not sign a minimum five-year deal. That was in 1973, when the Trudeau Government, then a minority in Parliament, angered some American officials by settling on a two-year term which is now expiring.

Some of NORAD's critics have described the $140 million Canadian component of the system as a waste of money, although its proponents reply that an all-Canadian defense system would cost a great deal more than that.

Military picture changed

There is also the military-strategic argument which contends NORAD was designed to counter a Soviet manned bomber attack — a threat seen now as minimal at best.

But NORAD planners already have recognized the validity of that criticism, to some extent, by reducing the number of interceptor aircraft in the system to 500 from 2,000. At the same time, they have upgraded NORAD communications and tracking systems, and broadened its role.

Another line of attack against NORAD is the political-ideological argument which holds that Canada relinquishes its sovereignty by participating. At present, Americans are responsible for NORAD flights across vast tracts of Canadian landscape.

Canada has only one regional control center, at North Bay, Ontario, but this base is charged with responsibility for watching over part of the northeast U.S.

Edmonton base planned

The sovereignty argument against NORAD, however, may diminish further in the next two or three years, when Canada assumes responsibility for its own air space.

Last week, as a prelude to the renewal of NORAD, Mr. Richardson announced construction of a second Canadian regional base, at Edmonton, Alberta.

This $25 million installation will cover western Canadian air space previously handled from an American one. Under the new zone format, North Bay will assume responsibility for eastern Canadian air space and relinquish its role in the northeast U.S.

Defense Department sources in Ottawa say it could take two years or more before all the NORAD zones of responsibility are redrawn and the new Canadian installation at Edmonton is operational.

Had Canada failed to continue its NORAD obligations, officials here admit relations with the U.S. would have been dealt a stunning psychological blow.

But such a change in attitude by the Trudeau government would be startling, since only four years ago it declared the defense of North America to be its No. 2 priority in defense, behind only that of Canadian territory itself.

WALL STREET JOURNAL
7 MAY 1975 Pg. 24

Suit To Bar Vietnamese Asks Environment Data

Special to THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

SAN FRANCISCO—A federal district judge will hear a request today that no more South Vietnamese citizens be given refuge in the U.S. until an environmental impact statement is filed.

The suit was filed by Delta Citizens Group and James Shanks and William Shauer, two Sacramento businessmen, against Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, the Interior and Defense Department secretaries, and against the Immigration and Naturalization Service. It was transferred here from Sacramento.

The suit notes that an estimated 50,000 to 75,000 refugees will be immigrating with State Department help of up to $500 million. The suit says, "this is a major federal action with extensive national and local consequences," requiring an environmental impact statement under the National Environmental Policy Act.

It says the refugee program is a "monumental undertaking," with considerable consequences on U.S. citizens and that incoming refugees haven't been fully screened for communicable and contagious diseases.

The suit asks federal Judge Spencer Williams to issue a temporary restraining order that would halt any further entrance of South Vietnamese citizens into the U.S. and also halt further issuance of immigration permits to them.

NEW YORK TIMES 7 MAY 1975 Pg. 23

SAIGON SAYS CITY IS NORMAL AGAIN

HONG KONG, Wednesday, May 7 (Agence France-Presse) —The Saigon radio said yesterday that life had returned to normal in the South Vietnamese capital, with telephone lines functioning as before and well-stocked markets crowded with shoppers.

Thousands of Saigonese who had fled the city last week when the Communists took over were now said to be returning by bus.

Meanwhile, preparations were reported under way to celebrate the victory of the revolution.

Teachers belonging to patriotic associations were asked to meet yesterday afternoon to arrange a reception at which civilian and military leaders would presumably be presented to the people. Students were scheduled to meet last night.

It appeared that the celebration might be held some time today, one week after the city was surrendered to the Communists.

The radio said workers were busy at their jobs, noting that this was especially the case at the Sicovina textile factory, which has 1,000 employes.

Saigon bookstore owners were said to have tossed out all books that were regarded as useless or offensive.

Television Resumes

Among the indications that life had returned to normal, the radio said, was that a television station in the capital resumed operation Friday. In addition, an official newspaper published its first issue last Sunday.

A new administrative and moral order was reportedly being established in Saigon through the mobilization of volunteers, divided into several groups.

Medical aid was reported being handled by a group of 100 people, among them doctors and nurses.

Two groups of 50 volunteers each were said to be responsible for public order, while 120 people, divided into 17 teams, wearing civilian clothes and red armbands and carrying guns, were reported directing traffic.

The radio also mentioned a weapons reception group, staffed by 23 volunteers. They were said to have collected or requisitioned 4,323 guns of all kinds and undetermined quantities of grenades and ammunition.

Still another group of volunteers was said to be assigned to the distribution of revolutionary propaganda.

For the first time mention was made in a Vietnamese Communist broadcast of activities of Western journalists still in the city. They were said to have been present at Tan Son Nhut airport Friday to watch the first plane with the insignia of the Revolutionary Government to land there.

However, Western newsmen who last filed dispatches from Saigon last Wednesday, the day of the surrender, continued to be forbidden to send news out.

Broadcasts from both Saigon and Hanoi yesterday said a total of 13 South Vietnamese islands from the Gulf of Tonkin to the Gulf of Siam had been "liberated" in recent days; among them the prison islands of Son and Phu Quoc.

Some of the islands were in the Spratly group 200 miles or more east of the southern part of South Vietnam. But there was no mention of the Paracel Islands, which are east of Da Nang. This archipelago was occupied by Chinese forces in 1974 after brief fighting with South Vietnamese troops.

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WASHINGTON POST
7 MAY 1975 Pg 8

Radio Jingle To Promote Army Career

United Press International

After a four-year hiatus the Army is seeking recruits again with paid radio jingles.

The 13-week campaign began in 15 cities Monday. Because the service is limited to a $600,000 budget, the ads will appear only on radio. In the spring of 1971 the Army had $10.6 million and advertised on television as well as radio.

The services have long asked radio and TV stations to broadcast free ads, but they usually appeared after midnight.

The 1971 campaign and the current one are both designed to attract volunteers for the infantry, artillery and armor. There is also a financial inducement because each volunteer for the combat branches gets a bonus of $1,500 to $2,500.

The 1971 ad campaign was considered a success by the Army, which got 10 times as many volunteers in the last month of the campaign as in the same month of the preceeding year. But in the first eight months of the current budget year, the Army reached only 76 per cent of its combat needs.

NEW YORK TIMES
7 MAY 1975, Pg 23

News Blackout May End

PARIS, May 6 (UPI)—Officials of the Revolutionary Government's mission here said today that foreign newsmen would soon be permitted to file dispatches from Saigon again.

WASHINGTON STAR 6 MAY 1975, Pg 3B (7)

'Politics' Charged in Plan To Shift P.G. Navy Office

By Brad Holt
Washington Star Staff Writer

"Keep My Chevy Off The Levee," proclaimed the sign held by an employe of the Naval Oceanographic Center.

About 1,300 center employes expect the Navy to transfer their Suitland office to the area of Bay St. Louis, Miss. and thus disrupt their lives—because of the move south itself, or because they will quit their jobs to stay in this area and then face the task of trying to find comparable work.

LAST NIGHT the employes, who perform scientific, engineering and environmental studies for the Navy as well as other federal and civilian agencies, had their chance to protest to the Navy. About 800 appeared at the Suitland High School cafeteria for a hearing on an environmental impact draft statement on the proposed move published by the Navy.

Among the 58 speakers who testified before a Navy hearing board were Maryland politicians from Congress, the state Senate and House of Delegates and the Prince Georges County government.

The politicians of the Free State were solidly behind their constituency—about 57 percent of those threatened by the move live in Prince Georges County.

U.S. Rep. Gladys N. Spellman, D-Md., told the crowd, "It disturbs me that the Navy thinks it can move people around like pieces on a chess board. They're dealing with disrupting families.

"For what reason?" she asked. "Politics," she answered.

BOTH THE oceanographic employes and the Maryland politicians pointed out that the center's annual payroll is about $25 million, which would leave Maryland along with the center. The proposed site, located in Mississippi close to the Louisiana state line, is sponsored by Sens. John Stennis, D-Miss., and Rusell Long, D-La., chairmen respectively of the Senate Armed Services and Finance Committees, last night's meeting was told.

Francis B. Francois, chairman of the Prince Georges County Council, said county officials "have been opposed to the move and that strong opposition still stands. The county executive and the County Council are ready to use every legal weapon available."

REP. MARJORIE S. HOLT, R-Md., read a letter written to Defense Secretary James Schlesinger from Reps. John M. Murphy, D-N.Y., and Charles A. Mosher, R-Ohio, respectively the chairman and ranking minority member of the oceanographic subcommittee of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. The letter announced oversight hearings on the proposed move to begin May 21 and asked for postponement of a "final decision on this transfer" until the hearings are completed.

THE NAVY STUDY, under the heading of "Adverse Environmental Effects," noted that "blacks, who comprise about 14 percent of the work force, may be reluctant to transfer to the proposed relocation site." The study notes that as many as 80 to 90 percent of the blacks may refuse transfer and that those who go "must consider the general attitudes of the majority populace toward minorities..."

Louise Driscoll, a deputy equal employment opportunity officer for the center who toured the area recently, said that "along the Gulf coast, everything is fine, but when you go inland, it's the old South. In the movie theaters, blacks are on one side and whites on the other; a black cop can't arrest a white man....It's very separate and very unequal."

Members of the Navy hearing board agreed with Mrs. Driscoll in her estimation of the racial situation but disagreed with statements about the availability of housing and the quality of education.

AT THE CLOSE of the hearing, members of the board told a reporter that there was adequate housing available near the Mississippi site.

WASHINGTON STAR 6 MAY 1975, Pg 11 (7)

Army Moving Its Prep School

Associated Press

Secretary of the Army Howard Callaway said Monday that the U.S. Military Academy Preparatory School will be moved this summer from Ft. Belvior, south of Washington, to Ft. Monmouth, N.J.

Involved are 325 students and 65 civilian and military instructors and administrators.

The Army said the shift will provide the shcool improved permanent facilities by the beginning of the 1976 session a year from August.

The Army said the transfer of the school to Ft. Monmouth will permit expansion of the Defense Systems Management School at Ft. Belvoir before January. The U.S. Military Academy Preparatory School prepares regular and reserve soldiers to qualify for entrance to West Point.

WASHINGTON POST 7 MAY 1975, Pg 43

For the Record

• Soviet Communist Party chief Brezhnev and Premier Kosygin will visit West Germany this year, the ruling Social Democratic Party announced in Bonn. The Soviet news agency Tass, meanwhile, said in Moscow that Kosygin will visit Libya the first half of this month.

LOS ANGELES TIMES 4 MAY 1975 (7)
Pg 6B

Californians Pressured Navy to Buy F-18, Critic Charges

DALLAS (AP)—The U.S. Navy has been pressured to spend $6 billion for a deficient fighter plane just to ease California's unemployment problems, according to U.S. Rep. Dale Milford (D-Tex.).

Milford said Saturday in a statement issued from his home that the Navy was pressured "in a demanding letter" to choose the F-18 fighter built by McDonnell-Douglas and Northrop in California. He said the plane is inferior to the LTV F-16 which the Air Force chose in January. Congress earlier had recommended the Navy and Air Force adopt the same new fighter plane.

"This letter clearly stated the demand that the award should go to Northrop because of California's high unemployment factor," Milford said. He said the letter was written by "the entire California (congressional) delegation."

Milford said the Navy's decision, which still requires congressional approval, is indefensible on the basis of the F-18's performance, economy or as the best combat plane available for Navy use.

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WEDNESDAY MORNING, 7 MAY 1975

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R A
DEBATE 5-7
DAY LD
BY JOHN MILNE
WASHINGTON (UPI) -- THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE HAS VOTED IN FAVOR OF THE "COUNTERFORCE" STRATEGY OF FIGHTING NUCLEAR WARS, WHICH SUPPORTERS SAY WOULD GIVE THE PRESIDENT MORE FLEXIBILITY IN RESPONDING TO CRISES.

OPPONENTS CONTEND "COUNTERFORCE" WOULD ADD NEW, DANGEROUS ELEMENTS OF RISK AND INSTABILITY TO RELATIONS BETWEEN NUCLEAR POWERS. THEY SAID TODAY THEY PLAN TO FIGHT THE DECISION IN THE WHOLE SENATE.

SOME SENATE SOURCES PREDICT A CONFRONTATION SIMILAR TO THE RECENT FIGHT OVER THE ANTIBALLISTIC MISSILE.

THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE MET BEHIND CLOSED DOORS TUESDAY ON THE PENTAGON'S $10.2 BILLION RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT REQUEST. IT IS EXPECTED TO ANNOUNCE FINAL DECISIONS SOON, PERHAPS TODAY.

SOURCES NOT WISHING TO BE QUOTED BECAUSE THE COMMITTEE HAS NOT YET MADE ALL ITS DECISIONS SAID THE VOTE WAS 11-4 IN FAVOR OF $109 BILLION IN RESEARCH FOR FIVE "COUNTERFORCE" PROPOSALS. AN EXAMPLE OF ONE IDEA IS MARV, A NUCLEAR WARHEAD THAT CAN BE GUIDED TOWARD A TARGET AFTER IT IS FIRED. THE IDEA BEHIND "COUNTERFORCE" IS TO HAVE A MISSILE SO ACCURATE AND POWERFUL THAT IT CAN DESTROY AN ENEMY MISSILE BEFORE IT IS FIRED.

THE COMITTEE REVERSED THE RESEARCH SUBCOMMITTEE, HEADED BY SEN. THOMAS MCINTYRE, D-N.H., WHICH HAD ELIMINATED THESE PROJECTS. MCINTYRE IS ONE OF THE OPPONENTS WHO CALLS "COUNTERFORCE" DANGEROUS, IN HIS PHRASE, "PUTTING A HAIR TRIGGER ON NUCLEAR WAR."

THEY SAY IT IS ONLY A MATTER OF TIME UNTIL BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION GET THIS CAPABILITY, AND IF A CRISIS COMES BOTH SIDES WILL ITCH TO PUSH THE NUCLEAR BUTTON FIRST -- BECAUSE THE SECOND ONE COULD HAVE ITS NUCLEAR ARSENAL DESTROYED.

SUPPORTERS, WHO INCLUDE SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER AND SECRETARY OF DEFENSE JAMES SCHLESINGER, SAY "COUNTERFORCE" GIVES THE PRESIDENT ANOTHER MILITARY ORTION BETWEEN DOING NOTHING IN A CRISIS OR RISKING ALL-OUT NUCLEAR WAR.

THE SOURCES ALSO SAID THE COMMITTEE VOTED TO CUT $222.3 MILLION FROM THE $672 MILLION REQUEST FOR THE B1 BOMBER PROGRAM, AND PERMIT ONLY CONTINUED RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, NOT PRODUCTION. THE SUBCOMMITTEE ORIGINALLY CUT $160.8 MILLION, AND THE COMMITTEE VOTED NARROWLY TO KEEP THE CUT. A LATER COMPROMISE CUT MORE, THE SOURCES SAID, AND IT PASSED 10-4.

CONSERVATIVES MAY ASK THE FULL SENATE TO RESTORE FUNDS FOR THE B1, DESIGNED AS THE NATION'S MAJOR HEAVY BOMBER FOR NUCLEAR WAR. THE HOUSE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE WAS KINDER TO THE CONTROVERSIAL PLANE, VOTING TUESDAY TO AUTHORIZE ALL THE PENTAGON ASKED.
UPI 05-07 03:42 AED

APB061
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(BANGKOK) -- A REPORT BY THE SAIGON RADIO, MONITORED IN BANGKOK, SAYS A HUGE CROWD GATHERED AT THE FORMER PRESIDENTIAL PALACE TODAY. THE RADIO SAYS THE COMMANDING GENERAL OF THE SAIGON AREA PROMISED LENIENCY TO FORMER FOES OF THE VIET CONG AND RESPECT FOR LIVES AND PROPERTY OF FOREIGN RESIDENTS -- PROVIDING, HE SAID, THAT ''THEY EARN AN HONEST LIVING THROUGH CLEAN BUSINESS'' AND OBEY LAWS AND ORDERS.

GENENRAL TRAN VAN TRA, WHO LED THE ATTACK ON SAIGON IN THE 1968 TET OFFENSIVE, ALSO WARNED OF SEVERE PUNISHMENT AGAINST THOSE WHO -- AS HE PUT IT -- ''SEVER THEMSELVES FROM THE PEOPLE'' AND ''SERVE AS HENCHMEN FOR FOREIGN COUNTRIES.''
03:24AED 05-07-75

WALL STREET JOURNAL 7 MAY 1975, Pg 7

IBM Permits Army To Cancel Orders Without Any Penalty

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WHITE PLAINS, N.Y. — International Business Machines Corp. said it has allowed the Army to cancel three remaining computers on a nine-computer contract without paying scheduled penalties of $9.6 million.

But IBM acknowledged — after a statement was issued by Rep. Jack Brooks, (D., Texas), chairman of the House government operations committee—that the Army was paying $8 million over current market prices for the six computers it is buying from IBM, and that the Army had violated federal law by signing the original contract.

"The Army has acknowledged a procedural error," an IBM spokesman said, commenting on a charge by Rep. Brooks that only the General Services Administration has legal authority to buy data processing equipment for the government.

IBM explained the $8 million price differential by noting that in 1973, when the agreement was reached, the price to the Army of $2.7 million for each of the six system 360, model 65 computers was "competitive" in the market. Since then the going price has dropped to $1.7 million, the spokesman said, because of "dynamics in the market" rather than any change in production costs.

IBM said the original contract, which was for up to 24 computer systems, was awarded by competitive bidding in 1967 but was revised by the Army and IBM in 1973 when Army requirements were reduced. Under that agreement, the Army was to pay $4.3 million for each computer if it purchased fewer than nine.

Rep. Brooks said the Army would purchase the other three computers on the open market, presumably at the lower price.

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CURRENT NEWS

PART II - MAIN EDITION - 1130

THIS SUPPLEMENTS PART I-EARLY BIRD EDITION

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TUESDAY, MAY 6, 1975

BALTIMORE SUN
6 May 1975 Pg. 1

Phnom Penh said to order executions

By DEAN MILLS
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—The State Department said yesterday that the new rulers of Cambodia have ordered the execution of all top political and military leaders of the old regime, down to the local level.

The order, if carried out, would mean the death of thousands of Cambodians who served under the defeated government of President Lon Nol.

American officials indicated that a program of mass reprisals would make the United States hesitant to recognize the new regime in Phnom Penh. Henry A. Kissinger, the Secretary of State, said in an interview televised yesterday that "very tragic and inhuman and barbarous things are going on."

"We don't regret not having recognized Cambodia immediately," he added.

Robert Anderson, the State Department spokesman, confirmed at a department press briefing reports of the execution orders given in radio transmissions intercepted by American intelligence.

And he said the United States has "information that in one outlying area this order was carried out and this involved 80. . .leaders and their wives."

But Mr. Anderson said information available to the United States is too fragmentary to indicate whether the execution orders have been carried out on a wide scale. There were solid indications, however, that the new leaders have been harsh in establishing their authority.

Western journalists who remained in Phnom Penh for the Communist takeover and who arrived in Thailand over the weekend have hinted darkly of severe measures taken by the new government, although they have foresworn writing directly on the subject for now for fear of harming those left behind.

PHNOM PENH...Pg. 2

WASHINGTON POST
6 May 1975 Pg. 1

Refugee Critics Shock Ford

By Carroll Kilpartick
Washington Post Staff Writer

Congressional and public criticism of administration policy on the admission of Vietnamese refugees has shocked and disturbed President Ford, White House sources said yesterday.

The President is expected to express himself on the subject in strong terms at a televised news conference at 7:30 tonight, the first he has held since the surrender of Saigon.

The President was quoted by one source as having said "it is not the America I know" when informed of what some public figures and citizens have said about not wanting the Vietnamese to come to this country.

The President also is expected to discuss in public for the first time the consequences for this country of the Communist victories in Cambodia and Vietnam.

He asked Congress yesterday for $507 million to care for the Vietnamese refugees until they can find homes and jobs, and he is expected to defend his position that they should be welcome and that the United States owes them refuge.

Last week, through his press secretary, Mr. Ford said he was "proud" of what he had done to help evacuate Vietnamese who wanted to leave their country.

Yesterday, press secretary Ron Nessen, asked about reports of criticism of Graham A. Martin, ambassador to South Vietnam, quoted the President as strongly defending the ambassador and hailing the success of the evacuation.

"The President feels that Ambassador Martin accomplished an extraordinarily

CRITICS...Pg. 2

BALTIMORE SUN 6 May 1975 Pg. 8

Kissinger denies links to any CIA death plots

Washington (AP) — The Secretary of State, Henry A. Kissinger, yesterday denied having any involvement in alleged Central Intelligence Agency domestic spying or foreign assassination plots.

"Since I have been in Washington, the National Security Council or the National Security Council staff or the assistant to the President for national security affairs did not concern themselves with domestic intelligence or were informed about domestic intelligence," Mr. Kissinger told reporters after a two-hour-closed-door session with the Rockefeller commission.

Asked about allegations of CIA assassination plots, Mr. Kissinger chuckled and said, "None of those allegations pertain to any period of which I have personal knowledge."

The Defense Secretary, James R. Schlesinger, who headed the agency briefly in 1973, also testified and later told reporters that "assassination has not been used as a tool by the CIA at any time."

However, Mr. Schlesinger said he would have "no comment on allegations regarding [the assassination of] foreign leaders" and added that "there are questions here that the commission and the appropriate congressional bodies may wish to review."

Asked whether the CIA had undertaken domestic surveillance in response to White House pressure, Mr. Schlesinger said, "My recollection ... is that indeed there were expressions of interest on the part of senior officials of the government."

Asked if these expressions came from Mr. Kissinger, who ordinarily would direct CIA covert activities, Mr. Schlesinger indicated that the requests for domestic surveillance "came through channels other than national security channels."

Vice President Rockefeller, the commission chairman,

KISSINGER...Pg. 2

NEW YORK NEWS
6 May 1975 Pg. 2

U.S. Taking Viet Planes From Thais

Washington, May 5 (News Bureau) — Despite official Thai objections, the United States has begun removing the 125 U.S.-supplied military planes flown to Thailand by fleeing South Vietnamese pilots, the Pentagon said today.

Meantime, it was announced that the U.S. would reduce by about 25% the number of American troops and planes in Thailand. The number of troops will be cut from 25,000 to 19,500, mostly Air Force personnel.

Scheduled for removal next month are two squadrons of U.S. F-111 fighter-bombers (36 planes) and three squadrons of F-4 fighters (72 planes). The total of American planes currently in Thailand is 340, including 176 fighters; 16 F-4s configured for reconnaissance duty; 17 B-52 bombers; 12 AC-130 gunships, and a number of other aircraft of the liaison, spotter or utility types.

The U.S. troop reduction, disclosed earlier today in Bangkok, was described in a Thai Foreign Ministry statement as the first step in an effort to phase out the American military presence in Thailand by March 1976.

The decision to bring the South Vietnamese aircraft to the United States had not been disclosed previously.

The announcement came as Thai Foreogn Minister Chatichai Choonhavan said in Bangkok that the Thai Government would aoretian the planes for the time being. He indicated that he wanted to discuss the matter with u.s. officials.

North Vietnam and the new Communist government of South Vietnam have demanded the return of all planes and ships

VIET PLANES...Pg. 2

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NEW YORK TIMES 6 May 1975 Pg. 1

Kissinger Denies Involvement In Domestic Spying by C.I.A.

By NICHOLAS M. HORROCK
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 5—Secretary of State Kissinger said today that he and the National Security Council had had no involvement in any domestic operations of the Central Intelligence Agency and that he had never "transmitted" to the agency any feeling of concern about domestic security on the part of President Nixon.

His statement was made to reporters after he testified before the Rockefeller Commission, which is investigating the C.I.A.

Richard Helms, former director of Central Intelligence had said in January that domestic operations were conducted in response to Presidential concern that foreign influences were controlling the domestic antiwar movement.

Mr. Kissinger's statement raised the question of whether the C.I.A.'s operations were outside the chain of command suggested by the National Security Act of 1947, which calls upon the C.I.A. to "perform such other functions and duties related to inelligence affecting the national security as the National Security Council may from time to time direct."

The present C.I.A. chief, William E. Colby, said in January that the agency conducted domestic intelligence gathering from 1970 until 1973 as an outgrowth of Presidential concern over radical activities.

This concern was expressed in the so-called Tuston plan, a proposed attack on radical movement that included burglaries, electronic surveillance and mail covers, which was prepared in 1970 but not implemented. The C.I.A., Mr. Colby has said, continued to gather information and maintain files on Americans even though the plan was not adopted.

The National Security Council, a national security advisery body, and the 40 committees are the normal conduits for commands to C.I.A. for instance, covert activity abroad is conducted either with the express approval of the 40 Committee or under the power of executive orders issued through the council. (The 40 Committee includes representatives from the major agencies of the intelligence community, Mr. Kissinger and members of the council.

But today, under questioning, Mr. Kissinger said that "since I have been in Washington, the National Security Council or the National Security Council staff or the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs did not concern themselves with domestic intelligence or were not informed about domestic inteligence.

Mr. Kissinger has directed the council since 1969 and his tenure covered the years 1970 until 1973, during which Mr. Colby sai dthat part of the domestic intelligence operation took place.

Vice President Rckefeller said today that there were other channels of cammand between the White House and the C.I.A. outside of the National Security Council and that these channels could have included President Nixon himself.

Mr. Kissinger also disavowed today any knowledge of alleged assassinations b ythe C.I.A. Each of the day's other witnesses—a former C.I.A. chief, John A. McCone, Secretary of Defense James M. Schlesinger, and a former White House aide, Walt Rostow — were asked about assassinations.

All denied direct knowledge, Mr. McCone said that during his term of office there was "absolutely no assassination plot or authorized assassination plot against Castro by the Cuban Premier, [Fidel Castro] or any other foreign leader."

Today's session was one of the last two in which the commission will hear witnesses. It has begpn to prepare its report, which is scheduled to be given to President Ford on June 6.

Mr. Schlesinger said what he recalled, from his internal investigation of C.I.A., indicated that what authorizations came in the summer of 1971 came through "channels other than the N.S.C."

The concern of the Nixon Administration with domestic radicals was synthesized in a plan written by John Charles Huston, then a White House aide, in the summer of 1970. The plan had been contributed to by members of the major intelligence agencies. It would have authorized, with Presidential approval, the use of burglaries, mail covers and electronic surveillance, to gather intellegence about the domestic radical movement.

The plan was in effect for five days, but was rescinded when the late J. Edgar Hoover refused to allow the F.B.I. to be involved. It was not the only period in which the C.I.A. has conducted domestic intelligence, according to Mr. Colby, the agency head.

KISSINGER...Continued

briefing reporters on the day's session, confirmed that "there were many channels from the White House to the CIA" but refused to supply details or state where requests for domestic surveillance had originated.

Walt W. Rostow, Mr. Kissinger's predecessor as national security adviser, also appeared before the commission but declined any comment on his testimony.

John A. McCone, the central intelligence director during the early 1960's, also testified before the eight-member commission investigating allegations of CIA domestic wrongdoing.

Mr. McCone later told reporters he had to "plead ignorance" in response to questions about alleged plots against the life of Cuban Premier Fidel Castro. "During my term of office, there was no, absolutely no assassination plot or authorized assassination plot against Castro or any other foreign leader," Mr. McCone said.

Mr. Kissinger was asked by reporters about the future of a former CIA director, Richard M. Helms, now Ambassador to Iran. "Helms will remain ambassador to Iran," Mr.Kissinger said. "I have complete confidence in him."

Last January, Mr. Helms acknowledged publicly that a special counter-intelligence unit was set up within the CIA in response to presidential concern that domestic unrest was influenced from abroad.

VIET PLANES...Cont'd

bused by South Vietnamese to flee their country before it fell last week.

But Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger has said that the U.S. retained title to the planes.

In response to questions, a Pentagon spokesman said that some South Vietnamese C-130 transport planes were being flown from Thailand to Clark Air Force Base in the Philippines and that most of the other South Vietnamese planes were being removed by ship.

About 54 F-5 fighters and A-37 light attack bombers, formerly os the South Vietnamese Air Force — which was once the world's foruth largest — were being loaded on the aircraft carrier Midway off the Thai port of Sattahip, sources daid. Alos aboard the Midway were 48 U.S.-supplied helicopters, either from South Vietnam of Cambodia.

PHNOM PENH...Continued

Several officials speaking privately yesterday agreed with Mr. Anderson's observation that the information so far is too thin to judge whether mass executions have begun. But they said the execution orders given in the intercepted radio messages applied even to low-ranking political and military officials at local levels.

Given the insurgents' reputation for ruthlessness, some analysts here said, there was no reason to doubt that the orders were being carried out. Ronald H. Nessen, the White House press secretary, told reporters yesterday that "80 to 90 officers and their wives" had been executed in Cambodia. Mr. Nessen also said the United States has had "some reports" of executions of South Vietnamese officials.

CRITICS...Continued

difficult task under trying circumstances and did it well," Nessen said.

Declaring that Martin was responsible for the lives of Americans in Saigon and for maintaining the embassy to the end, Nessen said the President "thinks the results speak for themselves." The Americans were evacuated safely as were thousands of Vietnamese, Nessen said.

Nessen said Mr. Ford appreciated the support of Gov. Reubin Askew of Florida and Gov. David Pryor of Arkansas both Democrats, for refugee resettlement activities in their states.

Evacuees are being sent to Eglin Air Force Base in Florida, Ft. Chaffee in Arkansas and Camp Pendleton in California.

Asked if the President had thanked Democratic Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, Nessen replied, "Why should he" Brown has complained of the new immigrants at a time when many Americans are unemployed.

While there have been reports of heavy mail to members of Congress opposing the admission of Vietnamese refugees, Nessen said White House mail favored their admission.

Of 7,600 letters received on the subject in the last month, 4,456 supported the President's policy, 2,936 opposed it and the remainder commented but stated no firm position, Nessen said.

Asked about a suggestion by Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.) that some of the refugees would want to return to their homeland, Nessen said they left voluntarily and if some want to return they are free to do so.

Nessen confirmed earlier reports that the President has invited Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin to visit Washinton next month. The visit will take place June 11-12, Nessen said, for discussions of "matters of mutual interest and in order to further strengthen the friendly ties between the two countries."

Israeli officials were reportedly disturbed last week because the White House announced that the President would meet first with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat during Mr. Ford's trip to Europe.

The meeting with the Egyptian leader is scheduled for June 1-2 in Salzburg, Austria. The President will first attend a North Atlantic Treaty Organization summit meeting in Brussels May 29-30 and also visit Madrid and Rome before returning to Washington June 3 or 4.

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Part II--Main Edition--6 May 1975

WASHINGTON POST 6 May 1975 Pg. 1

Vietcong Wins First U.N. Recognition

From Wire Dispatches

The new Communist government of South Vietnam has released all prisoners from the Conson Island prison where inmates were held in notorious "tiger cage" cells, the Vietcong radio said Monday.

The move came as the Vietcong's Provisional Revolutionary Government continued to tighten its control over the country and won its first recognition from the United Nations as the successor of the former Saigon government.

The PRG ordered all officials of the former government to report to authorities by Thursday and extended to May 31 the deadline for members of the defeated armed forces to turn themselves in. Saigon Radio also reiterated its order for military equipment to be turned in immediately.

The Vietcong's Giai Phong Radio, monitored by the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug, did not give the number of prisoners released from Conson Island prison, but it said they would be reunited with their families.

Former U.S. Rep. William R. Anderson (D-Tenn.) once referred to the "tiger cages" of Conson Island as "the most shocking treatment of human beings I have ever seen" after touring the prison where 10,000 persons were held, most of them for political reasons.

During the height of the U.S. opposition to involvement in the Vietnam war, reports on the "tiger cages" raised a furor in the United States. At one point, 116 South Vietnamese political prisoners claimed that they had been paralyzed from maltreatment on the island and from being kept in the "cages."

The radio also reported that former officials of the defeated Saigon government, including former President Duong Van (Big) Minh, had been returned to their families in Saigon.

The officials were told upon their release that it was hoped that they would contribute to rebuilding the country, the radio said. Minh responded by saying he "welcomed the victory of the liberation forces and said he was happy to be a citizen of the independent Vietnam," the radio said

Meanwhile, Saigons' new rulers ordered the immediate closure of all overseas missions set up by the previous government and indicated that the new envoys would be sent out soon to take over.

In a three-point directive, the Foreign Ministry ordered all heads of mission to cease operations and close their embassies and to draw up lists of documents, equipment and property for handover to new representatives who would be sent out soon, and warned that acts of sabotage and illegal removal of funds would be punished.

The directive was the new government's first order to the former government's dozens of embassies, the largest of which are in Washington and Paris.

Domestic proclamations by the PRG have dealt thus far with the reconstruction of the country and the establishment of administrative machinery. Essential services have reportedly been restored and many factories are said to be in full operation. Communications with the outside world, however, have not been restored, and news has been confined to radio broadcasts monitored outside South Vietnam.

In Wellington, New Zealand, a U.N. official said that almost all the displaced persons in Vietnam are expected to be resettled in their villages by the end of May. The U.N. official said his agency, the U.N. High Commission for Refugees, is working closely with the new Saigon government to provide medicines, food, tools and seeds.

The North Vietnamese news agency in Hanoi reported that the television station in Hue has resumed broadcasting and Giai Phong Radio said a group of dancers from Hanoi performed in the former imperial capital on Sunday.

The radio also reported that Saigon citizens are scraping walls and cleaning up streets and market places. Old movie posters and posters of the Thieu regime have been replaced by revolutionary slogans, the radio said.

At the United Nations, the U.N. Economic and Social Council recognized the PRG as the successor government to the former Saigon regime yesterday, despite American "regrets" at the "premature" decision.

In a public debate on the recognition, other U.N. delegates suggested that the U.S. statement indicated that Washington would recognize the PRG "in the coming days."

U.S. representative Clarence Ferguson responded, "We will not recognize any government-in-exile, but that is not an either-or proposition. As of this moment, we do not recognize the authorities in Saigon."

Ferguson said the United States was "uncertain as to an eventuality of double representation."

The PRG's earlier application for membership in two U.N. bodies—the World Health Organization and the World Meteorological Organization—has indicated to some observers that the new Communist rulers in the South are preparing for a prolonged period of diplomatic activity independent of North Vietnam.

Yesterday's U.N. decision means that the PRG would succeed the government it defeated as an "observer" at the world body, but neither of the agency applications has been acted upon.

Monday's action at the United Nations was prompted by a request from Senegal that the PRG be invited to attend the U.N. International Women's Year conference in Mexico City in July.

Meanwhile, the Soviet news agency Tass reported that two Soviet ships had docked in Danang and brought 4,000 tons of food and fuel to the city. The Soviet vessels were the first ships to enter the port since the Communist government took control.

Western diplomats in Moscow said they expected the Soviet government to move quickly to supply the South Vietnamese Communists in a move to blunt Chinese influence in the area.

Neues Deutschland, the East German Communist Party newspaper reported from Saigon that the Danang harbor was reopened April 24.

Tass also reported that the new government's newspaper, Saigon Liberation, said that North Vietnamese and Vietcong forces killed or wounded more than 400,000 troops of the Saigon government in the final days of the war.

The Los Angeles Times quoted an American official as saying that 15 tons of gold remained in the vaults of the central bank when South Vietnam surrendered. The official said some efforts had been made to fly the gold out during the U.S. evacuation of the city.

NEW YORK NEWS 6 May 1975 Pg. 8

Says Egypt Fortifies Suez' Eastern Bank

By JOSEPH FRIED
Staff Correspondent of The News

Jerusalem, May 5—Israeli Defense Minister Shimon Peres charged today that Egypt had laid the military groundwork for a crossing of the Suez Canal, like the one that triggered the 1973 Mideast war.

Peres also disclosed for the first time that a Soviet spy ship had been operating off the Israeli coast for the last five years, using electronic equipment to monitor activities within Israel.

Peres told the Kresset that the Soviet Union had not only resumed the flow of weapons to the Arabs, but had considerably increased the numbers of shipments, including ammunition and spare parts for Soviet-made weapons already in Egypt.

Specifically, Peres said, the Kremlin was supplying Egypt with MIG-23 warplanes, surface-to-air missiles and spare parts for tanks and planes.

He said that Egypt had completed laying the groundwork for fortifications on the east bank of the Suez, where they could deploy forces to cross into Sinai.

Peres said that Egypt had been working on the east bank of the canal since the January 1974 signing of the separation-of-forces agreement with Israel following the Yom Kippur War in October 1973.

Peres said the new fortifications included gun emplacements, bunkers and ditches.

"They've set the stage for another invasion should Egypt decide to go to war again," sources said here. "So far, it appears to be a contingency effort, but all that could change overnight if the Egyptians decide to move their troops and weapons across the canal."

Peres' disclosure coincided with reports here that Egypt might shift additional troops to the east bank of the canal on grounds that they are required to protect the canal after it reopens June 5.

Others Aid Egypt

Israeli Transport Minsiter Gad Yacobi warned today that any such troop movement would "sabotage" efforts toward achieving a Mideast settlement.

Peres also disclosed that both Algeria and Saudi Arabia had bolstered Egypt's arsenal since the October 1973 war.

He said that Algeria had bought Soviet tanks and turned them over to Egypt and that the Saudis had transferred some of the Mirage jets it bought from France.

Peres added that Egypt was trying to buy military equipment in Western Europe, including France and Britain.

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Air Defense System

WASHINGTON POST 6 May 1975 Pg. 14

U.S. to Sell Arms to Jordan

By Murrey Marder
Washington Post Staff Writer

The United States has agreed to supply Jordan with an air-defense system including Hawk ground-to-air missiles, American officials said yesterday.

Confirmation that Jordan's King Hussein last week won a specific U.S. commitment for the air defenses he long has sought came in an unusual sequence yesterday.

Earlier, State Department spokesman Robert Anderson was asked if the United States still held to its position that there will be no new American arms commitment to Israel, or its Arab adversaries, during the current reassessment of Middle East policy. Anderson said that still is U.S. policy and he was "unaware of any commitments that were made to King Hussein" during his talks here last week.

Officials later disclosed the weapons arrangement with Jordan. To defend official credibility, they described this as confirmation of an earlier intention, rather than a new commitment.

Hussein has cited Jordan's lack of air defense as the reason why Jordan participated only symbolically in the October, 1973, Arab-Israeli war.

U.S. officials said an American survey team was sent to Jordan and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger last February told Hussein that the United States intended to supply the air-defense system. An official said "final agreement" was "reached on details" last week.

Components of the system, including Hawk missiles and antiaircraft guns, will not begin reaching Jordan until the fall, it was said.

Jordan is reported to have argued that if it did not get the air-defense system from the United States, it would have to go, through Syria, to the Soviet Union for arms help.

Before Hussein's visit to Washington, a report circulated that Syria and Jordan agreed to a joint military command, which would have access to Soviet weapons. U.S. officials expressed disbelief over the report and Hussein denied it in a television interview here on Sunday.

To counter charges of discrimination against Israel, U.S. officials emphasized that Israel continues to receive deliveries of American weapons from previous commitments. This includes, one source said, "quite a large number of tanks" in April.

Kissinger, in a "Today" show interview to be televised this morning (NBC, WRC), said President Ford had "set a tentative deadline" for the Mideast policy reassessment, but that was before Indochina events "took a great deal of our attention." It is "a mistake to believe that there will be some clear terminal date at which one can say from now on the assessment is completed," Kissinger said.

He said that "on the whole . . . the final decision will not be made until President Ford has had an opportunity to meet with the leaders of the countries principally concerned."

Referring to the advanced F-15 warplanes which Israel wants, Kissinger said such aircraft, "in any event, would not be delivered until the end of 1977, early 1978."

WASHINGTON POST 6 May 1975 Pg. C-1

Navy Move Plan Scored

By Harold J. Logan
Washington Post Staff Writer

Almost 700 persons indicated through speeches, signs and applause last night that they think the Navy's plan to shift its oceanographic office from Suitland to the Gulf Coast is ill-considered, politically motivated, and technically unwise.

The crown that overflowed the cafeteria at Suitland High School, where a public hearing was held on a Navy-prepared study of the environmental impact of the proposed move was made up of mostly middle class professional employees of the office who would be directly affected by its proposed relocation to Bay St. Louis, Miss.

Many of them indicated that they felt, as did oceanographer Lewis J. Franc, that politics, rather than Congress's stated effort to reduce the Navy's presence in the Washington area, is "what appears to be the primary driving force of relocating to the proposed site."

"The proponents (of the move) have argued again and again that it is not politically motivated; that it was only an accident that the loss of Congressman F. Edward Hebert's chair on the House Armed Services Committee concided with the sudden demise of Michoud, La., as a viable site for relocation."

The relocation of the facility, which employs 1,300 workers, is being pushed by Sen. John C. Stennis (D-Miss.), chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee and Sen. Russell B. Long (D-La.), chairman of the Finance Committee. One of the things at stake is the oceanographic offices' $25 million annual payroll.

Other testimony at the hearing focused on the almost 200 black persons who work at the office, and who are expected to oppose a move to the deep South.

Louise Driscoll, the deputy equal employment opportunity officer at the oceanographic office, said "EEO (equal employment opportunity) is hard enough right here. We don't need to go to Mississippi."

Mrs. Driscoll said she was one of several oceanographic office employees who visited the Bay St. Louis area and reported, "On the coast it's fine (for blacks), but don't go a mile inland. It is just like it was 100 years ago."

The environmental impact study that was the subject of the public hearing asserts that "potentially, as many as 80 to 90 per cent of the blacks may refuse transfer."

It also predicts that "relocation will likely cause a number of individuals to exercise their retirement options earlier than previously planned." The study says 288 oceanographic employees are eligible for part or full retirement.

The study contemplates that about 800 of the institute's 1,300 employees would make the move if it is approved by the Navy.

It predicts that the influx of oceanographic office employees would seriously strain the housing and public school capacities of the Bay St. Louis area.

The study predicts no serious negative impact of the move on the natural environment of Bay St. Louis.

Only one person testified in favor of the move. Mrs. William King spoke highly of the fishing, golf, and other recreational benefits of the Guf area, and said its sunset "has been compared to those on the Riviera." She said the educational and cultural opportunities in the area 55 miles northeast of New Orleans are good.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
6 May 1975 Pg. 13

U.S. takes 'wait, see' Viet stance

WASHINGTON [AP]—Secretary of State Henry Kissinger says the United States will watch the actions of the new Communist regime in Saigon before deciding whether to recognize it diplomatically.

"We now have to see what the conduct of this government is internationally and partially domestically," Kissinger said in an interview with Barbara Walters Monday on NBC's Today show.

"For example, we know that in Cambodia very tragic and inhuman and impoverished things are going on," Kissinger said. "We don't regret not having recognized Cambodia immediately."

Kissinger also said he doubts that Hanoi would have staged its successful military drive on Saigon if Watergate had not sapped Presidential power and Congress had not passed the war powers act.

"IN JANUARY '73 we did not foresee that Watergate would sap the executive authority of the United States to such a degree that flexibility of executive action inherently would be circumscribed," Kissinger said.

"We did not foresee that the Congress would pass a law which prohibited us from enforcing the Paris agreement and while we probably might have done nothing anyway, it makes a lot of difference for Hanoi whether it thinks the United States probably will not or whether it thinks that we certainly cannot," Kissinger said.

"I do not believe that Hanoi would have sent 19 of its 20 divisions south if these two things hadn't happened," he added.

THE SECRETARY also defended the Ford administration's refusal to reveal the contents of a January, 1973, letter in which former President Nixon promised Thieu the United States would use full force to punish any violations of the Paris peace agreement.

"If we begin revealing the contents of letters, simply because a senator, on top of it a Presidential candidate, but quite apart from this, a senator alleges that there is something in these letters, then Presidential correspondence will lose its private character," Kissinger said.

Sen. Henry M. Jackson [D., Wash.] had demanded that the administration reveal the contents of any secret commitments Nixon made to Thieu.

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EDITORIALS

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
6 MAY 1975

Our best military customers

For a time, $722 million was a familiar figure. It was the amount that President Ford on April 10 asked Congress to appropriate promptly for military aid to South Viet Nam. About the same time, Sen. Gaylord Nelson widely distributed a list of military sales to foreign countries in the current fiscal year thru March 26 [almost nine months]. The list was prepared by the Defense Security Assistance Agency. It is of interest to note that cash sales to each of three countries so far in fiscal 1975 exceeded $722 million. These countries and the amounts of their military purchases are: Iran, $1.9 billion; Saudi Arabia, $1.1. billion; and Israel, $806 million.

There is a big drop to fourth place, Kuwait, $332 million, and another drop to a clump of three, West Germany, South Korea, and Greece. China [Taiwan], Turkey, and Italy round out the top 10.

Tho $722 million is a large sum, $1.9 billion is much larger. It is more than a little startling to realize that arms sales to Iran, a country not very high in the awareness of most Americans, are large enough to bring that many petrodollars back to this country in nine months. It is surprising, too, to find military sales to Saudi Arabia running appreciably ahead of sales to Israel. And it is a corrective to the popular preoccupation with Europe [when we think of foreign affairs at all] to note that less than 8 per cent of the dollar volume of military sales to our 10 best customers goes to Europe. The other 92 per cent goes to Asia, most of it to western Asia—Iran, Saudi Arabia, Israel, Kuwait, and Turkey. And only a geographical technicality prevents adding Greece to that list.

Southeast Asia's prominence in the news should not obscure the fact that western Asia, alias the Near East, is a most explosive part of the world. In a paradoxical way, the fact that the United States is supplying both Saudi Arabia and Israel, both Greece and Turkey, both Iran and [in nonstrategic goods] the Soviet Union, may discourage massive detonation of the arsenals in that part of the world.

U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT
12 MAY 1975 (6)

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The coming debate on funding for the controversial B-1 bomber is viewed on Capitol Hill as the main event in this year's congressional struggle over military spending. "It's going to be a now-or-never situation for the B-1," says one House strategist.

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR - 6 MAY 1975

Nuclear club: members only

How do the members of an elite and powerful club make everybody else happy not to join it?

This is a basic question posed to the countries already possessing nuclear weapons as Geneva talks begin in a renewed effort to prevent the potentially catastrophic spread of such weapons. How to deter the increasing number of countries developing a-capability to "go nuclear" if they choose?

The answers lie in reducing the apparent advantages of belonging to the nuclear weapons club — and reducing the disadvantages of staying out of it.

Specific means to these ends are being discussed in the conference to review the 1970 nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) which began in Geneva yesterday. Though public interest has not exactly been galvanized by the treaty with the jaw-breaking name, progress at the conference is vitally important if the lid is to be kept on what has so often been called the Pandora's box of nuclear proliferation.

The good news is that there is hope for such progress on the basis of new cooperative efforts by the United States and the Soviet Union. These are signaled by the joint release of policy reports on the subject by a panel of Americans and a panel of Russians under the auspices of the respective United Nations Associations of the two countries.

There are differences along with much fundamental agreement. Particularly significant is an increased Soviet disposition to talk "seriously" about pressing ahead with carrying out the terms of the NPT, according to Prof. Lincoln Bloomfield of the Center of International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a panel member who met with the Russians in Moscow in March.

India's explosion of a nuclear device appeared to be one spur to the Soviet concern about further nuclear spread. With Israel, Brazil, and South Korea among several other nations discussed as potential nuclear powers, the whole world should share an urgency to answer that question of why any nonnuclear country should resist going nuclear.

The UN Association panel reports suggest various means of encouraging abstinence. For example:

• Internationally safeguarded help from the nuclear countries to the nonnuclear countries, including the use of peaceful nuclear explosions. This could remove pressure from countries to develop their own, perhaps less safe-guarded, efforts.

• Self-control by the nuclear countries in the development of weapons, while pursuing the NPT's provision for pushing toward a comprehensive test ban treaty. Salt II ought to be followed by a SALT III, suggests Professor Bloomfield, going beyond the limitation of strategic weapons to an actual cutting back on such weapons. Such steps could show the nuclear powers doing their part in reducing nuclear threat.

As the U.S. panel stated: "The most significant actions that the nuclear powers can take to discourage the spread of nuclear weapons will be major, prompt steps towards reducing their own nuclear capabilities. An international climate must be created in which the use of nuclear weapons in a military conflict is totally unacceptable and in which the political utility of possessing nuclear weapons steadily diminishes."

The steps are complicated, of course, so long as nuclear powers China and France remain outside the NPT. The review conference ought to work toward inducements to them to join in reducing arms. With all the danger of theft and misuse of spreading nuclear materials, the stricter safeguards recently proposed in a Vienna meeting of experts called by the International Atomic Energy Agency also need to be pursued.

The NPT review didn't make headlines yesterday. But its work is crucial to everybody's future.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR - 6 MAY 1975

Thailand and U.S. troops

Thailand is moving with characteristic alacrity to accommodate to the emerging communist dominance of Indo-China. The withdrawal over the next two months of another 7,500 American troops is a part of the process, begun long ago, of disengaging from the United States.

How far that process will be carried — some 19,500 U.S. troops will still remain — is not clear. Thailand's traditional, and shrewd, diplomacy has been to adjust to the realities of the moment in order to keep its independence. Hence Bangkok is trying hard not to offend the communists, which accounts too for its eagerness to be rid of the Cambodian refugees.

Treading the fine line between accommodation and independence will not be easy, especially in relations with Vietnam. Thailand also has a problem of communist insurgency, thought to be supported by the Chinese and North Vietnamese; serious battles took place only recently. The Thais may therefore wish to keep a certain American presence in their country.

One important factor in the equation is Peking. It is not known what the Chinese leaders really think, but comments made to foreign visitors suggest they look favorably on U S support for countries on the rim of Asia, including Thailand, in order to prevent Hanoi's domination of Indo-China and keep the Russians at bay. Peking would not, however, countenance the use of U.S. troops to fight domestic insurgencies.

Nor of course would the American Congress and public Hence the question now is how American military power can best be used in Asia to keep the region stabilized and at the same time avoid local entanglements.

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ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH
16 APRIL 1975 (6 MAY)

It's Turkey's Move

One of the reasons given for Turkey's reluctance to compromise on the Cyprus issue was the unstable, interim status of the government in Ankara. Now, however, a new coalition has been formed by Premier Suleyman Demirel and it will be interesting to see if this results in making a small but meaningful compromise aimed at resuming the dialogue with Greece and the shipment of U.S. military aid to an important member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Compromise is possible by an announcement by Premier Demirel of intentions to resettle refugees uprooted as a result of Turkey's invasion of Cyprus and occupation of the northern one half of the island. It is possible by recognizing, at least in principle, the necessity of withdrawing the occupying forces and the desirability of unifying the island which would perhaps be given a federated status, but under a central government made up of Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

Without this sort of a compromise, Congress should reject pressure from the Ford Administration to lift the arms embargo from Turkey. Military aid would be resumed under a bill approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by a nine-to-seven vote. We hope the Senate does not fall for the Administration's argument that NATO's eastern flank is being undermined by the embargo. The resumption of aid would further antagonize Greece and thus leave the eastern flank undermined. It would also make a mockery of U.S. laws which prohibit such military assistance to countries using U.S. arms to invade other countries.

The only way to restore NATO's health in the eastern Mediterranean is to settle the Cyprus issue and this requires certain compromises from a country whose invading forces are on foreign soil.

NEW YORK TIMES 6 MAY 1975

U.S. Foreign Policy: After Vietnam

To the Editor:

There are a number of points that deserve comment regarding Secretary of State Kissinger's recent observations about Vietnam.

First, it is not helpful to blame Congress for the debacle. Recent Congressional rejection of Administration requests for military aid contributed something to the decline in ARVN's will to resist. But after all, the main Washington decisions have been made by successive Administrations. Future problems press so hard upon us that this is not the time for a post mortem on Washington's role.

Secondly, the breathtaking collapse in Saigon surely results mainly from the internal inadequacies of the Saigon regime itself—its inability to inspire; its corrupt, incompetent military leadership; its rigid, unresponsive political structure. No amount of American aid could have made up for these chronic deficiencies as Saigon faced its Vietnamese enemies.

Thirdly, the collapse of Vietnam should have come as no surprise. This development has been expected in most of Southeast Asia ever since the cease-fire sprung American troops and established a complicated "political process" neither party seriously accepted. Most governments in Southeast Asia long ago prepared for the present contingency. The surprise is only that Saigon lasted so long and that the collapse, when it came, was so abrupt.

Fourthly, the Secretary is right that there will be "consequences" following on the abrupt American withdrawal, particularly in Thailand, Malaysia and South Korea. But it is not correct that statesmen in Western Europe and the Middle East, where our interests are so much more substantial and direct, will look on our withdrawal from Vietnam as a guide to our likely reactions to crises in their area. Their principal response is one of relief that now Washington is at last free to tackle more central issues.

There are humanitarian imperatives the President and Secretary rightly seek to cope with. These will require urgent actions by many concerned Americans, including the Congress.

Finally, now the President, the Secretary and the Congress must turn their serious and nonpolemic attention to the agenda of foreign-policy challenges before us. These include (1) the continuing risk of war in the Middle East; (2) the troubling ambiguities of "détente"; (3) the stalled progress in SALT; (4) American relations with Europe, Japan and the Asian giants of China and India, and (5) reshaping an economic order accommodating the many profound changes since Bretton Woods. These are of far greater urgency and consequence to our national interest than how or why our entanglement in Indochina came to such an end.

We now have an opportunity to revitalize that gift of innovative attacks on complex international problems which made American leadership of the postwar nineteen-forties and early nineteen-fifties so remarkable—and so widely welcomed.

(Prof.) HOWARD WRIGGINS
Director, Southern Asian Institute
Columbia University
New York, May 1, 1975

WASHINGTON STAR - 5 MAY 1975 (6)

Candor in Correspondence

The administration, we think, has been a good deal less than candid about the correspondence between former President Nixon and South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu previous to the signing of the Paris peace agreement in 1973. The private assurances given to Thieu, revealed in two letters made public here by a former cabinet minister in the Saigon government, go well beyond the promises admitted by the White House, that the United States would "react vigorously" in case of violations of the agreements by Hanoi.

As it turns out, the pledges were considerably more specific. In November of 1972, Thieu received from Nixon "my absolute assurance that if Hanoi fails to abide by the terms of this agreement it is my intention to take swift and severe retaliatory action. In January of the next year, a recalcitrant Thieu was offered "my assurance of continued assistance in the post-settlement period and that we will respond with full force should the settlement be violated by North Vietnam". It is quite understandable that the Saigon government should have taken these assurances as a promise that the United States would intervene, at least with massive air attacks, if the peace accords broke down.

Why is the Ford administration touchy about these communications between two former presidents? The presumption must be that they were made in good faith by Nixon. The reports that he had every intention of retaliating against massive North Vietnamese violations of the peace accords have not been denied. Nixon's sudden loss of authority as the result of his Watergate problems in the spring of 1973 is a quite logical explanation of why the projected air strikes on North Vietnamese military installations in South Vietnam were cancelled. It is true, of course, that private correspondence between heads of state are not normally made public. But in the present circumstances, with both president's out of office and one of the two governments no longer in existence, the argument of confidentiality carries little weight.

Nor do we believe that the Congress or the American people were deliberately deceived. In many public statements early in 1973, Nixon threatened retaliation against the North Vietnamese in terms very nearly as specific as those in his letters to Thieu. It was the circumstances that made these warnings, as they say, inoperative. As Nixon's authority crumbled under the weight of Watergate revelations, Congress passed specific legislation prohibiting the kind of relatiatory action that Nixon had pledged. After that, it is incredible that Thieu should have expected any American intervention, and in fact, there is sound evidence that he did not.

So why all the pussy-footing about the letters, which, in any case are already in the public domaine? The administrations's qualms in this matter simply feed charges from Senator Henry Jackson and others that it is once again covering up. President Ford, it seems to us, has nothing whatever to lose in making all of the correspondence public, and we urge him to do so forthwith.

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PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER - 6 MAY 1975

Consent is the foundation of foreign policy success

We aren't sure that there are any new lessons to learn from the Vietnam debacle, but there certainly is an old one. It is that no foreign policy of the U. S. government can be successful without the informed consent of the American people.

That may sound like a truism, but it seems necessary to state it because even the brilliant Secretary of State Henry Kissinger does not seem to have grasped it. In an interview yesterday on the NBC "Today" show, Mr. Kissinger reiterated a favorable theme. Reflecting on the debacle, he saw it stemming from the inability of the Executive Branch to conduct foreign policy as it saw fit.

"In January '73," he said, "we did not foresee that Watergate would sap the executive authority of the United States to such a degree that flexibility of executive action inherently would be circumscribed."

And he went on to say, "We did not foresee that the Congress would pass a law which prohibited us from enforcing the Paris agreement . . . I do not believe that Hanoi would have sent 19 of its 20 divisions south if these two things hadn't happened."

Looked at one way, this is a roundabout way of saying that Congress is to blame for America's failure to meet its commitments, but there are deeper implications as well.

Mr. Kissinger's approach rests on two untenable assumptions—that the Executive Branch, which is to say the President and himself, not necessarily in that order of importance, know the right course to follow in foreign affairs and that their action should not be "circumscribed" by public opinion.

One must grant, of course, that public opinion can be wrong. Still, it seems to us that when the people make erroneous judgments it is usually because they have not been given the facts on which to make right judgments.

And that is the history of our involvement in Southeast Asia—a history of an Executive Branch which, over the years, operated in secrecy and insisted on public acquiescence, not to say acclaim, without telling the public the truth. Many of the crimes of Watergate were themselves rooted in President Nixon's obsession with secrecy—the wiretapping of newsmen and officials on Mr. Kissinger's staff, for example, and the attempt, by a burglary, to "get something" on Dr. Daniel Ellsberg, who had revealed the secret study of the truth about our Vietnam involvement.

Secrecy breeds deceit, and deceit breeds distrust. The War Powers Act was not immaculately conceived. It was born of a congressional determination, reflecting public opinion, that never again would an Executive Branch deceive the American people into another shooting war.

That may be an inconvenience to the administration. The necessity of obtaining public consent to policy may also seem to be an inconvenience. Yet the very process of obtaining public consent can save policy-makers from their more egregious errors, for there is no better way of testing policy than to debate it openly. That, after all, is what democracy is all about.

What went wrong in Southeast Asia was not the inability of the Executive to pursue a policy but the policy itself, and if one lesson of America's defeat is that the Executive Branch can also be wrong, surely another is, as Averill Harriman put it, that "no foreign policy will stick unless the American people are behind it." And they cannot be expected to give any administration "flexibility" unless the administration gives them the facts.

NEW YORK TIMES - 6 MAY 1975

Choice for Portugal

Portugal's chances for peaceful progress toward political democracy, social reform and economic development now depend critically on the answer to one question:

What do the country's military rulers mean when they speak of "Portuguese socialism" as the goal of the revolution they launched with the overthrow of the fascist regime a year ago?

If they mean social democracy in the Western European mold—social reform, free speech and press, economic planning, state intervention or ownership in some sectors, private enterprise in others—they can be assured of a relatively smooth passage.

This pattern was supported by more than 63 per cent of the voters who marked their ballots for the Socialist and Popular Democratic parties in the election of a constituent assembly a few days ago. This direction would win immediate sympathy and support for Portugal from many European governments and presumably from the United States as well.

If, however, the military leaders are bent on pervasive Marxist socialism with no political democracy—the socialism clearly favored by one of the most orthodox Communist parties in the world, as well as by radical spokesmen for the Armed Forces Movement—Portugal faces a bleak future. The Portuguese will find they have exchanged a dictatorship of the right for one of the Marxist left.

To its credit, the Armed Forces Movement ignored Communist pleas for a delay and carried out a remarkably free election. The response—a 92 per cent turnout—was magnificent. But if the people demonstrated above all their desire to participate in the democratic process, they also indicated clearly the direction they wish to go. The Communists, far better organized at the outset than any other party and lavishly financed from abroad, got only 12.5 per cent of the votes. Only 7 per cent took the advice of some military leaders and cast blank ballots.

The wiser military chiefs surely realize that to ignore such decisive results will risk unrest and opposition to the legitimate goals of the 1974 revolution. But others behave as though the election had no significance whatever.

There can be no effective challenge to the authority of the Armed Forces Movement. All major parties have agreed, albeit under pressure, to a dominant military role in Portugal's political life for at least three years. But the hope must be that after the long night of fascism the military rulers will not substitute the ideas of a radical minority for the clearly expressed will of the people.

What those people were saying emphatically last week is that Portugal can have social reform, structural change and economic advance within a framework of democracy and a climate of freedom.

NEW YORK NEWS - 6 MAY 1975

THE AMERICAN WAY

The Ford administration will ask Congress for $507 million to pay the cost of bringing 125,000 Vietnamese refugees to this country and helping them to start new lives. That is in keeping with this nation's tradition of compassion and hospitality.

Honoring another cherished American principle, the refugees will be given a free choice whether to remain here, return home, or settle in another land. That, we hope, will still the vicious Communist lie that these people were "kidnaped" by the U.S.

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BOSTON GLOBE - 4 MAY 1975 (6)

Lessons from Vietnam

The greatest disaster in American foreign policy has ended at last. This country's intervention in Southeast Asia cost us more than 50,000 American lives and $150 billion in tax money. And, in the end, we got nothing for our effort but pain and humiliation.

If there is a single lesson in this terrible experience, it is that America's foreign policy has been isolated from the will of the people at home and has become increasingly out of touch with the ideals and aspirations of the people we aimed to help abroad — not just in Vietnam, but in places like Greece and Portugal, Chile and the Middle East.

In large part our deafness has stemmed from a dangerous overdependence by two Presidents on a single brilliant and tireless Secretary of State who was given free rein to promote what he saw as the best interests of the United States.

This has resulted in short-term gains without long-range solutions. It has made waste of a large and extremely capable State Department. And it has not only led to the neglect of areas beyond Dr. Kissinger's personal scrutiny but it has closed the Administration to valuable outside advice.

As Mary McGrory suggested last week, it was not until our young people "took up arms in the McCarthy campaign" and "evicted a President" that the ordinary citizen began to question our activities abroad. With the young people and their parents of the World War II generation in rout, grass roots resentment began to penetrate Congress.

American foreign policy has too often been regarded as the exclusive province of the President and his Secretary of State. Today Congress is taking an active interest in foreign policy. It should be a long time before any Administration is again allowed to lead the nation down the road of military intervention.

And, with the people still casting a suspicious eye on everything that happens in Washington, there is a fair chance that a consensus foreign policy can evolve.

It may be a dangerous process. The temper of the country is more isolationist than internationalist these days and, as James Q. Wilson points out in the Spring issue of "The Public Interest," there is a continuing decline in the people's trust in their government.

This could manifest itself in a Congress which substitutes obstruction for consideration and result in a foreign policy that is timid rather than cautious. Recent polls seem to suggest that the average citizen would just as soon forget Asia and the Asians and focus entirely on domestic matters.

But we cannot forget Asia — or Europe or Africa or Latin America or the Middle East. Americans must not give unwitting credence to the domino theory by reacting so strongly to the failure in Indochina that we abandon our commitments to the rest of the world rather than creatively modifying them. As President Kennedy once put it, "Domestic policy can defeat us; foreign policy will kill us."

Overall, our goal must be to get back to the point where the United States is respected for what it is, not for the power it wields.

What this country needs now is a new type of commitment. No longer can we rely on threats of arms and economic reprisal to get our way. In fact we should work to reduce the reliance on arms everywhere. And this process might well begin with a review of all of the 50 to 80 bilateral treaties now in existence that require the United States to use force on behalf of a perceived ally, regardless of our lasting national interest.

Our new commitment should be based on openness and on respect for the rights and interests of other nations as well as our own. Economic, technical and humanitarian aid should be based on mutual interest but they should not be used to curry favor with one people while letting another people become our enemy.

It will not be easy to change a foreign policy which has undergone little modification since the days of John Foster Dulles' brinksmanship. But change it we must, if we are to survive in a changing world.

BALTIMORE NEWS AMERICAN - 1 MAY 1975 (6)

The Taste Of Ashes

So it has ended at last, this Vietnamese war of more than 30 years, and perhaps the strongest first reaction was a sense of numbed surprise that the end came so quickly in the final cataclysm.

It is literally difficult to grasp that it really is all over, that unconditional surrender was given by the Saigon government to its Communist invaders, that it would do so with such meekness after so much suffering by its people over so many years.

The brutal fact is that Saigon was beaten and had absolutely no hope of victory left. In the face of forces armed by unlimited supplies from the Soviet Union and Red China, South Vietnam was doomed when the 74th Congress withheld similar aid from the United States.

It is unfair to blame Congress. Its members are elected to represent the views of the American public. And that public — in no uncertain terms—had signalled the hell with Vietnam and any further involvement in that country's troubles.

You have to face it. Following a generation of trying to help the south, a collapse of American will occurred when we got our own fighting men out of there through the Paris "peace" accords. The war had cost us over 50,000 dead, 300,000 wounded, some $140 billion and all kinds of damaging domestic divisions. Enough was enough.

Along with Saigon's surrender, a tragic chapter in this country's history thus has ended. Because of our failure to carry through in support of South Vietnam, a new and uncertain chapter in our future remains to be written.

The outlook is not encouraging, but the taste of ashes from our Vietnam defeat need not be as important as it may seem.

We can recapture lost credibility with our allies by keeping ourselves militarily strong — and henceforth living up to commitments made with the same kind of selective care taken by pragmatic bosses of the Communist world.

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Part II --Main Edition -- 6 May 1975

FEATURES COLUMNISTS

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR - 6 MAY 1975

CIA view proved right Last days of Saigon:

By Daniel Southerland
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Hong Kong

Graham Martin, the U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam, is the target of much criticism for the hasty and disorderly way in which the last Americans and some of their Vietnamese friends were evacuated from Saigon.

But as time moves on, the critics are likely to focus increasingly on the more weighty issue of Mr. Martin's entire Vietnam policy and what embassy insiders began to describe openly in recent days as the Ambassador's "illusions" and "overoptimism."

Prominent among those insiders were Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) officials, who were painting a gloomier picture of Saigon's prospects for survival several weeks ago than Mr. Martin was.

Even well after the fall of the city of Da Nang at the end of March, the Ambassador persisted, according to embassy officials, in thinking that Saigon could hold the line at some point on the military front. The CIA, on the other hand, was convinced soon after the fall of Da Nang that the war was lost.

Last-ditch hopes held

With much of the country in Communist hands, Mr. Martin argued that the Communists actually held little more than "deficit," or nonproductive, areas, and that Saigon still had a hope of defending the more productive areas.

According to well-placed embassy sources, the CIA at that point saw the need to encourage the establishment of a new and more conciliatory leadership in Saigon. But Mr. Martin and some of his subordinates were advocating the formation of a "fighting cabinet" in Saigon under President Nguyen Van Thieu.

As it was, the "fighting cabinet" was ineffective, the CIA's pessimism over Saigon's prospects for survival seemed justified by further government retreats, and the CIA station chief in Saigon apparently had some success in helping persuade Mr. Martin that President Thieu's leadership was a liability.

It may remain one of those "ifs" of history, but some CIA officials are convinced that if Mr. Martin had foreseen more clearly the defeats that lay ahead of Saigon, he and Washington might have been able to move quickly enough to set up conditions for at least a gradual, phased Communist take-over, and a more graceful American exit, instead of the outright military take-over that eventually occurred.

Saigon bickered to the end

By the time Mr. Thieu resigned in late April and Saigon did shift to a negotiating posture, there was still much bickering among the Saigon politicians as to how power should be transferred from the old Thieu regime to a new "peace government."

The Communists began hardening their public position on negotiations, and, after halting major attacks for four or five days,

See CIA VIEW, Pg. 2-F

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER - 6 MAY 1975

Thais Want U. S. to Go, Not Afraid of Dominoes

By JAMES McCARTNEY
Inquirer Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Pentagon announced a 28 percent slash in U. S. troop strength in Thailand yesterday, raising new fears about tumbling "dominoes" in Southeast Asia.

The announcement, made jointly with the Thai government, cut authorized troop levels from 27,000 to 19,500 by the end of June. The announcement did not say how many of the 350 U. S. military planes remaining from the armada that bombed Cambodia and North and South Vietnam would be allowed to remain.

The new figure represented a sharp increase in the speed of U. S. troop withdrawals from Thailand, on the Indochina frontier, and could signal the beginning of the end of a U. S. military presence in Thailand.

The announcement, forced by Thai officials who have publicly demanded a total U. S. troop withdrawal by next March, could hardly have come at a more awkward time for the United States.

It came only a week after a total U. S. pullout from nearby South Vietnam, at a time when President Ford, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and other top officials have been attempting to reassure the world that U. S. commitments remain unaltered.

Thailand has long been considered the next major country that might be threatened with a Communist take-over, if the Communists won in Indochina, as they have now. It has been considered the next potential threatened "domino" in the much-discussed "domino theory."

But officials here do not believe that Thailand is under immediate military threat from Communists in Indochina. Instead, pressure on the United States to withdraw troops is coming from a shaky conservative government, under domestic political pressure to get rid of unpopular foreigners and pursue a more neutral policy.

In the classic "domino" theory, as first explained by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, the United States was supposed to give military assistance to threatened "dominoes." Now the Thais are not asking for U. S. help — they are asking the United States to leave.

The United States first sent major

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
6 MAY 1975

U.S. looks beyond Vietnam

By Dana Adams Schmidt
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

The shape of U.S. foreign policy in the Far East — how will it emerge after the Vietnam experience?

U.S. leaders are groping for new plans for American influence and power — where to use it and to what ends.

The effort might be described as one intended to stop the trend that set in with Vietnam, to limit the damage, and make sure that other American commitments remain firm; to avoid future overcommitment without lapsing into isolation.

The President, who intends increasingly to take key policy decisions into his own hands, has made a commitment to maintain American strength. And Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger has talked about making a stand on a chain including Taiwan, Japan, and South Korea.

Now Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and his Undersecretary for Political Affairs Joseph J. Sisco offer new insights into what they feel should lie ahead for the United States.

Dr. Kissinger in an appearance on the NBC "Today" show asserted that the major objectives of the United States "dictated by our history" remain unaffected.

"They are more difficult as a result of our setback, but we can master them and we will master them," he said. Recalling that "almost every great initiative in the postwar period has either been initiated by America or has been carried out with our strong support," he declared that "if we want to avoid a world of chaos, if we want to achieve a world of progress, the American role is absolutely imperative."

The problem, he said, "is to gear American commitments to American capabilities."

A major step toward cutting back on these commitments, meanwhile, was indicated by agreement between the United States and Thailand to reduce the American presence

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PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER
6 MAY 1975

The war machine: expensive

By WILLIAM VANCE
Inquirer Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Throughout the war years we have been counseled by officialdom to look at the bright side and rejoice in the economic wonders wrought by high defense spending.

The multi-billion dollar defense budgets, we were led to believe, had a happy and healthy spinoff in terms of new jobs rippling through the economy.

Well, would you believe that those $80 billion military budgets actually were creating unemployment instead? Would you believe that between 1968 and 1972, Pennsylvania and New Jersey were being robbed of an average 180,000 jobs a year because of the "negative impact" of defense spending.

That, at least, is the premise of an intriguing study that has just arrived here from the Public Interest Research Group in Michigan (PIRGIM).

The report relies heavily on the research and methodology employed by Yale Professor Bruce Russett, who analyzed 30 years of military spending for a book on the burdens of national defense.

Russett found that, yes, military spending does have a stimulative effect on some specific localities. But nationally, when spending on military goods goes up, spending on consumer-oriented items—clothing, food, cars, houses and the like — goes down.

For example, $1 billion spent on the military means $187 million will not be spent on civilian services, $163 million will not be spent on durable goods and $114 million will not be spent on housing, the analysis showed.

The study shows that military spending creates fewer jobs per billion dollars than any other government spending except the space program.

The real stunner here is in the translation to lost jobs.

Pennsylvania suffered the fifth worst negative employment impact in the nation, the study shows, with 127,600 "foregone" jobs, on an annual average, from 1968 to 1972. New Jersey was eighth with a minus 53,000 jobs, and Delaware was 24th with a minus 1,000.

In the five hardest-hit states — New York, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio and Pennsylvania — the number of jobs foregone because of high Pentagon budgets "averaged 85 percent of their total unemployment for 1968-72," the study says.

In all, 26 states lost jobs because of high military spending, including every major industrial state except Texas and California.

And despite defense-related job gains in the other states, the bottom line in PIRGIM'S analysis shows a net loss of 844,000 jobs for the U.S. as a whole.

THAIS -- CONTINUED

combat units to Thailand in 1962 and began a major buildup of air power for the Vietnam war on Thai bases in 1964.

U. S. troop strength reached a peak of 48,000 in 1969, under former President Richard M. Nixon. Major withdrawals began after the signing of the Vietnam peace accords in 1973.

U. S. officials apparently would like to maintain about 10,000 U. S. troops in Thailand, but the Thais apparently are under heavy pressure from student groups and others to force the United States out.

Thais also would like to improve relations with North Vietnam, now that North Vietnam has established itself as the dominant power in Indochina.

Thailand is not part of Indochina. The term refers to countries that were colonized by France, now known as Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Thailand is one of the few nations in the area that was never a colony for anyone. It maintained itself as a buffer state between British and French colonial interests in the area, often playing one great power off against another, with some success.

It is still a largely undeveloped country, operating under a so-called "constitutional" monarchy. People still fall on their knees before the king.

Only last week, Thailand's foreign minister angrily denounced the United States as a country without morals and vowed to expel U. S. servicemen within a year.

The foreign minister Chartichai Choonhavan, responded to remarks made in Washington by Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger, about a U. S. "obligation of a moral nature" to defend Thailand.

"Moral?" asked Choonhavan. "The United States does not have any morals at this point. They have already pulled out from Cambodia and South Vietnam, so we are going to have to depend on ourselves."

While State Department officials do not talk in terms of "moral" obligations to Thailand, they point out that the United States has had a mutual defense treaty with Thailand and other so-called "SEATO" countries in Asia since 1954.

The treaty requires that the United States come to the aid of Thailand in the event of "common danger" in "accordance with its constitutional processes."

In 1962, Secretary of State Dean Rusk embellished this obligation by stating publicly that the United States accepted a responsibility for defending Thailand regardless of what other SEATO nations might do.

Another matter causing tension between the U. S. and Thailand involves disposition of about 125 U. S.-built aircraft flown to U. S. bases in Thailand by fleeing South Vietnamese airmen.

The United States insists that it has title to the planes. Some Thai officials favor returning the planes to the new Communist government in South Vietnam. U. S. officials say the matter will be "negotiated." The Communists insist that they own the planes.

The Pentagon reported yesterday that it already had started to remove some of the planes, according to the *Associated Press*. A spokesman said the larger C-130s were being flown out and smaller aircraft such as helicopters were being loaded onto the carrier USS Midway off the Thai port of Sattahip.

CIA VIEW -- CONTINUED

they grew impatient and began pressing again militarily. The demoralized Saigon Army crumbled rapidly in the face of more concerted thrusts. And as senior Saigon Army officers began sending their families out of the country and then fleeing for their own lives, the smell of victory apparently became overpowering for the Communists. There was little left for them to do but walk into Saigon.

By late Monday, April 28, Ambassador Martin still thought the Communists probably would go through the motions of negotiating a final settlement that would amount to little more than a disguised surrender for Saigon but would permit the presence of a reduced U.S. Embassy staff in South Vietnam.

This view still prevailed at an embassy meeting that ended around 2 a.m. Tuesday. But by late that morning the risk that the Communists might soon overrun the city became apparent to all and the final evacuation was ordered.

Evacuation started late

Mr. Martin earlier had feared moving toward a complete evacuation of Americans, because he thought that it would amount to "pushing the panic button," and would undermine any further "will to resist" on the part of Saigon. A staged evacuation had been going on for weeks, but it had been orchestrated to give the impression that not all the Americans were leaving.

One mistake, in the view of many critics, was not to have evacuated earlier, along with their families, more of the Vietnamese who had worked for the Americans. But Ambassador Martin had thought he had more time to get them out. As it was, an undetermined number of these Vietnamese were left behind.

The irony was that some of the Vietnamese the Americans considered the most "deserving" were left behind, while quite a few corrupt officials and military officers, as well as bar girls and prostitutes, got out on the basis of personal friendships with Americans and hastily contrived "marriages."

About 180 Vietnamese, comprising employees of the U.S. Information Service (USIS) and their families, had gathered at the USIS offices in Saigon Tuesday to be taken to the airport. When buses for the airport began to load, people from the streets poured onto them, the employees were pinned inside the USIS compound, and left behind.

BEYOND VIETNAM -- CONTINUED

there by one-fourth, from 25,000 to 19,500. Some 350 aircraft, which once spearheaded American bombing of North Vietnam and Cambodia, are expected to be reduced proportionately

The reduction is a first step toward total withdrawal with 12 months demanded by the Thai Government.

That will leave the main American military presence in the form of the Seventh Fleet with its five aircraft carriers, about 40,000 men in South Korea, and a Marine division on Guam. The Philippines has asked for renegotiation of U.S. air and naval bases, Indonesia's anti-communist regime has shown signs of nervousness, and Japan is seeking to draw tighter the strands of the United States mutual defense commitment.

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U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT 12 MAY 1975 (6)

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE MARINES?

There's unrest in the ranks, key weapons are short, career leathernecks are fed up. It's enough to raise fresh worries about the Corps' future.

Signs that the U.S. Marine Corps is fading as the nation's elite fighting force is a matter of deepening concern in Washington—and in the Corps itself.

The quality of the men who serve is a matter of widening debate. Desertions and court-martial convictions are climbing. Crime inside the barracks is rampant. Many career Marines are fed up and are getting out.

Key equipment is in short supply. Marines still lack the latest antitank missiles, though they already are being made available to Mideast nations. The Corps' own tank forces are approaching obsolescence.

Marine generals are wracked with dissension over the future of their service. A bitter fight over selection of a new Commandant was dampened only by President Ford's earlier-than-usual nomination April 30 of Lt. Gen. Louis H. Wilson Jr., to become the top Marine.

Lean and hard, or—? The Marines' top leadership agrees that the service has problems brought on by post-Vietnam stresses. But it maintains that corrections are under way and that the Corps is lean, hard and ready to meet any crisis. A growing number of Marine officers disagree.

Talks with high-level Marines both at headquarters and in the field as well as with other defense officials reflect the widespread alarm.

A chief concern is evidence that the quality of the men in the Corps has been sliding.

In an effort to reduce on-base thefts and fights, for instance, staff noncommissioned officers have returned to living in barracks as policemen, according to Marine officers.

A senior colonel relates that on Okinawa, "We have two fully armed sentries on duty at all armories at all times. Who are they protecting the armories against? Our own men."

"Disorder squads." The Marines on Okinawa, the colonel continues, were forced to form "disorder squads," which come on duty at 4 p.m. daily, equipped with night sticks, body armor and face protectors.

Figures provided by the Marines and the Department of Defense show this about changes in the Marines since the Corps quit drafting men in 1972:

- The Marine desertion rate per 1,000 men is more than double that of the Army—89 to 41. In 1971, rates were nearly reversed—Army, 73; Marines, 56.
- The U.S. Army is nearly four times the size of the 196,000-man Corps, yet 1,328 Marines were convicted of major crimes in federal and State courts in 1974, only slightly fewer than the 1,697 convictions of soldiers.
- On a percentage basis, the Marines led all the services in 1974 in issuing bad-conduct, undesirable and dishonorable discharges. This has been generally true since 1970. In previous years back to 1950, less-than-honorable discharges were about the same for the Marines and Army, with the Marines often showing fewer. In mitigation of these figures, Pentagon officials point out that the other services are more prone to release men who will accept discharges in lieu of a trial.
- At two Marine installations with a total Marine population of 43,931—Camp Lejeune, N.C., and Camp Pendleton, Calif.—court-martial convictions for felonies jumped from 91 during 1972 to 184 in 1974.

Public complaints. So troublesome have discipline and other personnel matters become that some Marines have begun complaining publicly.

Said former 1st Lt. David E. Kelly, who once served on Okinawa, in a recent magazine article that received wide attention: The Marine Corps has "antiquated equipment, living conditions far below those of the other services, poor training facilities and lack of discipline." He added:

"Too many of the quality Marines get out."

Over all, the Marines report few difficulties in meeting their goals in numbers of recruits. Men completing their first tour of duty are re-enlisting at a rate of 19 per cent, 7 percentage points higher than in 1972.

However, re-enlistment among career Marines is off, a fact that worries many officers. What's more, Marine officials have expressed concern over having to dip deeper into groups of men who have been high-school dropouts, in order to meet enlistment quotas.

No magic number? Several generals told *U.S. News & World Report* in private that they fear the Corps has become hypnotized by numbers at the expense of quality—that there is no magic in 196,000 Marines, the number supposedly needed to maintain three divisions and three air wings as required by law. Perhaps, they said, the solution lies in letting manpower levels drop to where the Corps winds up with only 150,000 "really good men."

Racial integration poses problems, too.

Though only 20 per cent of the Corps is black, the combat and combat-support groups are 38 per cent black. Headquarters explains that blacks are generally less well educated and thus do not qualify for many specialist ratings.

Black-white relations have taken a turn for the better recently, with the introduction of compulsory race-relations studies. Clashes based on race have been halved in the past two years.

Equipment shortages. As if personnel problems were not enough, there are equipment shortages.

For one: Wire-guided TOW antitank missiles and shoulder-fired Dragon missiles are in the Army's inventory—and even those of some Middle Eastern nations. But the Marines have none. They still depend on recoilless rifles, their own tanks and air support to defeat enemy armor. Latest antiaircraft weapons, such as those used in the 1973 Israeli-Arab war, are making the air-support operation costly, however.

Modern tanks are in short supply. The Marines are authorized 408 M-60 tanks, which are heavily armored and mount a 105-mm gun. By the end of June, the Marines hope to have 120—which looks unlikely since they have only about 60 on hand and production lines are slow.

As the backbone of their armored forces, the Marines have 431 M-48 tanks with 90-mm guns.

Such tanks "are not considered viable battlefield opponents for Soviet tanks," states an Army report.

The Marines have two antiaircraft-missile battalions, but only one is equipped with the faster, more-accurate and improved Hawk missile, designed to hit low-flying planes.

In aircraft, the Marines are well supplied by their standards with fighter-bombers, such as the F-4 Phantom, and ground-attack planes—the A-4 Skyhawk and the A-6 Intruder. The marines are also up to strength in helicopters and in amphibious-landing vehicles.

Even if the Marines had the most advanced equipment available, they would have difficulty getting where they wanted to go.

Fewer transports. The Navy, which had 157 amphibious-warfare ships in 1968, now has only 66, scattered from Okinawa to the Mediterranean Sea.

There are some estimates that to assemble the ships, embark an assault force of 25,000 Marines and transport them to a distant point—say the Persian Gulf—would take at least 45 days.

It is a decision to buy an advanced weapon that has touched off one of the Corps' hottest disputes.

A number of generals are angered by a move to acquire four squadrons—48 planes—of Navy F-14 Tomcat fighters, costing 18 million dollars each.

The F-14, built by Grumman Aerospace Corporation, is an extremely fast and agile interceptor designed to shoot down enemy planes at great distances from aircraft carriers. It now is being modified to carry air-to-ground weapons although, as a manufacturer's representative noted, it would not have the accuracy of much cheaper planes.

The generals are questioning the wisdom of sending an aircraft with an 18-million-dollar price tag to do a job that is done better by one that costs less than 4

(See MARINES, Pg 4-F)

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WASHINGTON STAR 5 MAY 1975 (6)

The Credibility of U.S. Commitments

CROSBY NOYES

The question before the world in the wake of the debacle in Vietnam is the credibility of the American commitments. And for just about everyone, friend and foe alike, it is a very important question indeed.

There are three major elements involved. The first is how our adversaries — notably the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China — view our performance in Vietnam.

The second is how those who depend on American power for their security view it. And finally, there is the question of how we view it ourselves.

So far as our adversaries are concerned, there probably is less to worry about, in the view of many diplomatic experts, than with the other two groups. The Chinese and Russians being somewhat cautious types, no very sweeping conclusions are likely to be drawn about Vietnam.

To be sure, the Americans intervened in the war and their allies were ultimately defeated. On the other hand, neither the Russians nor the Chinese intervened, except with military and economic aid, even when their allies were most hard-pressed.

The Russians, for their part, allowed the Arab armies to be defeated in 1967, without seriously impairing their credibility in Eastern Europe.

The general guess is that our adversaries will be cautious in pressing their luck. They may even be somewhat concerned that the United States could overreact to a new challenge in order to re-establish its credibility as a world power.

The attitude of our friends and allies obviously is ambiguous.

They are making the calculation that our real national interests were not involved in Vietnam and (hopefully) that they are involved in Western Europe, Japan, Israel and other areas.

The most confident are those with whom we have formal security commitments, such as NATO and the Japanese-American mutual security treaty. The least confident are those nations who rely on American power (like, say, Yugoslavia) but with whom we have no formal commitments of any kind.

Other countries with whom we have commitments, like Thailand or Taiwan, or even an American military presence, as in South Korea and the Philippines, are betraying a growing anxiety as the result of the outcome in Vietnam.

For them, the really critical question is how the American public itself will react to the defeat. And they suspect that they have something to worry about.

I can hardly blame them. They, like everyone else, have access to polls which show that the majority of Americans would intervene militarily to protect no foreign country in the world except Canada (which also happens to be one of the least-threatened areas in the world).

They, too, can read the endless pronouncements of our most eminent political leaders about the "lessons of Vietnam," the mistake that will never be repeated, the myth of American power, and so on.

To them, it adds up to a powerful new mood of isolationism in this country that leaves them feeling suddenly and uncomfortably naked. And that also is understandable.

MARINES -- CONTINUED

million.

Atop all this, the Corps' leaders are in turmoil over its future mission.

This furor burst out in the form of a bitter struggle over the successor to Gen. Robert E. Cushman, Jr., as Commandant later this year.

Inside war. "Old breed" Marines with 20 to 30 years of service said the infighting was the fiercest in their memory, fragmenting the upper echelons of the Corps.

Selection of General Wilson to take over as the next Commandant is expected to calm, though not necessarily end, the differences.

"We can live with him," said one general who has been critical of present leadership.

Many Marine generals considered the selection of the new Commandant more important at this time than in any other period since the 1930s when the Corps pioneered in amphibious assault. The reason lies in the fact that the new chief will play a major role in charting the course of the Corps for four years during a period of transition.

Since the Boxer Rebellion and U.S. intervention in China at the turn of the twentieth century, the Marines have been oriented toward operations in the Pacific Ocean basin and, closer to home, the Caribbean area.

An about-face. Now the Marines are beginning to look across the Atlantic, convinced that the nation is turning its back on most of Asia for the foreseeable future.

Many Marines believe their new areas of interest will stretch from Norway through Central Europe to the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf—from the Arctic to the deserts.

> These are all high-risk areas in which heavy loss of men and material is a very real possibility if fighting comes about. It will be the new Commandant who will lay down guidelines for combat doctrine there, thus affecting training, as well as type and quality of material.

Despite the headaches facing the Corps, General Cushman believes the Marines are still the crack force they are designed to be.

Liking for violence. The Commandant told *U.S. News & World Report* he thought the personnel problems are being tackled properly; that most recruits who complete training go on to become good Marines.

The general noted that the Corps is "afflicted with all the ills that plague big cities."

He added that the Marines "no longer get the big strapping farm boys" but the ones who are street wise.

They come, the general felt, with problems of drugs, racial prejudice and "a greater propensity to violence."

One general, rated as a possible future Commandant, said: "Stability is a matter of great importance. When you have high-quality men, all the other problems take care of themselves—drugs, discipline, race and crime. . . .

"We need to reinvigorate ourselves. Overriding all else is something not really quantifiable, but it is a fact. That fact is that we can develop men who will go into battle and win—or they will die in the attempt."

The foregoing was reported by Bem Price of this magazine's staff, himself a Marine for 12 years.

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U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT 12 MAY 1975 (6)

THE CASE FOR MORE NUCLEAR CARRIERS

By Adm. Hyman G. Rickover, Authority on Atomic Warships

The Navy on May 3 commissioned the U.S.S. *Nimitz*, our second nuclear-powered aircraft carrier and our seventh nuclear-powered surface warship.

The *Nimitz* has a length of 1,092 feet, a flight-deck width of over 250 feet, and a combat-load displacement of nearly 95,000 tons, and can operate and provide sustained support for a naval air wing of about 100 aircraft. Her initial nuclear cores will provide her with enough fuel to carry out operations for the next 13 years, thus making her truly independent of propulsion-fuel logistic support. These cores contain energy equivalent to over 2 million tons of coal or 11 million barrels of oil—enough oil to fill a train of tank cars stretching from Washington to Boston.

Freedom from oil. The *Nimitz* marks the renaissance of a modern nuclear-powered surface Navy. Nuclear power in surface warships gives them the ability to operate continuously at high speed; this affords them protection not available to nonnuclear ships. This could mean the difference between victory and defeat in battle. As the number of our advance bases decreases and the size of the fleet continues to shrink, the need for ships independent of the logistic umbilical cord for oil will continue to increase.

Next to providing the major deterrent to all-out nuclear war, I believe that the most important mission of our Navy is to insure that our first-line naval striking forces can carry out their mission against threats potential enemies are presently developing. A significant portion of our major surface warships must be nuclear-powered or we may end up without a credible deterrent to aggressions which do not warrant escalation to a nuclear war.

For the foreseeable future, the aircraft carrier will be the principal offensive striking arm of the Navy in a nonnuclear war. No other weapon system under development can replace the long-range, sustained, concentrated firepower of the carrier air wing. Nuclear submarines and nuclear surface ships with antiair and antisubmarine capabilities are all needed to supplement and augment the capabilities of the nuclear carrier.

The U.S. Navy currently has 14 active aircraft carriers: the *Enterprise*; eight oil-fired *Forrestal*-class, large-deck carriers built in the 1950s and 1960s; three post World War II *Midway*-class carriers, and two World War II *Essex*-class carriers, the *Oriskany* and the *Hancock*. This is about half the 24 carriers the U.S. Navy had at the beginning of the Vietnam War.

It will be necessary to start building replacements for the eight *Forrestal*-class carriers soon just to sustain a 12-carrier force. With the declining number of overseas U.S. bases and the decreasing number of carriers, it is important that the new carriers we build be as capable as possible. The *Nimitz* and her sister ships are such carriers.

Our carriers are vulnerable to attack by Soviet sea-based cruise missiles—as are all surface ships. However, the first line of defense our surface ships have against such missiles and their launching platforms is carrier-based aircraft. Without carriers and their aircraft, other surface warships, replenishment ships and amphibious forces would be all much more vulnerable.

The nuclear-carrier task force with its capability of unlimited operation at high speed is the most powerful, least vulnerable surface-ship force in the history of naval warfare.

Some have objected to nuclear warships on the basis of higher initial-investment cost. In this regard, it should be borne in mind that the initial cost of conventional ships does not include the cost of oil. Recently, oil costs have risen dramatically.

It costs more than $25 a barrel to buy, store and deliver oil to Navy ships. At that rate, it would cost about 270 million dollars to provide the amount of oil for a conventionally powered carrier equivalent to the nuclear fuel in the *Nimitz*. That is almost three times the comparable cost of nuclear fuel for this type ship.

Nuclear ships are often compared in cost with cheaper conventional ships of much less military capability, the argument being that we should build more of the cheaper conventional ships rather than fewer of the nuclear ships. Yet study after study has shown that when *all costs* are considered, nuclear warships cost little more than conventional warships having the same weapons systems—and the nuclear warships are far superior militarily.

Further, the cost of war itself far exceeds any cost needed to be prepared to prevent a war. The best warships we can build are those which are never used in combat because they have served to prevent war.

At stake: "our survival." With the heavy military and nonmilitary demands on its budget, the United States must only spend where it is necessary and where the value received is clear. But the *real* value of having a Navy capable of countering the Soviet threat cannot be measured in dollars alone; our survival may also depend on it.

The Soviets recognize the importance of becoming the world's strongest sea power. We have now chosen not to challenge them with numbers of ships. For this reason, it is essential that the ships we do build are the most powerful and effective weapons we know how to build. This means nuclear propulsion for major warships. The penalty for any other approach is the steady erosion of our conventional military forces, with the consequent reduction in our influence and in our "options" in world affairs.

The alternative is to rely for our security on nuclear weapons. Their use could mark the supreme failure of mankind.

DEFENSE SPACE BUSINESS DAILY 5 MAY 1975 (6)

TUNNEY URGES SUPPORT FOR B-1. Sen. John Tunney (D-Calif.) has called on the Senate Armed Services Committee to provide the full funding requested for the B-1 bomber, asserting that the B-1 is necessary "to maintain the strategic arms balance and to demonstrate our willingness to support our commitments abroad by bolstering our defense at home."

He said that the B-1, which is an indispensable part of America's strategic deterrent, will provide the U.S. with "bargaining power" to encourage detente.

"It is important to demonstrate to the Soviets, the Chinese and whoever else might doubt the fiber of our determination that this country has not abandoned its role of world leadership and its dedication to a stable balance."

Tunney cited the major strategic advances made in recent years by the Soviets, including development of four new missile systems and a potentially strategic bomber (Backfire), and discounted the "many myths" brought up about the reliability cost-effectiveness and usefulness of the B-1. "Study after study has demonstrated those concerns are unfounded," he said.

In addition to its strategic value, the senator reminded the committee, the B-1 will provide 41,300 jobs directly and another 62,000 indirectly to California, whose economy has been sagging. (see page 20, for Rep. Les Aspin's charges against the B-1 program)

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Part II--Main Edition--6 May 1975
DEFENSE SPACE BUSINESS DAILY 5 May 1975 (6)

ASPIN SAYS AIR FORCE HIDES B-1 COST OVERRUNS

Pentagon Denies Charges

Declaring that: "Whether to continue the B-1 program or not is one of the major issues facing the Congress in consideration of this year's defense budget," Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wis.) says the Air Force B-1 bomber has incurred "a cost overrun" of $225 million in its research program.

He cited a special General Accounting Office report which also said that General Electric, producer of the aircraft's engines, is expected to have "a cost overrun" of $75 million to $100 million.

Aspin has also charged that the Air Force "has attempted to gloss over cost increases" on the B-1 by "claiming the increases are caused by inflation and delays in the program." He noted that the Pentagon "blamed" economic escalation, schedule delays, estimated changes, and the inclusion of component improvement costs for the $1.9 billion cost increase during the final quarter of 1974.

A Pentagon official said the Air Force has not attempted to play down the cost increases in the B-1 program and has admitted before Congress that there has been cost growth in the program. It was pointed out that Air Force Secretary John McLucas recently told Congress that the Air Force expected a cost growth of 10-12 percent in the B-1 program, not including inflation.

As the official explained it, "if the Pentagon and the rest of the nation cannot keep up with inflation, how can the contractor keep up?"

Aspin was referring to the most recent Selected Acquisition Reports summary for Dec. 31, which the Pentagon released in March, which explained there had been an increase of $1.939 billion in the cost of the B-1 reflected during the final quarter of the year (Defense/Space Daily, March 26). Although Aspin does not break this cost increase down, the Pentagon reported in March that $1.007 billion was due to inflation, $375 million for increased lead time requirements and procurement schedule impact resulting from delayed start; $407 million for estimating changes; and $143 million for component improvement costs.

The Wisconsin congressman, frequent Pentagon critic, says the Air Force "has never publicly acknowledged there are direct cost overruns on various contracts." He said the "cost overruns are the direct result of mismanagement" on the part of General Electric and Rockwell International.

Aspin said the GAO report also states that "no minimum performance requirements" have been established for the B-1 -- "there is no way for Congress to know if the B-1 degrades below an acceptable performance."

GAO said there have been reductions in the supersonic and subsonic ranges, and an increase of about 5000 pounds in gross takeoff weight, with the current estimated gross takeoff weight 395,000 pounds--"the maximum load the landing gear can tolerate."

Another charge made by the GAO is that the number of technical changes made in the B-1 that will be incorporated in the actual production "may be so significant that the test results will not be meaningful" or representative of the production aircraft.

The Air Force has admitted that it has had to reduce the speed capabilities of the B-1 as the aircraft has developed, but has emphasized that these reductions "did not degrade the capability of the B-1 to complete its mission."

It was explained that the gross weight of the B-1 was increased from the 360,000 pounds for the original vehicle to a planned 395,000 pounds, but the landing gear system has been redesigned to accommodate this increase. As for design changes, these are said to be less than 10 percent, "and not significant."

WASHINGTON POST 6 May 1975 Pg. B-11

The Federal Diary

By Mike Causey

* * *

Naval Oceanographic Office: Another hammer-lock has been placed on the Navy which is trying to move its Suitland-based unit to the Mississippi Gulf Coast.

The House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee has agreed to oversight hearings (via its Oceanography Subcommittee) into the move, which has been pushed by the powerful Mississippi-Louisiana congressional delegations. Washington area members of Congress got a boost two weeks ago when Sens. Warren Magnuson and Henry M. Jackson, both Democrats of Washington state, said they wanted the Suitland outfit to stay where it is.

The Navy has been looking, for many years, for a new locale that would please the politicians who control its budget as well as a succession of admirals who prefer sunny climates. When the Bay St. Louis, Miss., site was proposed by Armed Services Chairmen Sen. John Stennis and Rep. F. Edward Hebert (then House Committee chairman), it seemed to fit Navy's requirements perfectly.

It is rare that Navy has a chance of making three powerful legislators (Sen. Russell Long of the Appropriations Committee likes the idea, too) happy, at the "minimal" cost of disrupting the lives of only a few thousand employees and their families. So Navy studies were made and each concluded that the move should be made.

Rep. Marjorie Holt (R-Md.) has been punching the Navy goliath all along. She is the one responsible for getting a General Accounting Office probe of the move, and the upcoming hearings. She hopes the subcommittee (first meeting is May 21) will tell the Navy to delay any decision on the move until the GAO study is in. That is likely to be the end of September, and could knock Navy's secret timetable which calls for a go-decision within the next few weeks, so that the first workers can be transferred and in place by August. * * *

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WASHINGTON REPORT - APRIL 1975(6 MAY)

Is It Safe to Be an Ally of America?

Early this month I had lunch with Tran Kim Phuong, Saigon's Ambassador to the United States. The morning news had featured the fall of several leading cities in South Vietnam. The reports had told of the armies of South Vietnam in desperate retreat, as they sought to find positions where they might be able to use their ever-decreasing supplies of arms to greater advantage against the armies of the north.

As you might imagine, Ambassador Phuong was very discouraged. He found it almost impossible to believe the turn of events. As we talked, he sought a tactful way to express his disappointment at the decision of our Congress to abandon his country to the communist enemy. It was beyond his comprehension – as it is beyond mine. With deep emotion, he spoke of the sacrifices in blood and resources his countrymen had made to defend themselves and to preserve their right to choose their own form of government. He recalled the clear and unmistakable pledge of our national leaders to supply his people with the military weapons necessary to defend themselves in order to get their approval of the inequitable Paris agreement negotiated by the U.S. and imposed on South Vietnam.

And he spoke, as best he could, about the terrible slaughter which was already taking place as the communist conquerors took over the land. In particular, he stressed that the first group of people being rounded up were those who had worked directly with the Americans – from the chauffeurs to government officials.

After lunch, I found myself mulling over his remarks and thinking back to a preceding week when Tran Van Lam, the president of the South Vietnamese Senate, had come to the United States to try to tell our officials and the American people what lay ahead for South Vietnam if it did not receive the promised military aid from the U.S. [See WR 75-3 for report of press luncheon cosponsored by ASC and the Vietnamese-American Council for the Honorable Tran Van Lam.] On several occasions, U.S. Senators had left Mr. Lam and several of his colleagues from the South Vietnamese Senate cooling their heels in the anterooms for inexcusable periods of time. On one occasion, a senior U.S. Senator finally stormed out of his door after a long delay and shouted at the South Vietnamese group that he planned to vote against further aid and that he did not want to hear their side of the issue.

I also found myself reflecting on the many arguments being used to justify cutting off aid to South Vietnam. I was most offended by the argument that the South Vietnamese army did not have the courage to stand and fight. I was especially struck by the fact that the Members of our Congress making this charge were the same who were choking off the supplies essential to that army's survival. I could not help wondering how much courage those Members would have displayed if they had been faced by a horde of tanks and rocket launchers while all they had were a few bullets for their rifles – and no hope for new supplies.

It Was Predictable

On our Washington Report radio program, General John E. Murray, top U.S. military representative in South Vietnam in 1973 and 1974 and one of America's foremost diplomatic authorities on Indo-China, recently conceded that Congress's refusal to provide the one-for-one replacement of arms and equipment provided by the Paris Peace Agreement led directly to the weakening and collapse of Saigon's morale. The North Vietnamese were badly beaten in 1972, General Murray noted, but we have thrown away all this and surrendered by default. What could have been a shining example of freedom in Southeast Asia has turned to ashes, and we cannot escape our role in it at all.

As General Murray said to our radio audience, "The tragedy was entirely predictable. It was predicted and was reported. My remarks have appeared in the press. My official reports have been passed through the Pentagon. Congressmen that I talked to would be upset about the situation. But it was like dropping a rose petal down the Grand Canyon and waiting for the echo. Nothing happened. Now everyone seems to be surprised.

"The Vietnamese were on a starvation diet. We cut their ammunition more than half, we cut their fuel back 85%, we stopped giving them combat rations, even their medical supplies were shorted. Batteries for communications – things they needed to move, shoot and communicate – they simply did not have. Their GI's, for example, used to have ten grenades pinned on them when they went into battle in the Delta. Now they were only permitted two and effectively that is only one, because they always keep one as a last resort. This end is, as I say, entirely predictable."

Our Vital Interests

The other argument that came to mind was the one that America's vital interests are not involved in Vietnam. This is the key argument. It has strong popular appeal. Saigon is a long way from Washington. But a moment of serious thought will show that the argument is supported by geography, not political reality. It is precisely this argument, however, which must be answered. If the answer is "yes," then there is some justification for our policy of abandoning Vietnam. If the answer is "no," then we are not only aiding and abetting in a tragedy of mammoth proportions, we are being foolish as well.

Recently I was talking with a distinguished U.S. diplomat regarding the far-reaching implications of our policies in Vietnam. He gave me some insight into their effects in the Middle East and Western Europe. He noted Dr. Kissinger's remarkably candid explanation of his recent failure to arrange a peace between Egypt and Israel. The solution Dr. Kissinger had proposed called for an Israeli withdrawal from much of the Sinai desert coupled to a pledge of support by the U.S. in the event that Egypt's minimum declaration of non-belligerency proved to be temporary. But, Dr. Kissinger admitted, Israel did not see a pledge by the United States as enough, in light of our failure to support our ally, South Vietnam.

In regard to Western Europe, he told me of a telephone conversation the day before with a colleague of his who was representing the United States at a major capital in Europe. His friend had relayed the amazement of the NATO diplomatic corps at the reaction of both the Congress and the Chief Executive to the events in Vietnam. The leading political figures in Western Europe, he reported, simply could not understand how the Chief Executive could enjoy a golfing vacation and the Congress an Easter recess while a country the United States had pledged to support was being destroyed by an invader. The political leaders of Europe were astounded that the President had not rushed back to Washington and convened the Congress in an emergency session.

In light of the makeup of the Congress these days, the President's request for $722 million in military and humanitarian aid was quite bold. But in view of the

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circumstances in Vietnam and throughout the world, his request was totally inadequate.

Hanoi Thanks Americans Who Helped

There is also no question that communist leaders had gotten the message -- and a long time ago. The telegram from Dinh Ba Thi of North Vietnam, which caused the furor at the Academy Awards ceremony by expressing gratitude to those Americans who had contributed to the communist success in "liberating" South Vietnam, certainly indicated that the communists understood the realities including the fact that the Americans who had participated in producing and distributing the propaganda film "Hearts and Minds" had served the communist cause well.

One of the difficulties with Vietnam is that it has caused many Americans to focus on an immediate event and lose valuable perspective. From time to time, we need to drop back in time and broaden our view. As a starting point, it would be wise for us to remind ourselves that 20th century technology has compressed the globe, forced interdependence on independent states, and made all the nations of the earth neighbors -- for better or for worse. This condition means that every nation can be infected by a disease anywhere in the world body politic. All systems are interconnected. An anti-freedom malignancy anywhere will eventually affect us here.

National Self-Determination

In the interest of a politically healthy and stable world order, the United States has long advocated the self-determination of nations. First expressed by President Wilson at the conclusion of World War I, the principle holds that each nation has the right as an aspect of its sovereignty to select its own form of government. Wilson called for the creation of the League of Nations primarily as a means of providing for collective action against any aggressor nation which sought to impose its form of government on any other nation by force of arms.

In one sense, World War II was fought to reestablish the principle of self-determination. And it was the Soviet breach of that principle in Eastern Europe which started the Cold War.

In pursuit of the right of self-determination, the United States committed its military forces to combat in Korea -- far from America's shores -- because our leaders knew that if we failed to halt aggression there, we would legitimatize it by acquiescence. That is, we knew that if we did not act to stop aggression by North Korea, we would signal acceptance of it. In the instance of Korea, we participated with other allies under the flag of the United Nations.

In the case of Vietnam, we acted unilaterally to defend South Vietnam against military attack and to prevent North Vietnam from imposing on the South an unwanted political regime. Former Secretary of State Dean Rusk said it simply one time: "The trouble with North Vietnam is that it will not let its neighbors alone."

The Policy of Gradualism

Because our purpose in entering the war in Vietnam was not to destroy North Vietnam but to preserve South Vietnam's right of self-determination, we acted on the battlefield with great restraint. The official word was "gradualism." While we fought essentially a holding action, we urged North Vietnam to cooperate with us in a political solution to the problems of Indo-China, one which would in no way challenge the existence of North Vietnam -- even its preeminence -- but would respect the sovereignty of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

In the early years of the war, before the Soviets supplied North Vietnam with anti-aircraft missiles (SAMs) and supersonic interceptors, we could have physically destroyed North Vietnam in a few weeks with a fraction of our force of tactical and strategic aircraft using conventional bombs. But instead, we employed our sea and land based airpower against easily repaired supply routes -- primarily the Ho Chi Minh trail -- following a policy of tactical interdiction. And we used our considerable seapower in largely unproductive patrols along the coast of North Vietnam.

Some people have made the mistake of assuming that because our airpower did not destroy North Vietnam, it was incapable of doing so. In August 1967 the Senate Armed Services Committee released a study showing that only two percent of the targets for our bombers in North Vietnam recommended to the White House by the Joint Chiefs of Staff were approved. Instead of the JCS-recommended targets, others were substituted by a team of "experts" in the White House -- targets which had very little military significance -- "gradualism" targets.

I recall a story to illustrate this point which goes back to an early period in the war. The story was relayed by an Air Force friend. It appears that the Air Force recommended and the JCS approved as targets three airfields, all fairly close to Hanoi. They were: the main commercial field for Hanoi, a training base that had just received a new supply of Soviet MIG fighters, and a new airfield still under construction. The one the White House approved was the airfield under construction. And, one should remember, that target would have been among the two percent counted by the Senate Committee. You can imagine how unimportant militarily some of the targets must have been that were substituted by the White House selection team.

Never a Civil War

What makes our policies in Vietnam so incredible is that the war there was actually fought within the larger framework of the balance of power between the communist and free worlds. The war in Vietnam was never a civil war, in our eyes or in the eyes of Moscow and Peking. In their eyes, the war in Vientam was the test case for their new concept of "Wars of National Liberation." To us, the war was originally intended to signal to world communist leaders that we could not accept the right of communists to impose their form of government on a non-communist nation by military force.

In short, the location of the war was never a determining factor in its importance. To return to the figure of speech about disease in the world body politic, the aggression in Vietnam was simply the place where the political malignancy was erupting.

Our failure to fight in Vietnam in such a way as to destroy the malignancy means now that other outbreaks will surely take place elsewhere in the course of time. And everywhere the political health of the free world has been undermined.

A Policy of Phased Surrender

As Sir Robert Thompson, one of Britain's leading experts on Southeast Asia and guerrilla warfare, observed: "We are all becoming dominoes. The American retreat before Moscow, like that of Napoleon, is beginning to litter the route with corpses."

Sir Robert's graphic statement raises the question again which has troubled me for years, that our actions in Vietnam and elsewhere in the world have added up to a policy of phased surrender. I remember the blunt declaration by Dr. Slobodan M. Draskovich, a Serbian

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 6 May 1975

Joseph Kraft

WASHINGTON POST - 6 MAY 1975

Letting Go of the Vietnam Issue

A puzzle tinges the overwhelmingly hostile reaction of ordinary Americans to the Vietnamese refugees. The puzzle is why so many intelligent and well-educated Americans find the reaction puzzling. For the whole history of the war testifies that most Americans don't care beans about Vietnam.

Not because of what are called "racist" reasons. On the contrary, the true background lies in the strong, autonomous inner beat of American life.

The attention of 200 million throbbing operators is not readily gained by remote people in faraway places. Europe matters to the United States because so many Americans have roots there. Russia and China count because of sheer size and the impact of Titanic revolutions. So do the Japanese because of a sneaking suspicion they know how to build better mousetraps.

But Vietnam? New York, Chicago and San Francisco combined probably have fewer Vietnamese restaurants than Paris. The main point of perhaps the best American book on Vietnam—"Fire in the Lake" by Frances FitzGerald—is that Americans aren't into Vietnamese customs or culture. Even Miss FitzGerald had to rely on a French authority—Paul Mus—for her insights into the Vietnamese character.

American indifference to Vietnam shaped the two central features of the war—its massive and enduring character. In the early 1960s a group which I have called the "piano-wire hawks" argued that the Vietnam war—which they wanted to win—could only be won by following the lead of the insurgents. They felt the United States had to adopt guerrilla tactics—knife in the teeth and piano wire in the hand.

But that argument was always a non-starter. The American army and the American people were not about to change themselves into Vietnamese. So this country fought the war—as it was bound to fight the war—with planes and tanks and aircraft carriers and big battalions.

Connected reasons explain why the fighting went on so long. As early as the 1966 elections, I believe, and certainly by 1968, the majority of Americans were fed up with pouring out blood and taxes in Vietnam. If allowed to proceed unhampered by outside events, the Vietnamization program pushed by Defense Secretary Melvin Laird would probably have seen the United States out of the war long before 1973.

What got in the way was the anti-war movement—or at least that element of it which used Vietnam as a stick to beat the United States. Ordinary people may have had it with the war. But they didn't think the United States was a rotten country. They weren't that much down on the President, the military, the party system, the concept of loyalty and other features of American life which the war critics brought under fire.

So President Nixon was able to rally what he called the "silent majority." The antiwar movement was more than canceled. The war went on and on and on, even though hardly anybody wanted it.

The underlying reality, however, was that hardly anybody wanted it. The country, long sick of Vietnam, got sicker and sicker as events ground to their inevitable end.

So now more than ever the country wants to wash its hands of Vietnam. Hence the hostility to the refugees. It may not be a generous attitude. But it is not puzzling. It is natural and logical. Even healthy.

For the basic fact is that the Vietnam experience is not powerfully relevant to the present problems of the United States. Our difficulties did not lie in an all-powerful executive or an unruly military or an uncontrolled intelligence community—least of all in an imperial-minded people.

To harp on these matters is another form of the self-delusion expressed in the constant replaying of Watergate and the Kennedy assassination. It is a way of not facing up to the prime present problem—the unglamorous and morally neutral problem of making the domestic and world economy work.

Everybody knows the trouble laid up by the true believers who refuse to abandon the Vietnam war. Worse I think will ensue if the war critics prove as unwilling to let go of the Vietnam issue.

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IS IT SAFE? -- CONTINUED

scholar of communism, who wrote in his book, *Will America Surrender?*, "Our policy of no-victory in Vietnam and our recent advances to China and Russia have made it unmistakably clear that the U.S. is pursuing a policy of historical surrender to communism." He explained, "There is no other name for a policy which rejects U.S. national interests as its permanent basis, and shuns the idea of asserting U.S. rights and will in the world as a danger to peace. . . . Only surrender and suicide can designate a policy which rejects and penalizes U.S. friends and allies, and helps and supports U.S. enemies in the world."

There is still another aspect about Vietnam which has received little attention. We are now in the act of acquiescing in a breach of an international agreement by a minor communist nation -- not an agreement between a communist nation and some other free world nation -- but one involving the United States of America. We negotiated and signed the Paris Peace Accord. And we are allowing North Vietnam to breach that Accord with impunity. The massive invasion of South Vietnam was a tearing up of that Accord and a direct challenge to the U.S.! We have not only failed to respond militarily. We have also failed to act diplomatically. Neither the U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. nor the Secretary of State has demanded that the U.N. impose sanctions against North Vietnam for its direct challenge to peace and to the sanctity of international agreements. Our President failed to ask the Congress for the right to use military power, if necessary, to force North Vietnam to comply with the terms of the Agreement. (Nor did he ask for further assistance to Cambodia.)

From the Far East, a valued friend of the U.S., President Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines, declared recently that Congress's refusal to extend additional aid to our Indochina allies suggests strongly that the United States no longer considers Southeast Asia vital to its interests. Philippine authorities are now looking carefully at our bilateral defense pact and at our military base agreements to see whether they were mutually beneficial.

If our national leaders did not understand the importance and the implications of the tragedy in Vietnam, the policy-makers in the Middle East, Far East, and Western Europe certainly had no difficulty.

Our failure to take action against North Vietnam is especially significant to our allies around the world. Ambassador Phuong made the point clearly in a television interview recently when he said: ". . . the United States has not lived up to the Paris ceasefire agreement and the world probably would conclude that it is safer to be an ally of the Communists than the Americans."

If it can be argued that we do not have the military strength to follow any other policy than that of acquiescence in Cambodia and Vietnam, then we must ask, Why do we not have the sufficient strength?

If we are going to allow North Vietnam to breach the Paris Peace Accord, then why should Moscow not feel free to violate the SALT Agreements?

The clear answer to whether or not the communists can be trusted to keep other Detente agreements, such as the SALT Agreements, can be found in Vietnam!

The only remaining question is: what can we still do to prevent the tragic effects of our naivete in believing that the communists want a true Detente from being felt in our own land?

I am asking our National Strategy Committee to review our crumbling and discredited foreign policy and to make recommendations as to what must be done.

In the meantime, please note the recent assessment by the Foreign Policy Task Force of the Liberal Coalition for a Democratic Majority which is excerpted in the pages following.

John M. Fisher
President
American Security Council

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NEW YORK TIMES 6 MAY 1975

Feuds and Bad Planning In Saigon Exit Recalled

By FOX BUTTERFIELD

Special to The New York Times

MANILA, May 5 — Although more than 100,000 Vietnamese successfully escaped from Saigon, the evacuation was marred by what diplomats and newsmen now recall as bad planning, bitter feuding between sections of the United States Mission and often an every-man-for-himself attitude.

As a result, many key Vietnamese officials and others who had long worked for the Americans were left behind. Many fearing reprisals from the Communists.

Moreover, the selection of those to be evacuated often seemed arbitrary. Dozens of prostitutes, for example, were taken out by American contractors and officials who listed them as wives or fiancées. But the chief spokesman for the Saigon Government and his staff, who would be major Communist targets, were apparently not helped despite repeated pleas.

In addition, same officials in the United States Embassy and Consulate — partly because of panic and partly out of concern for their own Vietnamese staffs —are known to have deceived each other or failed to notify subordinates about the final evacuation on Tuesday, endangering many lives.

In the end, no American officials are known to have been left behind, and the loss of life in the evacuation was minimal.

But the series of mix-ups and the haggling that accompanied the final American exit angered many American officials, and on the evacuation ships that carried them here they talked of their bitterness toward Ambassador Graham A. Martin.

It was Ambassador Martin, they say, who by delaying evacuation until the last possible minute — to avoid throwing Saigon into chaos — was responsible for the failure to rescue many endangered Vietnamese.

Some officials go further, accusing Mr. Martin of having been so isolated inside his walled embassy that he was blind to the inevitability of the Communist victory. The Ambassador, an aloof, secretive man who strongly supported former President Nguyen Van Thieu, became ill with pneumonia in the last few days before Washington finally ordered him, last Tuesday, to "pull the plug."

Leaving Saigon among the last American evacuees, the Ambassador boarded the Seventh Fleet flagship, the carrier Blue Ridge, and—except for a chance encounter with a few newsmen — remained unavailable to the press. He could not be asked about criticisms of his role.

According to knowledgeable diplomatic informants, when some American officials began to push for evacuation planning after the loss of the northern two-thinds of the country in March, Mr. Martin's opposition delayed it.

As a consequence, some parts of the United States Mission— composed of the embassy, the Agency for International Development, the United States Information Service, the Defense Attaché's Office and the Central Intelligence Agency — privately began their own withdrawal scheme.

This worked best for those institutions with their own air transportation and money to bribe Vienamese officials and guards — namely the Defense Attachés office and the C.I.A. But the embassy and the aid and information agencies, which did not have their own "assets," in the popular term, were much less successful in getting their staffs out.

General Is Dismissed

On April 12, with North Vietnamese troops beginning to tighten around Saigon, Brig. Gen. Richard M. Baughn, the senior Air Force officer in the Defense Attaché's Office. was abruptly dismissed and transferred out of Vietnam by Ambassador Martin. According to military sources, he had angered the Ambassador by beginning to fly Vietnamese employes in the office to the Philippines aboard Air Force planes.

It was not until April 20, after the siege of Xuan Loc had begun 40 miles northeast of Saigon that Ambassador Martin on orders from Washington assented to the first legal evacuation flights by Air Force C-141 planes.

Thereafter the evacuation was pushed hard, with the embassy pressing the Saigon Government to accelerate granting exit permits and special passes for Vietnamese dependents and employes of Americans. In some cases the embassy actually helped in secretly taking Vietnamese out of the country without officials permission.

But there appeared to be little coordination or careful planning to separate cases of Vietnamese seriously endangered from those who merely wanted to leave.

Thus, for instance, a Vietnamese who had worked 10 years for the C.I.A. in Pleiku in the Central Highlands, before it was abandoned to the Communists, discovered no one in the embassy would help him when he managed to flee to Saigon. All his friends from the agency had already been transferred out of Vietnam and there was no one who recognized him.

But by contrast, on Saturday, April 26, a blue compact car of the type used by the embassy pulled up in front of Annie's Bar on Tu Do Street and took away three bar girls carrying suitcases.

Perhaps the worst case of confusion involved the United States Consulate General in Can Tho, the center of Military Region IV in the Mekong delta.

Officials from the consulate say they were never given any notice at all to evacuate their Vietnamese personnel until 11:30 Tuesday morning, when they were suddenly ordered to withdraw only their remaining Americans. By that time, the last emergency evacuation had already begun in Saigon.

As a result, the Con Tho office acting on its own at the last minute was able to get out only 42 of 573 Vietnamese employes, and 312 of over 3,000 Vietnamese dependents.

One Can Tho official who made three special trips to Saigon to discuss evacuation was reportedly turned away with the answer that Ambassador Martin would not accept puling out the Vietnamese employes

Another Can Tho official who was dispatched to Saigon over the last weekend to try to press for help in evacuating Vietnamese staff, was in the office of Donald Anderson, the embassy administrative officer in charge of pulling out field staff, on Tuesday morning when the order for final evacuation was given.

"Anderson got up and left his office with some of his own Vietnamese without telling our men anything," recalled a furious Can Tho official. "He just went out to get on an airplane with his people, leaving our man sitting there."

The Can Tho consulate at its own initiative had prepared several evacuation plans, including its main one using four Air America helicopters stationed in Can Tho. However, at 8 A.M. on Tuesday the local C.I.A. officials asked to borrow the four Air America helicopters for their own personnel and flew off to Saigon without returning the aircraft.

DEFENSE SPACE BUSINESS DAILY 5 MAY 1975 (6)

BILL PROPOSES REVIEW OF DOD CIVILIAN MANPOWER CHANGES

A 25-member, high-level commission which would seek to mitigate the economic effects resulting from the cutback of Defense Department civilian personnel employed at various military bases would be established under legislation introduced by Sen. Hirman Fong (D-Hawaii.).

The proposed Advisory Commission on Future Civilian Manpower Requirements at U. S. Military Installations, which would include the secretary of defense, would not be authorized to prevent closing or cutbacks at military bases directed by DOD. However, it would be authorized to find out what military installations are to be eliminated or cut back and to recommend "new ways to effectively utilize the changed status of the affected bases." It would also be authorized to: 1) Study the trends regarding the use and employment of civilians at U. S. bases and implications for the future use of such manpower. 2) Determine and project the impact that the withdrawal of U. S. troops from overseas bases and the reduction of the armed forces will have on various states and communities. 3) Make recommendations for lessening the economic impact of base closing; channeling the skills of those laid off into new fields of employment; retaining those laid off; and notifying the state and local communities at the earliest possible date of layoff plans.

In addition to the secretary of defense, the commission would include the secretaries of commerce and labor, the director of OBM, the chairman of the Civil Service Commission, five governors, five mayors, five country officers and five nongovernmental leaders.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 6 May 1975

WASHINGTON POST 6 MAY 1975

Israel Expects New U.S. Effort on Mideast

By John M. Goshko
Washington Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM, May 5—Israeli observers are convinced that America, now relieved of its responsibilities in vietnam, will soon launch a more intensified effort to defuse the Arab-Israeli conflict.

President Ford and Secretary of State Henry A. kissinger will meet Egyptian President Anwar Sadat in Europe the first week of June, and Israeli Premier Yitzhak Rabin will be Mr. Ford's guest in Washington on June 11 and 12.

Relations between Israel and the United States have been strained since March,when Kissinger's shuttle-diplomacy effort to mediate a further interim agreement between Israel and Egypt on troop pullbacks in the Sinai Peninsula failed.

Kissinger and Mr. Ford let it be known that they placed the main responsibility for the breakdown of those talks on Israeli inflexibility, and they ordered a complete "reassessment" fo U.S. policy in the Middle East. Since then; the Ford administration has continued to show annoyance at what it characterizes as Israel's shortsightedness and failure to recognize its own long-term interests.

Among other things, Washington has suspended negotiatios on supplying new arms to Israel and leaked word that Israel's pending request for $2.5 billion in military and economic aid during the coming fiscal year will be cut back substatially.

All this has caused great dismay within Israel, which looks to the United States as the ultimate guarantor of its existence.

In recent interviews, High-ranking officials of Rabin's government have frequently used such phrases as "tragic" and "deeply regretable" to describe the rift with Washington.

These same officials expressed a deep conviction, however, that Washington's tendency to blame Israel for the failure of the Kissinger mission is unfair and unjustified They left little doubt that the Rabin government badly wants to patch up the quarrel, but they also stressed that Israel will not, accept a rapprochement on terms that it ragards as dangerous to its security.

This stance appears to have the overwhelming support of Israeli public opinion. The U.S policy reassessment, which is widely regarded here as a psychological pressure tactic, has helped to solidify this support and may have hardened the Israeli position.

One foreign diplomat assesses the mood in more ominous terms, saying, "The Israelis are getting close to the point of developing a Samp-son-in-the-temple complex."

Officials in Rabin's government say that, in retrospect, they can see several reasons for the Kissinger mission's failure, and Vietnam is one to which they assign considerable prominence. By a strange quirk of timing, the situation in South Vietnam and Cambodia began to deteriorate just as Kissinger came to the Middle East.

The collapse of the peace agreements that Kissinger had negotiated in Vietnam made the Israelis skittish about the kind of accord he wanted them to strike with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat. In the Israeli view, this would have obliged them to give up very specific military advantages in exchange for vague, ill-defined assurances that the Israelis feel had been given to South Vietnam and that subsequently proved meaningless.

At the same time, the Israelis charge, the knowledge that his Vietnam accords were falling had a distracting effect on Kissinger. The officials leave little doubt of their belief that Kissinger and Mr. Ford wanted a diplomatic success in the Middle East to help compensate for the defeat in Indochina, and when this success proved to be beyond their grasp, they reacted by indulging in a fit of pique against Israel.

But, the officials add, they think that Kissinger's efforts would have failed even without the distorting effect of events in southeast Asia. The March negotiations, they say, revealed, perhaps for the first time, that a big gap exists between Kissinger's and the Rabin government's perceptions of how to resolve the Middle East crisis.

In pursuing his step-by-step diplomacy, Kissinger appeared to be going on the assumption that the nature of the problem —working out an Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab territory—requires that the major concessions be made by Israel. Kissinger was said to consider this as working to Israel's long-term advantage, because it would lead in the end to the general Middle Eastern peace settlement that the Israelis want.

The Israelis, however, as one official said, "believe that the process should not be step-by-step but step-for-step," in which every significant Israeli concession should be matched by an Arab concession of roughly comparable weight. This would guarantee that neither side gained too lop-sided an advantage in the interim stages enroute to a final peace settlement.

In the March negotiations, for example, the Israelis say that they were willing to meet Egypt's demands for withdrawal from the Abu Rudeis oilfields on the Gulf of Suez and the strategic Mitla and Gidi passes in the Eastern Sinai Peninsula, but, they felt that they were entitled, in exchange, to an unequivocably clear-cut statement of non-belligerence from Egypt.

The Israelis contend that Kissinger accepted the Egyptian position—return of the passes and oil fields for an ambiguously worded statement of Egyptian intent—as the goal of the negotiations.

"I don't even think it could be described as a genuine negotiation," one official who took part in the talks sav. "In our view, the Egyptians hardly moved at all over the entire course of the negotiations. If anyone was inflexible, it was Sadat. For our part, we gave be described as a genuine neconsiderable ground from our opening position. But we got nothing of a matching nature in return—only pressure to give still more."

"Even then," he continues, "we were willing to go on bargaining and talking. But when we made clear that Egypt would have to make a better offer if we were to meet their full demands, Sadat apparently lost his temper and Kissinger apparently lost heart. It was they who broke off the negotiations, not us."

The officials say that the Rabin government would still react the same way under similar circumstances. As to the quarrel with Washington, they say that Rabin has decided to avoid exacerbating the situation by engaging in recriminations, and to wait instead for "practical signs" such as a resumption of arms aid talks.

In the meantime, Israel has carried out a quiet reassessment of its own, dispatching a small army of former Cabinet ministers and other prominent figures to the United States to explain Israel's position and to test American public and political opinion. As a result, the government now feels that Israel's standing with the U.S public and Congress remains high and that its problems are primarily with the Ford administration.

Even so, the officials add the government regards Mr. Ford and Kissinger as "friends" and is hopeful that the dispute with them can be resolved amicably. Official circles have been encouraged by the fact that the signals coming out of Washington in recent days had a noticeably more upbeat tone. Earlier this week, for example,

DEFENSE SPACE BUSINESS DAILY 2 MAY 1975 (6)

SECURITY OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE IMPROVED--DOD. The Defense Department reported to Congress last week that the security of U. S. nuclear weapons in Europe has been improved since a senatorial team found some nuclear munitions being stored under lax security in the basement of an administration building in Europe in 1973. The DOD statement came in response to the release of a report Wednesday discussing the 1973 inspection by the Senate team.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 6 May 1975

WALL STREET JOURNAL 6 MAY 1975

Sadat's Diplomatic Offensive

By RAY VICKER

CAIRO — America should say clearly whether it wishes to guarantee Israel within its borders or to guarantee Israel's occupation of lands taken from Arabs.

That is the thesis President Mohamed Anwar el Sadat will be expounding to President Ford at their forthcoming meeting in Salzburg, Austria June 1 and 2. And the Egyptian president is pushing the same theme hard in a round of diplomacy which seeks to rally world opinion against continued occupation by Israel of Arab lands seized in the 1967 war between Arabs and Israelis.

Here in Egypt, where the emphasis seems to be upon rebuilding the country rather than on war, there is strong support for the diplomatic offensive unleashed by President Sadat. There is also an attitude of injured indignation. In government ministries, on the campus of Cairo University, in homes of Egyptians one is constantly lectured that it has been Egypt which is seeking a real peace in this part of the world, that it is Israel which has been dragging its feet through Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's aborted shuttle diplomacy.

"I don't understand what is the matter with America, why it doesn't see that we are holding out a hand of friendship. We want peace. We want to work with America. Yet the United States does not use its strength for achieving peace. It treats us like . . . like lepers," says Mohamed Kamel Anous, director general in the ministry of foreign trade.

And at Cairo University, Mahmoud Gamel, a 23-year-old economics major, contends: "It should be obvious by now to everybody that there can be no peace in the Middle East when so much of our land still is occupied by the Jews. Yet America seems unwilling to even admit that for eight years the Jews have been sitting in the Sinai, in the West Bank of Jordan and on the Golan Heights, pumping our oil from the Sinai, building settlements on Arab lands and ignoring United Nations resolutions which call for withdrawal."

Blunt Speaking

In one recent speech, President Sadat bluntly said: "I say to the United States that it is high time for the United States to adopt a well defined attitude to be clear-cut and black and white. Is the U.S. defending Israel within its borders or is it defending Israel's occupation of the land usurped from Arabs? This should be made clear in the reevaluation of U.S. policy."

(To many observers, however, the definition of "occupied territory" is not so clear-cut. Most Israelis remain deeply suspicious of the Egyptian call for return of the land occupied in 1967. They argue that Egypt couples this demand with a further call for "justice to the Palestinians," who were displaced in the 1948 fighting that gave birth to the State of Israel. This further demand, argue the Israelis, may well mean that Egypt still wants to dismember their country as it existed before 1967. Certainly many Arabs, and particularly the Palestinians, consider all of Israel to be "occupied Arab territory.")

Questions raised by the Egyptian diplomatic offensive are somewhat embarrassing to President Ford's administration. Up to now, the U.S. has avoided any clear-cut answer to some of those questions. By indirection, there is the implication that the U.S. does not favor annexation by Israel of those subjected lands. But that hasn't been spelled out.

Israelis strongly contend that a readjustment of borders was necessary for its defense, which means that Israel would not return to the so-called "Green Line."

Egypt's president is pressing the U.S. to define its own policies concerning Israeli "security" and if that fails, to bring the issue home to the American public.

This is the border which had pertained before the 1967 war. However, Israel has not defined what it considers to be a "defensible" border.

In 1973, in one interview in the lobby of the Tel Aviv Hilton Hotel, General Ariel Sharon blandly declared that the most defensible border with Egypt from his standpoint was the Suez Canal. Two days later, the Yom Kippur war (known as the "Ramadan war" here) proved that the Suez Canal wasn't so defensible after all.

Nevertheless, if you talk to 10 Israelis, you probably will obtain 10 different descriptions of what constitutes "defensible borders." And none of them are likely to involve returning to the Green Line, as Arabs insist.

In this age of long distance rockets, of supersonic planes and of murderous weaponry, no borders are any longer defensible in the static manner which usually is meant when the term is used. Perhaps the best way to work for peace is not to seek "defensible" borders which might prove as illusory as the impregnability of Israel's Bar Lev Line along the Suez Canal, but to try to diffuse the animosities which are the basic cause of trouble in the Mideast.

Israel, however, has committed itself to the "defensible borders" concept. This favors delay and more delay in the surrender of any occupied territory since any retreat at all is likely to antagonize some segments of the Israeli population. And the present government in Israel is not strong enough to risk any splintering of its support.

In the face of delay, Arabs have three basic choices: To press a diplomatic offensive hoping to achieve aims peacefully, to launch another war, or to fall back to a no-war-no-peace situation which most likely would lead to a war of attrition and then to a full fledged, bloody war, anyway.

With oil money pouring into Arab lands, time no longer is on the side of Israel, something which still has not sunk into many minds in Israel. That belief, though, is becoming more widespread in Western Europe, in Japan and among many Americans who have had opportunities to travel through Arab countries recently.

Another war, today, would be far bloodier than any so far in this part of the world. And the odds probably would favor Israel as the "victor" on the battlefield, without its being able to score such a resounding success that it also could dictate the peace. Only once did that opportunity appear, in 1967. Israel didn't rise to the occasion with the generous peace offer which might have led to peace, and the opportunity was lost.

So now, at a time when the world does not like military occupations, Israel finds it necessary to justify an occupation which it obviously wishes would continue indefinitely. Alleged "security" thus becomes the basic argument for such a policy. From the Israeli standpoint, it is a good debating position, for emotions may be touched easily with it. Who within a country could be against "security," for instance? Who would make political hay by arguing against it?

President Sadat's diplomatic offensive is a very clever gambit, too. He wants the U.S. to define its own policies concerning Israeli "security." If that doesn't come officially, he would like the American public to become so aware of the issues that people in the U.S. might pressure Washington to reassess its position. This would lift peace moves from the stagnant mire into which they fell after Secretary of State Kissinger shelved his shuttle diplomacy.

Prospects of War

If the Sadat offensive fails, then the Mideast could be heading directly for another war. This is something which should be understood now, with a whole lot more clarity than was the case in 1973. Well before the Yom Kippur (Ramadan) war, President Sadat advertised his desire to get things moving by booting Russians from positions of influence in Egypt. Both America and Israel ignored that action. Subsequently President Sadat indicated his intention to launch a war since nothing else seemed able to awake America and Israel. Again, few paid any attention to him. Yet war did come.

From the Egyptian standpoint, the timing of the current offensive could not be more advantageous. This offensive comes just at a time when the collapse of South Vietnam is bringing home to the American people the troubles which might stem from having the U.S. attempt to play policeman to the world. Secretary of State Kissinger has declared that one lesson to be learned from Vietnam is that "foreign policy must be sustained over decades if it is to be effective, and if it cannot be, then it has to be tailored to what is sustainable."

So Egyptians are asking: Is it American policy to defend Israel's occupation of Arab lands? And by implication there is another question: Does America really think that the affirmative can be sustained over decades in the face of bitter opposition from over 100 million Arabs plus literally over a 100 supporting nations?

And Vietnam provides lessons concerning what might happen if America is led to give guarantees which it can't sustain, say Egyptians. For Israel, there is a disturbing factor here, too. Suppose the U.S. clearly declares that it has no intention of guaranteeing Israeli possession of occupied lands? Then suppose another war starts, with Arabs claiming they seek only to win back occupied territories? What would the U.S. attitude be then?

Such questions are all involved in that thesis which President Sadat is expounding. Like it or not, the U.S. must consider them in reassessing its own Mideastern position.

Mr. Vicker is the Journal's senior international editor and is currently stationed in the Middle East.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 6 MAY 1975

Jordanian paper says Israel masses troops

Amman, Jordan

Israel is massing troops and armor along the entire length of the Syrian and Jordanian cease-fire lines, the Jordanian newspaper Al-Destour asserted Monday.

There was no immediate comment from the Israeli, Syrian, or Jordanian commands.

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RADIO - TV DEFENSE DIALOG

RADIO TV REPORTS INC. WASH., D.C., SUMMARIES NOT TO BE QUOTED.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 7, 1975 (BROADCASTS OF MAY 6, 1975)

SUMMARY OF NETWORK NEWS IN THIS ISSUE

John CHANCELLOR, Irving R. LEVINE, John COCHRAN, Catherine MACKIN, Lou ALLISON and Ray CULLEN, all of NBC, report on refugee related subjects. LEVINE reports that the AFL-CIO has come out in favor of resettling Vietnamese refugees. He includes a statement by AFL-CIO head George MEANY. COCHRAN reports by way of Republican congressional leaders President FORD's reaction to those who oppose resettlement of refugees. MACKIN reports on congressional reaction to the refugee aid bill. ALLISON reports on the arrival at Guam of sealifted refugees, including about 1,000 fishermen. CULLEN reports on the arrival of Nguyen Cao KY at Camp Pendleton, California and about his new status as a refugee. CHANCELLOR reports that the U.S. has agreed to stop removing aircraft flown by Vietnamese to Thailand, but that we have already removed a large portion of them.

CHANCELLOR and Kenley JONES, NBC, report on the Mid-East and a speech by King HUSSEIN of Jordan. CHANCELLOR reports that the U.S. has agreed to sell the Jordanians a Hawk missile system. JONES reports on HUSSEIN's speech in which he talked about Israeli peace conditions and Arab acquiescence. Included is an excerpt of an interview by Barbara WALTERS with Secretary KISSINGER. CHANCELLOR also reports that the U.S. and Russia called for a stoppage of lax security measures which might enable people to gain possession of nuclear materials. He reports that $222 million was cut from the B-1 funds and that an amendment calling for entrance of women into military academies was tabled.

Roger MUDD, Bob SCHIEFFER, Lesley STAHL, and Bruce DUNNING, all of CBS, report on refugee related events. SCHIEFFER reports by way of Republican congressional leaders Presidential reaction to opponents of refugee resettlement and that only 35,000 jobs are needed. STAHL reports that mail received at Capitol Hill is against resettlement and includes statements by congressmen on the subject. DUNNING reports on the arrival of sealifted refugees at Guam. MUDD reports that the U.S. has recovered 50 of the 120 Vietnamese planes which landed in Thailand.

Harry REASONER and Howard K. SMITH, ABC News, report on the arrival of the las U.S. Navy ship to leave Vietnam at Subic Bay; on the repossession of Vietnamese aircraft from Thailand by the U.S.; and that Australia has recognized the new Saigon regime and is willing to accept refugees.

REASONER reports on funding cuts for the Air Force's B-1 bomber; House committee approval of a $26 billion weapons bill; and the tabling of an amendment to allow women in military academies. REASONER and Ted KOPPEL, ABC, report on the Mid-East. KOPPEL reports on the reassessment of American foreign policy in the Mid-East, using as indicators U.S. approval of providing Jordan with an air defense system and inaction on Israeli requests for F-15s and other items.

Bruce MORTON, CBS Morning News, reports along with Ike PAPPAS on the phased shutdown of U.S. bases in Thailand and the removal of U.S. troops. PAPPAS also reports on the repossession of Vietnamese planes by the U.S. MORTON also includes a statement by State Department spokesman Robert ANDERSON who says that the Khmer Rouge are executing former Khmer officials and their wives.

Barbara WALTERS, the "Today" show NBC TV, interviews Secretary of State KISSINGER on the fall of Vietnam and Cambodia and their relation to detente; on China's position as a result of Indochina losses; and on the current situation in Thailand with respect to their withdrawal requests.

PREPARED BY THE AIR FORCE SAFAA AS EXECUTIVE AGENT FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE TO BRING TO THE ATTENTION OF KEY DOD PERSONNEL MATTERS WITHIN THEIR OFFICIAL RESPONSIBILITIES.

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NBC NIGHTLY NEWS NBC TV
7:00 PM MAY 6

Vietnam Refugees

JOHN CHANCELLOR: Good evening. President FORD got a big assist today from organized labor in his efforts to get Vietnamese refugees settled in this country. This afternoon the executive council of the AFL-CIO held its regular quarterly meeting and to a lot of peoples' surprise produced a ringing endorsement of the President's plan to bring in up to 150,000 refugees, of whom 30-to-40,000 would need jobs. Irving R. Levine has the story.

IRVING R. LEVINE: The AFL-CIO leaders met after some union officials had objected to resettling Vietnam refugees. Afterwards George MEANY said that even with high unemployment the economy can absorb the Vietnamese and MEANY denounced critics.

GEORGE MEANY: Frankly I think the attitude of people who say dump these refugees in the sea, send them back, to me is really deplorable. If this great country can't absorb another 30 or 40,000 people and try to find some way for them to make a living then I feel we're -- in a sense we're denying our own heritage, we're denying the history, the background, the traditions of this country as a haven for the oppressed.

LEVINE: In practical terms George MEANY's words mean that AFL-CIO officials around the country are now forbidden from objecting to Vietnam refugees settling here. It also means that the AFL-CIO will use its influence in Congress to get President FORD the money to find homes and jobs for the refugees. Irving R. Levine, NBC News, Washington.

CHANCELLOR: Yet in the Congress there was little movement today on the President's request for $507 million for resettlement of the Vietnam refugees. There was a meeting at the White House between the President and Republican congressional leaders. One of them came out and quoted the President as saying opposition to the refugees makes him damned mad. Here's more on the refugee story from Washington.

JOHN COCHRAN: Republican congressional leaders told the President he will not get all the refugee aid he wants. There was some criticism of liberals who oppose the President's refugee program. Mr. FORD did not mention anyone by name, but after the meeting Senate Minority leader SCOTT had some sharp words about Senator George McGOVERN who went to Cuba after suggesting that some Vietnamese refugees would be better off in their own country.

SENATOR HUGH SCOTT: We're not running off to Cuba to divert attention from the serious problems, we're not asking that they go back in any sort of people killing program.

COCHRAN: So far mail coming into the White House indicates that Americans want to help the refugees as long as they don't stay here. By latest count the letters were running nearly two-to-one in favor of some kind of refugee aid. But the initial response to bringing the Vietnamese here shows a three-to-one margin against resettling them in the United States. The President told Republican leaders today that he is just burned up by liberal opponents of the resettlement program. Mr. FORD said, "these great humanitarians, now damn it they want to turn their backs. We didn't do that with the Hungarians and the Cubans, and damn it we're not going to do it now." The President's language will be milder at tonight's news conference, but his aides say he will still make a strong appeal for public support of his refugee program. John Cochran, NBC News, the White House.

CATHERINE MACKIN: Mail received by leaders of Congress and those who represent states where the Vietnamese are being processed is not considered overly heavy, it's certainly not on the scale of a major issue like Watergate. But those who do write are virtually all against the new refugees because they think they'll take work away from them. Some in Congress think these fears result from early administration estimates that the refugees could run as high as a million. Nevertheless there is divided opinion in Congress over refugee aid.

SENATOR ROBERT BYRD: Now I have a feeling that the American people, with the 8.9 percent unemployment rate here and with the welfare caseload burgeoning, feel that this number of refugees could have an additional economic impact.

SENATOR ALAN CRANSTON: I don't think we can abandon them. The American history and heritage is to open our doors to those who flee what they may deem to be terror somewhere else. And I don't think that we can turn away from that historic policy.

MACKIN: It's too early to say whether President FORD will get the entire $507 million he's requested for refugee aid, but the leaders in Congress say there is no doubt that substantial humanitarian aid will be approved and that Congress

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will act soon. First the administration will have to answer a lot of questions about how the money will be spent and give assurances that state and local governments won't have to pay any of the refugee costs. Catherine MACKIN, NBC News, Washington.

***(Commercials)

CHANCELLOR: A week out of Phuoc Loc island, South Vietnam the freighter American Challenger arrived today in Guam with more than 5,000 South Vietnamese refugees aboard. The captain said he left behind possibly 50,000 people on Phuoc Loc and just off its shores in small boats and he added that three infants died aboard his ship while half a dozen more were born. Lou Allison reports.

LOU ALLISON: For the next 10 days American ships like this one will be bringing South Vietnamese refugees to Guam. In all the sealift will add 80,000 evacuees to the more than 50,000 who have begun moving through Guam by airlift. The first evacuation ship, the American Challenger, docked at the Guam Navy Station early Wednesday morning Guam time with more than 5,000 people aboard, people at sea for four weeks but most of them in good health and happy to be safe here. The American officials running operation "New Life" say they're marked changes as the flood of refugees continues to grow. They say these people and those on the other ships are much poorer than those who came before. These people told NBC News reporter Ngo Yen KY (?) that the largest single group of refugees aboard the American Challenger were penniless fishermen from the southern coast of Vietnam. The fishermen and their families, numbering more than 1,000, are actually North Vietnamese. They fled their homes more than 20 years ago to get away from the Communists then. In this rescue operation the evacuation ship had to leave thousands of people behind and the ship's captain said there was desperation among those left in their fishing boats.

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The fishermen and their families may stay many months, perhaps years, in resettlement and training camps here or on the United States mainland. The fact that they were uprooted by war once before and resettled in South Vietnam with no other skills than fishing will make it much harder for them to start a new life in America and much harder for Americans to help them. Lou Allison, NBC News, Guam.

CHANCELLOR: The most prominent of the South Vietnamese refugees to arrive at Camp Pendleton, California is Nguyen Cao KY, former vice president of South Vietnam. KY is the man who said that any South Vietnamese leader who left the country in the face of enemy attack would be a coward, and then KY left. Ray Cullen has more on KY in the United States

RAY CULLEN: KY was escorted from the plane by military police who followed him only to the terminal. Otherwise there was no special security.

NGUYEN CAO KY: I will stay with them as a normal refugee.

REPORTER: Do you consider yourself a normal refugee?

KY: Personal I can live among my people here.

CULLEN: Former premier KY says he's just a normal refugee, but it's obvious he's trying to improve his image among his fellow countrymen. His actions today were not those of a regular refugee. Conscious of the cameras, KY walked freely around camp talking to both newsmen and evacuees. He said it was too cold to sleep last night and asked a Marine officer for heavier clothing and more bedding. There were no security guards and officials say he will be given no special treatment in processing. A woman cried as she told KY of losing two sons in the defense of South Vietnam. KY says he wants to leave the base as soon as possible and will then join his family in Washington. Ray Cullen, NBC News, Camp Pendleton, California.

CHANCELLOR: The United States promised Thailand today to stop removing planes flown to Utaphao Airbase in Thailand by South Vietnamese pilots escaping from the war. The United States made the promise after it took away many of the 120 planes involved. The smaller jet fighters were hooked onto big helicopters and flown to the carrier Midway in the Gulf of Siam. The Midway then sailed away. American sources in Thailand said that a number of C-130 transports, which is too big to be picked up any helicopter, were simply flown out of the country.

U.S. and Mid-East

CHANCELLOR: Secretary of State KISSINGER said today that the United States is definitely not tilting towards the Arabs in the Middle East. KISSINGER did confirm that the United States has agreed to sell Hawk missiles to Jordan. But he said American Mid-East policy is even handed. He said military equipment was sent to Israel under existing agreement. The United States has, however, put off any new arms agreement with

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Israel pending a reassessment of American policy. And Israel today expressed concern over the missile deal with Jordan. Jordan's King HUSSEIN, who is visiting this country, made an important speech in South Carolina today concerning Israel and the Arabs. Kenley Jones reports.

KENLEY JONES: HUSSEIN came to the Citadel, the military college of South Carolina, to receive an honorary doctor of law degree and to make what aides called a major foreign policy statement. The Jordanian King said the Arab nations have changed their policy since 1967 when they refused even to recognize the existence of Israel. He said Jordan, Egypt and Syria are all now ready, even eager, to negotiate a peace treaty.

KING HUSSEIN: We accept the conditions for peace that have been laid down; recognition of Israel, non-belligerence, Israel's right to exist within recognized borders, and our willingness to make and support a final peace. All of these we accepted on condition that Israel withdraw from all Arab territory and recognize the legitimate right of the Palestinians in their homeland. It is as simple as that.

JONES: HUSSEIN called on private citizens in this country, as well as the government, to put pressure on Israel to withdraw from the occupied territory. Kenley Jones, NBC News, Charleston, S.C.

CHANCELLOR: Secretary KISSINGER said the United States does not now have a peace plan for the Middle East. He said one reason for that is that events in Indochina have taken up so much time and attention. KISSINGER said these things in the second part of an interview with Barbara Walters broadcast this morning on the Today Show program. Here's part of that interview.

BARBARA WALTERS: Almost six weeks ago President FORD asked for a reassessment of our policy in the Middle East. Now I know you haven't finished the reassessment, it's said it will take another week or so. But can you tell us anything of what is in there.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Well first of all when President FORD announced this and set a tentative deadline it was before events in Indochina took a great deal of our attention. Secondly it's a mistake to believe that there will be some clear terminal date at which one can say from now on the assessment is completed. But I believe that on the whole the decision -- the final decisions -- will not be made until President FORD has had an opportunity to meet with the leaders of the countries principally concerned. But the conclusion to which we have come is certainly to continue a major American effort to produce progress towards peace in the Middle East and not to permit a long period of stagnation.

Conference On Nuclear Materials

CHANCELLOR: The United States and the Soviet Union today called for international measures to stop nuclear materials from being stolen by criminals and terrorists. Delegates from both countries spoke at an international conference in Geneva.

Senate Committee Arms Cuts

CHANCELLOR: The Senate Armed Services Committee today cut $222 million from the B-1 bomber program. The committee voted about half a billion dollars for research and testing on the B-1. And the House Armed Services Committee tabled an amendment to let women into the military academies and go into combat.

CBS EVENING NEWS CBS TV
7:00 PM MAY 6

Vietnamese Refugees; Thailand

ROGER MUDD: Good evening. President FORD let it be known today he is disturbed by the public backlash against his plan to resettle thousands of Vietnamese refugees in the United States. The President's feelings were passed on by Republican congressional leaders after they met with him at the White House. We have reports from Bob Schieffer and Lesley Stahl.

BOB SCHIEFFER: During the meeting the President tried to counter fears that bringing the refugees into this country would only make the unemployment situation worse. He said only 35,000 of the 130,000 refugees expected here could be classified as head of households. Sixty percent of the group coming here will be children, he said, who will not be looking for jobs. Republican leader Hugh SCOTT said the President was dismayed at the anti-refugee sentiment being expressed in some quarters. Pressed later for the President's personal reaction, SCOTT described it this way.

SENATOR HUGH SCOTT: He -- I've forgotten the word he used -- but he expressed something that -- well yea I'll get around to that John -- he said something about it was shocking or he was

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amazed that there would be hesitancy shown and that criticism would erupt. And he said, in fact, in makes me damned mad -- I guess that is a reaction.

SCHIEFFER: White House mail is running three-to-one against resettling the refugees in this country, but so far only 322 letters on the subject have been received. Mr. FORD is expected to say more about the public's reaction at tonight's news conference. Bob Schieffer CBS News, at the White House.

LESLEY STAHL: On Capitol Hill the mail is overwhelmingly hostile to the refugees, displaying little of the sense of moral obligation the White House is advocating. Some of the objections are racist. One letter from Nebraska reads: They bring only disease, corruption and apathy. There's great anger because the refugees, the letters say, wouldn't stand up and fight the Communists. But most of the letters are about the economy.

SENATOR BYRD: The United States gave $150 billion and 56,000 lives and 306,000 casualties to help the South Vietnamese to have an opportunity to survive. (rest of statement same as Mackin report on NBC.)

STAHL: But most labor and political leaders disagree with the congressional mail.

MAN: There's no way I can see that we can turn our backs on the 100,000 there who chose freedom and that chose to escape from the tyranny. And we didn't do that with the Hungarian refugees and we didn't do that with the Cuban refugees and we can't do that now.

SENATOR GOLDWATER: We are a nation of immigrants. And to turn our backs on people who are fleeing from oppression, fleeing for their lives, and say to them that we're going to dump them in the sea. This to me is about as contrary to American tradition as anything that I ever heard of.

STAHL: The State Department says it has had to hire Kelly girls to take all the calls coming in offering to help the refugees. And the administration's refugee task force chief Dean BROWN held a press conference to respond to the criticism.

MAN: Well how do you respond to some people who feel, rightly or wrongly, that the government is ramming people down their throats?

DEAN BROWN: Well frankly, I don't respond to it, because I don't think the government is ramming anybody down anybody's throat. Because it's being taken on on a voluntary basis by the people that want to have them in their house.

STAHL: Lesley Stahl, CBS News, Washington.

MUDD: The United States today yielded to the Thai government and stopped removing American warplanes that fleeing South Vietnames had flown into Thailand. Both the U.S. and Saigon claimed the planes, about 120 of them and worth $330 million, and Thailand got caught in the middle of that dispute. The U.S. did not agree to the Thai request, however, until it reportedly recovered the 50 most expensive planes.

***(Commercials)

MUDD: The last U.S. Navy ship used in the evacuation of Saigon reached Subic Bay in the Philippines with 177 refugees. After processing they will be transferred to Guam, where Bruce Dunning reports on the recent refugee arrivals.

BRUCE DUNNING: The people on this ship were just the beginning of the largest group of refugees yet to arrive. In the next week to ten days about 80,000 refugees are expected here by ship, a number almost equal to the entire population of Guam. Many of these people had fled from South Vietnam in small boats hoping to be picked up by ships out at sea. How many more set out to sea but were never picked up no one will ever know.

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As the first arrivals continue their processing others waited for hours to debark from the ship. It took all night to unload the ship, and at dawn another ship entered the harbor with 6,000 more refugees. And there are more ships behind them arriving in a few days as the total of refugees continues to grow to well over 100,000. Bruce Dunning, CBS News, Guam.

MUDD: From Guam the refugees will be transferred to one of three military bases in the U.S.***

ABC EVENING NEWS ABC TV
7:00 PM MAY 6

Vietnam Refugees; Thailand

HARRY REASONER: The last U.S. Navy ship to leave the waters off Vietnam arrived at Subic Bay in the Philippines with 177 refugees today. And the captain of a freighter that brought 5,000 refugees to Guam today said at least 50,000 Vietnamese were left behind in boats in the waters off Saigon. Among the new Vietnamese arrivals in Camp Pendleton, Calif.

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is former South Vietnamese premier and vice president Nguyen Cao KY. Flamboyant as ever, KY quickly made his presence known.***

HOWARD K. SMITH: When the end came in South Vietnam last week South Vietnamese pilots flew 129 of their American made warplanes to Thailand. The Thai government said it would return those planes to the Communist regime in Saigon. But the U.S. had begun ferrying them out on the aircraft carrier Midway. Well today the Thai government demanded the U.S. stop removing those aircraft. The U.S. agreed, but it appeared that by then more than half the planes, the most valuable ones, were already moved out.

The Communist Vietcong flag was hoisted today over the South Vietnamese legation building in Paris. It was reported however, that France has not yet decided when an exchange of ambassadors with the new Saigon regime will take place. Australia meanwhile has announced it has officially recognized the new Communist government in South Vietnam but is also willing to accept Vietnamese refugees.

Armed Service Committee Cuts

REASONER: In a major setback for the Pentagon weapons program the Senate Armed Services Committee today cut $222 million from funds requested for development of the Air Force B-1 strategic bomber program. And the House Armed Services Committee approved a $26 billion weapons bill, three and a half billion less than President FORD requested. The House committee tabled an amendment to the bill to let women enter military academies and go into combat.

Weapons, U.S. and the Mid-East

REASONER: There are reports today of a new U.S. weapons committment to Jordan. But the administration says this does not indicate any change in Middle East policy. With President FORD scheduled to meet with leaders of both Egypt and Israel in the coming weeks, ABC diplomatic correspondent Ted Koppel puts the latest developments in perspective.

TED KOPPEL: The administration continues to insist that its reassessment of America's policies in the Middle East has not been completed. And yet when Jordan's King HUSSEIN wrapped up his talks here in Washington the other day he left with a committment that the United States will provide Jordan with an air defense system made up of Red Eye missiles, Hawk missiles and conventional anti-aircraft equipment. Israeli officials are furious. In the past, they point out, Jordan's excuse for staying largely on the sidelines of Arab-Israeli confrontations has been precisely its lack of a viable air defense system. Now, say the Israelis, one of the first necessary steps in the event of a new Middle East war would have to be the safeguarding of Israel's eastern front, a polite way of describing the forceful elimination of that Jordanian air defense system. What troubles the Israelis equally is that Egypt and Syria are receiving generous infusions of Soviet military equipment. In the meantime any discussion of selling the Israelis the sophisticated American F-15 aircraft or the Lance missile is being deferred until after the reassessment of America's Middle East policy is concluded. On the surface then the reassessment appears to be weighted rather unevenly against the Israelis. But what is emerging is not so much a new American policy as a new atmosphere in which to negotiate an Israeli-Egyptian agreement. Israeli officials are now letting it be known that they are willing to discuss a pullback from almost half of the Sinai to a line stretching from Bir El Mazar (?) in the north, along the heights of Gebel Yelich (?) to a point east of the Abu Rudeis oil fields. Their terms, the same as a couple of months ago, a formal Egyptian declaration of non-belligerency. Presumably when Israeli Prime Minister RABIN comes here to Washington on June 15th, President FORD will have given the Israelis a new gesture of support, the availability for example of those Lance missiles and F-15 jets. Israel, in other words, can be responding to American support rather than American pressure. By then Mr. FORD will also have met with Egypt's President SADAT at a time when America looks more even handed in its Middle East policy than ever before. On Capitol Hill today Secretary KISSINGER rejected any suggestion, however, that America is tilting towards the Arabs.***

America's reassessment in the Middle East appears to be less a change in direction than a change in tactics. This is Ted Koppel, ABC News, Washington.

CBS MORNING NEWS CBS TV
7:00 AM MAY 6

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U.S. Withdrawals From Thailand

BRUCE MORTON: The U.S. is going ahead with plans to pull troops out of Thailand. Ike Pappas reports.

IKE PAPPAS: Sources say the Pentagon plans to shut down one of the four airbases the United States maintains in Thailand to coincide with the withdrawal of 7,500 Air Force personnel by the end of June. The United States maintains 350 aircraft in Thailand, an undisclosed number will also be removed. The Air Force operates four bases in Thailand, Udorn, Korat (?), Nakhon Phanom, and Utaphao. Pentagon sources would not reveal which base would be closed, they said only that the big American airfield at Utaphao, an airlift supply center during the Cambodian war, would remain in U.S. hands at least for the time being. Despite public demands by the Thais that the United States withdraw all military personnel by next year, it is still hoped by top Pentagon analysts that the Thais will agree to allow a small U.S. force to remain. They point out that Thailand and the United States are still members of SEATO. Most of the Thailand's military equipment is U.S. made, if the Thais insist on a total U.S. pullout, spare parts for that equipment may be hard to come by. The Thais might need that equipment to put down the threat of a Communist insurgency in their country. Negotiations will continue with Thailand on future American military withdrawals. On another matter the Thais last week said they intended to return to Communist officials in Saigon some 120 South Vietnamese Air Force planes and helicopters that were flown into Thailand during the evacuation. Defense Secretary SCHLESINGER protested this, saying that the United States holds title to that equipment since the aircraft are part of U.S. military aid. Yesterday the aircraft carrier Midway, in the Thai port of Sattahip, began loading smaller former South Vietnamese aircraft onto her flight deck for the trip to the United States. Larger planes, such as C-130s, will be flown out to U.S. bases. The value of the abandoned aircraft is put at $330 million. Ike Pappas, CBS News, Washington.

Report on Cambodia

MORTON: The administration has intercepted radio transmissions from Cambodia which indicate the Khmer Rouge have killed some Lon Nol government officers and their wives. State Department spokesman Robert Anderson.

ROBERT ANDERSON: Our information on what may be transpiring in Cambodia is fragmentary, but I can say that it is evident to us on the basis of reliable information that orders have been issued by the Khmer Rouge to their outlying commands to kill top military and political leaders at local levels. In addition in one outlying area this order has been carried out, resulting in the death of at least 80 Khmer leaders and their wives.

MORTON: White House press secretary Ron Nessen said the President was deeply bothered by that report.

TODAY SHOW NBC TV
7:00 AM MAY 6

Interview With Kissinger

JIM HARTZ: Now part two of Barbara Walters filmed interview with Secretary of State Henry KISSINGER, the first comprehensive interview he's granted since the fall of South Vietnam. Today Secretary KISSINGER talks about the domino theory and detente with the Soviet Union, among other things.

BARBARA WALTERS: We talk of detente with the Soviet Union, but how do we reconcile detente with a country that aids the collapse of an ally we're committed to defend?

SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER: We have to understand what detente represents. The Soviet Union is a country that we recognize as ideologically hostile. The Soviet Union is a great power that is in many parts of the world operating competitively with us. The Soviet Union is also a country that possesses an enormous nuclear arsenal and with which we have certain interests in common; such as the prevention of general nuclear war, such as limiting conflict in areas where both of us could get directly involved. And in those areas detente has worked reasonably well. What we cannot ask the Soviet Union to do is to keep itself from taking advantage of situations in which for whatever reasons we do not do what is required to maintain the balance. It is true that Soviet arms made the conquest of South Vietnam possible. It is also true that the refusal of American arms made the conquest of South Vietnam

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inevitable. And therefore, while the Soviet Union does have a heavy responsibility we cannot expect the Soviet Union to police the world for us, and we have to be mature enough to recognize that we have to coexist even in a competitive world and perhaps hopefully be able to moderate over a period of years the competition in peripheral areas. Now eventually the Soviet Union must realize that it is responsible for the consequences of its actions, even in peripheral areas. But as a basic relationship detente has never meant the absence of competition.

WALTERS: Where does China stand now as a result of the fall of Saigon?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Well China now has 40 million Vietnamese on its frontiers that do not exactly suffer from a lack of confidence in themselves. I think China will look at the international situation from the point of view of the overall balance of power, from the point of view of its own national interests, and I think it will conclude that the policy that led it to undertake normalization of relations with the United States remain the best course for it. Just as we believe that the normalization of relations with the Peoples Republic of China is an important objective of American policy which will be maintained.

WALTERS: Mr. Secretary, Thailand's foreign minister has said all American soldiers will be totally gone from that country within one year. What does this mean to us?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Basically, as we assess our policy around the world it is important to understand that the United States does not do favors to other countries by being in an alliance with them, nor do other countries do us a favor by being our ally. If other countries want us to withdraw our troops we will of course withdraw them. Our security can be protected in many ways. What it means, however, is that for the Thai leaders the last few months have been a traumatic experience. Thailand supported our efforts in Vietnam and in Indochina because it believed its own security was intimately connected with it. And it is well known that we use Thai bases for many of the operations of the Indochina war. So naturally the Thai leaders are concerned about what this means -- what our withdrawal from Cambodia and Vietnam means -- about our general attitude in foreign policy.

***(Complete transcript available)

PANORAMA WTTG TV
12:30 PM MAY 6

Interview With John Lofton, et al

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JOHN LOFTON: ***But I think you (Gloria EMMERSON) ought to be congratulated for your candor because there are many people like yourself who have postured as advocates of peace in Vietnam when what you desired all along was in fact a Communist victory.***

But anyway that's not central to the point. You said that -- talking about North Vietnam -- you said it's more of a country with more spirit and there's more purpose -- which certainly could have been said of Nazi Germany too. But I think the South is a nightmare and nothing works there now. What interested me was what is it that you think works in North Vietnam?

GLORIA EMMERSON: Well let me just tell you what doesn't work. After all those preposterous years of mythology about how ARVN was doing well, we've seen the performance of a disgraced and decomposing army. Nothing works in the villages, nothing worked in the districts because military officers were running them. Nothing worked at any human level of the society. Money was the only thing that got you anything in South Vietnam at all.

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LOFTON: In order to fight you must have not only will but bullets. And in the 19 day war in the Mid-East, 1973, the United States government gave Israel $700 million in military aid a week. And had that aid been withdrawn from Israel, Israel would have collapsed and been overrun also.

***(complete transcript available)

PLEASE NOTE: Complete transcripts of the following are available:

Evening Edition EE TV April 25, 1975 Interview Sen. Percy.

Evening Edition EE TV April 24, 1975 Interview Ambassadors of Korea and the Philippines.

Walter Cronkite CBS Radio May 2, 1975 Commentary by Dan Rather on Vietnam.

News WTOP Radio May 3, 1975. Report from Vienna on Atomic Nonproliferation treaty.

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CURRENT NEWS
SPECIAL EDITION

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6 MAY 1975 No. 4

COMMENTARY MAY 1975

Vietnam: The Final Reckoning

Robert W. Tucker

AT LAST, the final reckoning in Vietnam is at hand. Barring some unforeseen and unexpected reversal, the last act in what has seemed a never-ending drama has begun. How should we behave in the concluding phase of a conflict whose outcome we have for so long sought to influence? How should we act toward those we chose to support and whose destiny we presumed to guide? However one answers these questions, their importance is apparent. For what we ultimately learn, if anything, from this our first defeat in war will depend in large measure upon our collective memory of Vietnam. In turn, this memory will surely be affected by how we behave in the moment of defeat.

It may be argued that these are questions which should have been asked long ago, that at the very least they should have been asked in January 1973 when American military forces withdrew from Vietnam in accordance with the cease-fire agreements. In fact, they were only seldom raised. To be sure, many have asked how the war, and continued American support of South Vietnam, might be ended. But few have permitted themselves the assumption that these questions would one day have to be raised and answered in the circumstances we now face. The unwelcome truth is that most of us have been loath to confront the issues we have now been forced to confront. The sudden and dramatic turn in the course of the war has brought us to the full accounting we have so long sought to avoid making and one we have been encouraged to avoid making by those bearing official responsibility for American policy. If there is a pervasive air of unease over Vietnam today, it must be largely attributed to the realization that this dreaded accounting can no longer be put off.

At the same time, it is necessary to stress that this accounting is of a special sort and, as such, not to be equated simply, or perhaps even primarily, with conventional diplomatic-strategic calculations. It is not President Ford's falling dominoes and the presumably vital American security interests thereby jeopardized that have given rise to the unease. Nor is it Secretary Kissinger's strictures on the indivisibility of peace and the effects on American global interests in abandoning an ally (South Vietnam) in its moment of extremity. These arguments, invoked from the outset of the American involvement in Vietnam, are still not without *some* effect. But the effect appears rather minimal, and this quite apart from whatever intrinsic merit the arguments might have. Indeed, it may well be that the world of the middle 1970's gives a considerably greater plausibility to such arguments than did the world of the early-to-middle 1960's. Certainly, the American position in the world today is not one that will bear favorable comparison with the American position of a decade ago. These considerations apart, the point remains that the altogether familiar arguments of the administration in response to the recent events in Vietnam are markedly less persuasive than they were in earlier years, and even in the earlier years of American involvement in the war their persuasiveness was limited. The currents of public opinion, and of a substantial portion of elite opinion as well, are running in directions other than those set out by the President and his Secretary of State in defining American security interests both in, and affected by, Indochina.

Nor does it seem plausible that the unease over the impending dénouement in Vietnam is a response to expected recriminations—already surfaced by leading administration figures—over "who lost Vietnam." If anything, these recriminations are likely to still much of the unease that does clearly exist by submerging it in domestic political considerations. There is little the Ford administration can reasonably expect to gain by assigning the loss of Vietnam to the Democratically-controlled Congress accused of having been niggardly in the amount of support it was prepared to give South Vietnam, though there is a good deal the administration could quite possibly lose. This is so if only for the reason that the administration must contend with something approaching the status of a law of politics: re-

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ROBERT W. TUCKER, whose article, "Oil: The Issue of American Intervention," in our January issue has provoked worldwide discussion, is professor of international relations at John Hopkins and the author of several books on world affairs and American foreign policy. He wishes to thank his colleague, Professor Piero Gleijeses, for invaluable help in preparing this article.

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sponsibility for what happens at a given time falls upon those who currently hold power. To escape the operation of this law, however cruel and unjust it may in practice occasionally prove, the present power holders must make a persuasive demonstration that Vietnam might—even would—have been saved had it not been for a recalcitrant and penurious Congress. Given the difficulties of such demonstration, the prospects that it might succeed cannot be rated very bright. Clearly, it will take a good deal more in the way of "proof" than merely to argue that Vietnam would have been saved had Congress only complied with whatsoever requests for aid were made by the executive.

More generally, the circumstances of 1975 simply do not favor in the case of Vietnam even a mini-repetition of the earlier Republican "loss-of-China" gambit. It is not only that in the present case a Republican administration will have presided over the "loss," but that it will have done so in a period when détente with the Soviet Union (and, in lesser degree, with China) has been the great desideratum of policy. How is one to explain simply and persuasively to the great public that those who have been so instrumental in bringing about the loss by presumably being more generous with their ally than we have been with ours, are nevertheless the states with which we must continue to seek closer and more understanding relationships? The initiated may find little trouble in grasping these subtleties of statecraft, though in the case of the Soviet Union even many of the initiated are evidently beginning to experience some difficulty. It seems doubtful, though, that the public will be able to follow this logic.

Yet the charge against Congress of "losing Vietnam" may still elicit a strong public response simply by virtue of the blood and treasure the American people have sacrificed in Vietnam. To invoke this particular logic, to tell the people that its sacrifice has been in vain because in the end this sacrifice was willfully betrayed by those who refused to comply with the administration's requests, would be reckless and irresponsible in the extreme. It would recall a dark and shameful chapter in our history and, in doing so, it would put an even more miserable end to an involvement that has been marked throughout by little else than misery. Despite the occasional intimation that charges reminiscent of McCarthyism may yet be raised, it is difficult to believe we have in recent recriminations more than misguided, though understandable, efforts to prod a Congress no longer willing passively to accept either the judgments or the requests of the executive branch on Indochina—and, for that matter, on foreign policy generally.

II

THE question persists: Why the unease in watching the dénouement in Vietnam?* Why do I feel uneasy in observing a tragedy the last act of which can come as no surprise? Clearly, it is not because of any regret over a position of opposition taken and held for more than a decade. In retrospect, there is no apparent reason for altering that position today. I remain persuaded that the American involvement in Vietnam represented, more than anything else, the triumph of an expansionist and imperial interest which, by the 1960's, had submerged the narrower and more conventional security interest the policy of containment initially expressed. Without question, the involvement in Vietnam was also a legacy of the classic cold war, of the momentum generated by the cold war, and of the habits of thought and action the years of intense conflict had encouraged. Yet the greatest legacy of the classic cold war was the gradual submission of the narrower interest that containment initially expressed in the larger interest of maintaining under American leadership a stable and congenial global order. Vietnam was perceived as a threat to this larger interest, and it was the preservation of this larger interest—an imperial interest—that must ultimately explain Vietnam. In the purpose of maintaining a particular vision of world order, in the equation of this order with American security, in the hubris of those who led the nation into war, and in the reluctance to withdraw from a conflict that could not be "won" without resort to odious measures, Vietnam affords a classic case of an imperial war.

Thus the United States involvement in Vietnam was not primarily due to intellectual error, as the prevailing liberal orthodoxy on the war would have it. Nor can it be adequately explained either in terms of an ideological obsession pursued for its own sake or, with more plausibility, in terms of the domestic constraints of anti-Communism. These and similar explanations of the policy that led to Vietnam give to this policy a quality of disinterestedness it did not possess and a quality of innocence it did not have. That policy was not the work of incompetent ideologues who were blind to political realities and oblivious to age-old considerations of interest. It was the work of men who, though they obviously made mistakes, wished to preserve America's global preponderance, and who not unreasonably saw in Vietnam a threat to the nation's preeminent position. In the manner of all imperial visions, the vision of a preponderant America was solidly rooted in the will to exercise dominion over others, however benign the intent of those who entertained the vision. That this will was commonly cloaked in such disarming terms as "liberal internationalism" does not alter the reality. The policy of intervention—of liberal intervention—that culminated in Vietnam was the expected response of an imperial power with a vital interest in maintaining an order that, quite apart from the material benefits it conferred, had become synonymous with the nation's vision of its role in history.

Yet even for one who opposed this vision and the results to which it finally led in Vietnam, there is something awesome and disquieting in the swiftness with which so many have apparently abandoned it in the conviction that we have entered a new period of world history. It may of

CONTINUED PAGE 3

* It is perhaps well to emphasize that "unease" is used here in a sense to be distinguished from the unease that arises simply from witnessing death and destruction (and, in this instance, the sense of shame among many South Vietnamese that an ordeal many bore with so much courage and dignity has been mocked by the behavior of an army in defeat). We all feel uneasy in the face of the suffering of others, quite apart from whether or not we have had any role in, or relationship to, that suffering. In the case of Vietnam, however, the particular unease experienced today stems in large part from the role we have played in the war and the nagging doubts almost all must feel about that role. Then, too, unease might in part stem from the self-deceptions that have been entertained almost to the very end.

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course be argued that the vision has not in fact been abandoned, only the methods by which it was formerly sustained. But given the world in which foreign policy must still be conducted, the abandonment of these methods is very likely to leave the vision little more than an empty shell. Indeed, the abandonment of these methods may well result in jeopardizing narrower and more traditional security interests. In any event, it is in the excess of Vietnam that we may find a root cause—perhaps *the* root cause—of an outlook today that promises to be as indiscriminate in its anti-interventionism as was the interventionism of only yesterday. If some of the now visible consequences of this sudden change are to be deplored, this consideration cannot alter the judgment rendered on our involvement in Vietnam. On the contrary, it can only strengthen the judgment made on the intrinsic folly of that involvement.

III

We come closer to answering the question of why the sense of unease over Vietnam once it is acknowledged that we never honestly faced the issue of how we were to disengage entirely from an enterprise—and this regardless of the consequences—which, even though we should never have undertaken it, we nevertheless did undertake. To have faced up to this issue necessarily meant facing up to its probable consequences—indeed, to its almost certain consequences—and this we could not bring ourselves to do. At least, this is true for almost all of those who, however opposed to American involvement in Vietnam, have not been sympathetic to the cause of the other side in the conflict. A very small minority apart, then, the rest of us have sought, whether consciously or unconsciously, varying ways to escape from confronting the issue we now find we can no longer avoid.

Although few were ever seriously persuaded that Vietnamization would really work, many nevertheless managed to find comfort in the promise that it might do so. Even so, the seductive promise of Vietnamization itself necessarily implied the indefinite continuance of American aid to South Vietnam, both economic and military, or at least so long as the war continued and the North continued to receive help from its allies. To agree to the one—Vietnamization—while denying the other—aid for an indefinite period—was either obtuse or insincere, provided that the South Vietnamese government and army made reasonably effective use of such aid. Moreover, experience had amply demonstrated that "reasonably effective use" in the South Vietnamese context could only be realistically interpreted with some looseness, unless it too was to prove no more than a deceptive—or self-deceptive—formula.

The premise underlying Vietnamization, and thus the implicit obligation to continue aid support, was not the representative character of the South Vietnamese government. On this all-important point, there has been, and remains even today, much confusion. It is true that, during the years Vietnamization was pushed as a way to disengage from direct participation in the conflict, many argued that such assistance as we might later provide would never be effectively used in the absence of a more representative government. Whether subsequent events have confirmed this long-held view must at least remain unclear in one respect, since we have no way of knowing whether a more representative government would in fact have made better use of the aid South Vietnam was given in the period following the American withdrawal. The contrary position is not self-evident, despite the tendency of its proponents to assume that it is. There have been governments before which, while broadly representative, have nevertheless shown themselves incompetent to conduct a war effectively. Moreover, in the case of South Vietnam a government more representative than the Thieu government—though a government that excluded the Vietcong—would still be one that represented disparate political factions which have always been largely devoid of any real popular support. After so many years of discussion and debate, we still do not have a plausible, let alone a persuasive, picture of the kind of government that would have elicited such support in South Vietnam. It is, after all, quite possible that none would have done so.

At any rate, this much at least is clear: if the strategy of disengaging from direct involvement in the war did not mean the abandonment of the South, it implied the commitment in principle to continued economic and military aid after disengagement was completed. It is disingenuous to argue today, though many do, that this strategy implied no commitment of aid, certainly no commitment of military aid, and that if such commitment was undertaken it was done in secret. The argument is disingenuous because the strategy of disengagement was largely based upon just such a commitment, and this was generally understood and accepted at the time. Nor is it relevant, in contending the contrary, to point to the instrument that completed and formalized American disengagement, the January 1973 Vietnam cease-fire agreement.* For that instrument did not have as its purpose the specification of commitments undertaken by the United States toward its ally, and it is captious to pretend otherwise.

It is for these reasons that it is difficult to gainsay the position of the Secretary of State in urging a review of the "public debate during the period that these [1973] agreements were negotiated to see what the imperatives were of the administration in negotiating these settlements" (although it is rather startling to find the Secretary making so ardent an appeal to a process he discouraged at the time). "There was never any proposition," Mr. Kissinger went on to insist at his March 26 news conference, "that the United States would withdraw and cut off aid, and these agreements were negotiated on the assumption that the United States would continue economic and military aid to South Vietnam."

The record broadly supports these assertions. Although in the press conferences and other public statements made at the time by Nixon administration officials in explaining the agreements the military aid question was played down, it was nevertheless answered in a manner that was clear enough given the circumstances. Thus Kissinger himself declared in a news conference immedi-

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* The "Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam" was concluded in Paris on January 23, 1973, the parties to it being the United States, North Vietnam, South Vietnam, and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (PRG). It was attended by various protocols, thus giving rise to such varying descriptions as the cease-fire agreement(s), the Paris accords, etc., and subsequently transmitted to Congress in the form of an executive agreement.

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ately following the conclusion of the Paris accords that the United States would continue to provide South Vietnam with "that military aid which is permitted by the agreement" (that is, to replace used-up equipment on a one-for-one basis with identical equipment) and went on to state: "The United States is prepared to gear that military aid to the action of other countries and not to treat it as an end in itself. . . ." Similar statements were made in subsequent official explanations of the cease-fire agreement. When Thieu visited President Nixon in early April 1973, the joint communiqué issued at the end of the talks reaffirmed, though in guarded terms, what was by then a well-understood position. And in considering the administration's aid requests for Vietnam in the spring of 1973, Congress not only proved quite uncritical in its examination of the requests but appeared to take for granted a continuing commitment to military aid.

It is necessary to review these events, since memories are often quite short, even over issues that once aroused deep passions. The view that the American government, with the knowledge of Congress and the public, undertook no commitment to the government of South Vietnam in the course of disengaging from active participation in the war, may be true in the narrow legalistic sense, but it is only in this sense that it is true. The commitment the American government did evidently undertake was not unconditional. Few, if any, such commitments between states are. It was conditioned on the performance of the South Vietnamese and, of course, on the behavior of the North. But a commitment there was, and it is not only misleading but somehow demeaning to attempt to deny this today.

IV

In some measure, the argument that has gone on over whether we have had a commitment to aid South Vietnam may be seen as one manifestation of the temptation to believe that we were deceived throughout the course of the war by whichever administration was in power—though above all by the Nixon administration. And where we were not deceived, it is tempting to believe that our will, however inarticulately it might have been expressed, was simply ignored by those who bore official responsibility for conducting Vietnam policy. It is tempting to believe this—indeed, the temptation verges on a compulsion—since it relieves us of a responsibility that, for good reason, we do not wish to bear. In fact, the deception of the public and the ignoring of its will do not contrast so markedly with a number of other chapters in post-World War II foreign policy. Moreover, it is often forgotten how frequently in the course of the war deceptions were exposed and secret undertakings uncovered. This is true even of the Nixon years when secrecy and deception, particularly with respect to Vietnam, were carried to yet new extremes. Prior to Watergate, however, they did not represent a political liability for Mr. Nixon. Quite the contrary: if anything, the Nixon Vietnam policy, despite its manner of execution, ultimately turned out to be a factor contributing to his 1972 victory.

Nor is this all. The public will—one uses that shadowy concept with diffidence, though use it we must—was not subverted in the case of Vietnam, not even by Richard Nixon. It may fairly be charged that Nixon exploited this will for his own purposes. But if he did so successfully, it was because this will remained profoundly ambivalent toward the war. Though clearly desiring to get out of the conflict from 1968 on, the public never accepted the stark prospect of defeat. Nor, for that matter, did a majority of the foreign-policy elites, and this despite their opposition to the war. Nixon instinctively recognized this ambivalence, and it dictated his Vietnamese strategy throughout. By changing the costs of the war to the nation,* while effectively exploiting public unwillingness to accept undisguised defeat, the President was able to marshal broad domestic support in 1972 for measures that carried the war as never before to North Vietnam. The relative absence of opposition to the war in the last six months of direct American involvement indicated that public—and also, in substantial measure, elite—disaffection with the war had been largely a function of costs (and, of course, the absence of definitive results). This may be a depressing conclusion to reach, but it is one that is difficult to avoid.

The 1973 cease-fire agreement preserved virtually intact the belief that if we had not won the war, we also had not lost it, that we had not been defeated. This being achieved, the public could readily endorse, and was only too willing to endorse, Nixon's "peace with honor." The President and his principal national-security assistant, for their part, were almost as eager as the public to achieve American disengagement. In addition to its role as the most troublesome of domestic issues, continued American involvement in the war was seen as a constant threat to further progress in détente with the great Communist powers. The Paris accords, particularly coming in the aftermath of the last and greatest display of American air power, satisfied Nixon's and Kissinger's dual requirement that American withdrawal not be seen by the public as a defeat, thereby not jeopardizing the domestic support needed for "larger policies," and by allies and adversaries as an erosion of the nation's prestige and credibility.

It may be no more than poetic justice that the man who negotiated the Paris cease-fire accords has recently suffered so much criticism for efforts that were almost universally acclaimed at the time. But if Henry Kissinger merits condemnation for what is rapidly becoming in the eyes of growing legions of critics a veritable catalogue of sins, it is difficult to see why the Paris accords should be counted among these sins. Admittedly, the Nobel Peace Prize appeared at the time, and appears even more so today, a rather excessive appraisal of the Kissinger handiwork. But the present condemnation of that handiwork seems only slightly less excessive. For even if it is true, and it is true, that the Paris accords amounted to a delayed and ultimately miserable death sentence for South Vietnam, this condemns the Kissinger efforts only if it is plausible to argue

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* To *this* nation, and not to the Vietnamese, South or North. The key was the reduction of American casualties and the build-up of American firepower. In 1972, the virtual disappearance of what had once been a strong anti-war movement testified to the effectiveness of the Nixon strategy. Elite groups were almost as vulnerable to the strategy as the general public, though they indignantly denied being so. Yet the record is clear that it was American casualties—and, of course, the draft—which above all supported the anti-war movement.

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VIETNAM: THE FINAL RECKONING...Continued

that the results could have been otherwise and better.

No doubt, the results could have been otherwise and better had more favorable terms for the South been extracted from Hanoi. But more favorable terms could only have meant, in the main, the complete withdrawal from the South of the North's forces (together with some mechanism for enforcing the withdrawal), and on this critical issue Hanoi had remained intractable for years. There is no evidence we have that Hanoi might have been induced to alter its position on this issue, short of an American threat literally to destroy the North. Save for a handful of unreconstructed hawks on the war, nearly everyone else drew back in horror at the very suggestion. Indeed, the terms that Kissinger did finally get, though legitimizing the North's presence in the South, *might* (no more is claimed) still have given the South an indefinite lease on life had they been accompanied by the meaningful prospect that the American bombers would return should the North again initiate large-scale military action. Kissinger evidently wanted to retain that option—he strongly hinted so publicly at the time—but he was effectively deprived of it only months later by a President in decline and a Congress that forbade American military forces from engaging in hostile acts in or over Indochina. Once it was made clear that the bombers would not return, there remained no effective means of protecting the South, whether from its own misdeeds or from its endemic vulnerability to large-scale attacks by Hanoi's forces, and it is difficult to fault Kissinger's plaintive comment to this effect in his March 26 news conference.

It has been argued that better terms for South Vietnam might have been gained had the United States agreed to Hanoi's longstanding demand for an unconditional American withdrawal and Thieu's removal. But these terms would have been tantamount to American acknowledgment of an undisguised defeat and, for this reason alone, were out of the question. Even so, it obviously does not follow that if these demands had been accepted, Hanoi would then have been willing to withdraw its forces from South Vietnam. At least, this does not follow in the absence of a government in Saigon that at the least included, if it was not dominated by, the Vietcong. With or without Thieu, Hanoi gave every indication that its forces were in the South to stay.

There remains the view that even given the terms of the Paris accords the results for South Vietnam could have been otherwise and better had Saigon and the United States made a sincere attempt to abide by the terms of the cease-fire. Moreover, this argument runs, had the provisions of the cease-fire agreement been carried out by Saigon and this government, there would have been no need to send additional military aid—or, alternatively, even if the need still had arisen, it might well have been kept to very modest proportions.

Clearly, what is implied here is an overall judgment on the nature of the Paris accords, and it is a judgment to the effect that the accords provided a reasonable chance for achieving a tolerable peace between the South and North. Those who take this view do not deny that, in the best of circumstances, difficulties would have remained in implementing the accords, given the suspicion and hatred that persisted and the many imprecisions and deliberate ambiguities that characterized many provisions of the accords. Even so, it is contended that whatever hope there was for a tolerable peace was dashed by our behavior and the behavior of our ally.

The detailing of this behavior has been made on innumerable occasions and requires only the barest summary. Saigon, with our encouragement, hardly waited until the ink of the agreement was dry before initiating what amounted to offensive actions. Thieu almost immediately reneged on his pledge to release political prisoners, as he did with respect to the obligations entailed in setting up a National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord. The mechanism for broadening political activity in the South was thus subverted while the provisions for organizing free elections under international supervision were simply ignored. On the American side, a series of commitments, some public though others secret, presumably went unfulfilled. Among the latter are included the promise to withdraw all American civilians in the South who were engaged in the support of Saigon's armed forces and the undertaking to cease American air reconnaissance over North Vietnam.*

One might counter this indictment with the numerous violations of the Paris accords charged to the North Vietnamese and Vietcong, violations also alleged to have begun in the months immediately following conclusion of the accords. Would any useful purpose be served by doing so, and by entering into a detailed examination of the order and magnitude of the violations undertaken by the two sides in order to assess relative responsibility for the breakdown of the cease-fire agreement? It would not seem so. Even a casual rereading of the Paris accords only serves to reinforce the conclusion, apparent at the time they were negotiated, that their almost incredible ambiguities meant either that their successful implementation required maximum efforts toward mutual understanding and good will, or that their purpose was simply to provide the means for America's military disengagement while leaving the situation otherwise essentially unchanged. Since the former interpretation is either merely tendentious or absurd, or perhaps both, we are left with the latter interpretation. This being so, it is a largely useless exercise to ask who undermined the agreement. The agreement was made to be undermined; its provisions seemed almost designed to invite evasion and subversion.

The American negotiators may still be judged adversely for having concluded the cease-fire agreement. But fairness requires recognition that the alternatives were either roughly the kind of agreement that was concluded or no agreement at all. Whereas the former alternative permitted military disengagement and the return of American war prisoners, the latter alternative promised —at best—military disengagement. There was of course a third alternative that would have obtained military disengagement and the return of the prisoners of war. This was the acknowledgment of defeat and, as a consequence of such admission, the abandonment of an ally. It was not only the Nixon administration that was completely unwilling to contemplate this third alternative.

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* These and other secret commitments are discussed by Tad Szulc, "Beyond the Vietnam Cease-Fire Agreement," *Foreign Policy* (Summer 1974), pp. 21-69.

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So was the nation, though in lesser degree. In light of what we now know, it is easy and fashionable to say that the third alternative would have represented the course of wisdom. For it is only by the barest of subterfuges that we may now continue to pretend that we were not defeated in Vietnam. Pride often counts for more than wisdom, however, and particularly in the case of powerful nations. And even were it not for pride, there was always the question of what to do with those whose destiny we sought to determine, however misguidedly, and whom, though their destiny is no longer within our reach (if, indeed, it ever really was), we cannot with honor simply cast aside.

V

THERE is an almost instinctively negative reaction to once again raising the matter of honor in relation to Vietnam. The reaction is surely understandable, even if misplaced. Abused and perverted on so many occasions during the past decade in relation to the war, the American involvement in Vietnam has almost succeeded in giving honor a bad name. Are we to conclude from this experience, however, that there is no such thing as honor or that honor can have no relevance to the manner in which as a nation we behave toward others? Apparently not, for it is the most extreme opponents of the war who have themselves been most insistent on seeing Vietnam as raising above all a moral issue and therefore, by implication, a matter of honor. Whether morality, and honor, occupy so exalted a position in the affairs of nations is a question that need not be entered into here. It is sufficient to insist that honor does enter into such affairs and that nations may dishonor, and have dishonored, themselves.

There can be no objection, then, to raising the matter of honor at this late date and to ask what remaining obligations, if any, we have that have grown out of our role in the Vietnamese conflict. It is no criticism of the Secretary of State that he has seen fit to ask this question and to answer it. Mr. Kissinger believes that in the "moment of extremity" of an ally the test of our character as a people is whether we are willing to stand by a commitment earlier made and to continue aid to that ally. This is, to him, "an elementary question of what kind of a people we are . . . a fundamental question of how we are viewed by all other people, and it has nothing to do with the question of whether we should ever have gotten involved there [Indochina] in the first place." To desert one's ally even when the latter's cause has become extreme is to dishonor oneself. And so it is, provided the commitment itself was an honorable one and the recipient has fulfilled the conditions implied by the commitment. To argue that even a dishonorable commitment, once made, can only be abandoned at the cost of honor itself is simply perverse. To insist that the recipient of a commitment deserves one's continued loyalty even if he has failed to fulfill the conditions of the commitment is unreasonable.

Whether the commitment made to South Vietnam is judged more than a mistake is a question that need not be argued here. What is of relevance is whether the South Vietnamese government made reasonably effective use of such aid as was given it. For if it did not do so, the further question whether it was given "adequate" aid need not even be considered. Did our ally fulfill the elementary condition implied by the commitment? There is very little evidence to support the view that it did, and a great deal of evidence to support the view that it did not. By almost any reasonable standard of effectiveness of performance, and even assuming for the sake of argument the existence of certain shortages due to the alleged penury of the aid-giver, the indispensable condition of continued moral obligation simply was not met. What follows from this is not that one may view with indifference the plight of those remnants of an armed force which do remain willing and able to fight. There is, in fact, no generally satisfactory answer that can be given in such extreme and agonizing situations, save to say —and it is concededly not much—that such answer must be determined by practical as well as humanitarian criteria. On the major issue, however, the response seems quite clear: there remains no obligation to be violated.

These considerations have taken administration arguments, particularly those of Mr. Kissinger, at face value. But this surely cannot be the end of the matter. We are entitled to ask, why the extraordinary sensitivity shown, not merely over keeping commitments—this is altogether expected—but over the moral necessity of doing so? While the Secretary may not be altogether insensitive to moral issues in statecraft, as his critics so regularly depict him as being, no one can accuse him of ever having been obsessed with such issues. Clearly, he is obsessed with issues of credibility and prestige, and while the importance of these issues may be granted, they are not synonymous with moral issues. The suspicion accordingly must arise that the Secretary has sought to use the moral on behalf of the strategic, that he has been looking at strategic interests and presenting them in moral terms.

IF THERE is nothing heinous in this, it is also not particularly admirable, above all in the present agony of South Vietnam. Moral sensitivity, one would have thought, might well have been directed in other and rather obvious directions, while strategic interests were being displayed for what they are. One such direction moral sensitivity can take is toward those South Vietnamese whose lives may be placed in jeopardy under a Communist, or Communist-dominated, regime if only because of past associations with the Americans. No one knows how many such persons may fall into this, and still other, categories, but it would be rash to assume the number is small.

Those who have for so long pressed the specter of a "blood bath" cannot in good conscience remain silent today toward the one measure that could remove their fear. The responsibility for granting asylum must be seen as a kind of litmus-paper test of the sense of obligation we feel, if not toward all those who will be placed in danger for whatever reason in a new regime, then at least toward those who have compromised themselves through past association with us. If the question of numbers is raised, it is well to recall that we took in 600,000 refugees from Cuba during the years following Castro's accession to power. Yet in the majority of cases, there was no physical danger posed to the Cuban emigrés and little obligation on our part by virtue of our own actions, as there

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is in Vietnam.

Nor is it only a matter of simple moral obligation that is involved in the case of Vietnam; it is also a test of the racism with which we have been taxed by others, and particularly in our attitudes and actions toward Asians. A refusal to make every effort to take in those Vietnamese who wish to leave and whose position has been compromised by us will confirm, as perhaps nothing else could, the charge we have so indignantly denied throughout the war.

Beyond this, if we are so concerned with our image of ourselves in defeat, as well we should be, we cannot avoid facing the issue of American economic aid to a South Vietnam we no longer influence. It is now known that in March 1973, the United States and North Vietnam came close to an agreement on American aid to the North for reconstruction. The agreement proved abortive because of the Nixon administration's ire over Communist truce violations and public indignation, reflected in Congress, over Hanoi's treatment of American prisoners of war, then being released. If aid for reconstruction was nevertheless justified in principle in the case of the North in 1973, then there is surely as strong a case to be made today for aiding the South, or, for that matter, the whole of Vietnam. To be militarily frustrated, and eventually defeated, by so small a state is humiliating, and nothing we say can deny this. Even so, generosity in defeat is not demeaning and certainly not for a great power. There is no reason why we cannot be as generous in defeat today as we have been in victory in the past.

VI

THESE observations are not intended to convey the impression that the final reckoning in Vietnam must be seen only in moral terms. Although the moral dimension of any accounting we are to make is important, the strategic dimension obviously cannot be neglected. What I have objected to is a view that misreads, if it does not pervert, the nature of the moral obligation that emerged from our commitment to South Vietnam, and that does so out of concern for strategic interests. Moreover, considering the immediate area to which this view has been applied, one must amend the preceding sentence to read that a mistaken strategic interest is equated with a spurious moral obligation. Applied elsewhere, to areas of real interest and to conditions altogether different from those that prevailed in Vietnam, the effects of this argument could prove to be devastating.

It is the tone as much as the substance of administration reactions to what has happened in Vietnam that are disturbing. While many have in retrospect unfairly criticized the 1973 Paris accords, the principal architect of those accords also insists upon finding a meaning in them they did not have. The apparent intent is to relieve himself of any responsibility for recent events in Vietnam. Yet there is the more ominous suggestion in the Kissinger reaction that what might now happen elsewhere (the Middle East?) must be seen as a result of the nation's failure to have appreciated its interests in and to have stood by its commitments to South Vietnam. One can only trust that this is little more than a passing mood, a short-lived reaction to a failure that can no longer be obscured. If it is more than that, if it is indicative of a more persistent attitude that finds increasing expression in American policy, then the prospect beckons of a determination by our policy-makers to create their own dominoes.

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CURRENT NEWS

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WEDNESDAY, MAY 7, 1975

WASHINGTON POST 7 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

U.S. Halts Plane Pullout in Thailand

By Bruce Palling
Special to The Washington Post

BANGKOK, May 6—The U.S. embassy here agreed today to a "temporary suspension" of the withdrawal American-supplied aircraft flown into Thailand last week by fleeing south Vietnamese pilots.

The agreement follows the removal of all of the more sophisticated jet fighters and cargo planes in the past two days to the carrier Midway in the Gulf of Siam and to Clark Air Base in the Philippines.

The U.S. embassy here has refused to disclose any details of the plane withdrawal even though the Pentagon announced the move yesterday in Washington.

Newsmen on a press tour of the Utapao Air Base today saw about 40 to 50 aircraft on the base which had presumably come from South Vietnam.

(See PULLOUT, Pg.4)

BALTIMORE SUN 7 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Soviet held ready to offer missile cuts after talks

By MICHAEL PARKS
Moscow Bureau of The Sun

Moscow—The Soviet Union is offering to negotiate reductions in the numbers of missiles allowed under strategic arms agreements with the United States once a new arms treaty is concluded, according to sources here.

The Soviet offer apparently is intended to improve prospects for fast agreement and ratification of the next treaty, whose broad terms were set in November at the Vladivostok summit meeting.

As the Kremlin sees it, the Ford administration would be able to use a public Soviet commitment to reduce the two superpowers' arsenals in order to overcome extensive criticism in the U.S. to the limits agreed upon at the Far Eastern Soviet port.

What Moscow hopes to gain beyond reduced opposition to the new agreement and to Soviet-American detente in general is not clear, however; some diplomatic sources have suggested, though, that the Soviet Union is seeking U.S. concessions on several highly technical but important issues in current negotiations on a treaty implementing the Vladivostok agreement.

The Soviet offer meets a key U.S. demand, which was incorporated in negotiations, to begin immediately after the conclusion of the next arms agreement to set lower ceilings on the numbers of strategic weapons and to curb development of new weapons.

The sponsors of the resolution—Senators Edward M. Kennedy (D., Mass.), Walter F. Mondale (D., Minn.) and Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. (R.,

(See SOVIET, Pg. 4)

NEW YORK TIMES 7 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Standing by Commitments, Ford Assures U.S. Allies

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 6 — President Ford, declaring that the United States had learned the lessons of Vietnam, said tonight that he would pursue a vigorous leadership "on a worldwide basis."

He acknowledged, in a nationally televised news conference, that United States allies had doubts, following the loss of Cambodia and Vietnam to the Communists, about this country's commitments.

But he said such doubts were "not a reality" because the United States would remain strong militarily and economically.

"We want our friends to know that we will stand by them and we want any potential adversaries to know that we will stand up to them," Mr. Ford asserted.

He also pledged "forward movements in foreign policy that will be beneficial to peace," including efforts to strengthen United States ties to South Korea and to reassure such Asian allies as Nationalist China, Indonesia and the Philippines of continuing support.

The President said that the "atmosphere is good" for a strategic arms limitation agreement with the Soviet Union, although the negotiations would be "hard."

(See FORD, Pg. 2)

WASHINGTON POST
7 MAY 1975 Pg.1

Pentagon Budget Slashed

By Michael Getler
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House Armed Services Committee yesterday voted a record $3.7 billion cut in the Defense Department's $29.8 billion request for new weapons but Pentagon critics on the committee called much of the reduction "phony."

Included in the cuts is $1.3 billion the Pentagon wanted in the next fiscal year for military aid to South Vietnam.

Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wis.), one of a handful of members on the traditionally pro-Pentagon panel who frequently challenge defense programs, said the Vietnam aid request is now "a moot point and shouldn't be considered as part of the overall cut."

(See BUDGET, Pg. 2)

GENERAL NEWS SUMMARY

FROM THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MAY 7, 1975

World-Wide

FORD ASKED AMERICANS to welcome refugees from Indochina.

The President told a news conference he is "very upset" at reports of resistance to the refugees. He said he understood economic misgivings about the influx but added that only 35,000 of the estimated 120,000 refugees are likely to seek jobs and noted that the AFL-CIO yesterday urged union members to welcome them. Ford said the lessons of Vietnam have already been learned and a congressional inquiry would be divisive.

The U.S. will continue to be involved in Asia and will keep its commitments to Taiwan, the President said.

Ford reaffirmed his intention to run for the presidency in 1976 and said a GOP group led by Dean Burch will begin work on his campaign "in a very informal way." He said he thought Republican foreign achievements since 1968 and an expected economic upturn give him a good chance of winning.

Ford opposed registration of guns or their owners and said he isn't committed to

(See NEWS SUMMARY, Pg. 5)

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NEW YORK TIMES
7 MAY 1975 Pg. 30

President Assures Congress on Curbs For Nuclear Arms

WASHINGTON, May 6 (AP)—President Ford assured Congress today that his Administration was giving "priority concern" to preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons or the acquisition of nuclear explosive material for possible nonpeaceful uses.

In a message to Congress, the President said, "Whatever efforts are needed to allow the United States and other countries to enjoy the benefits of nuclear power, without fear, will be taken by the Government of the United States."

Mr. Ford said the United States was taking the lead in proposing measures to prevent terrorist groups from capturing or sabotaging nuclear materials and facilities.

The President included with his message a report on United States laws and regulations governing nuclear exports and safeguards.

"Current laws provide ample authority to control the export and re-export of nuclear-related material, equipment and technology," Mr. Ford said.

But, he said, existing policies and regulations were constantly being reviewed and "changed as appropriate" to make them more effective.

He also said the United States was encouraging the strengthening of international safeguards through participation in international discussions and through the adoption of an internation l agreement.

FORD ... CONTINUED

The President declined at the outset to entertain the suggestion that a Congressional inquiry might somehow determine where the policy of five President ann six congresses had erred in Indochina. And he urged the nation to look ahead rather than back as it began the post-Vietnam era.

"It sees to e that it's over," Mr. Ford said of the Vietnam experience.

He said that the war had been "sad and tragic in many respects" and that it would merely foster continued divisiveness to "rehash allegations as to individuals that might be to blame, or administrations that might be at fault."

"I think the lessons of the past in Vietnam have already been learned," Mr. Ford declared "Learned by Presidents, learned by Congress, learned by the American people, and we should have our focus on the future."

The news conference, in the spacious theater in the Executive Office Building next to the White House, was Mr. Ford's first since the fall of Phnom Penh on April 17 and the surrender of Saigon Last Wednesday. As a result it was dominated by the causes and consequences of the two events, which Mr. Ford said last week "closes a chapter in the American experience."

The President, evidently pursuing domestic unity as a prelude to efforts at strengthening United States diplomacy, had set the tone for his appearance tonight by proposing that "reconciliation, not recrimination" be the theme of the post-Vietnam era.

The President was said to believe that if he did not rally Americans behind his policies allies and potential foreign opponents might conclude that the political instability that has marked the last decade in the United States was likely to continue.

At his last full-dress news conference, on April 3 in San Diego, Mr. Ford noted the refusal of Congress to supply military assistance to South Vietnam and Cambodia and said it was "up to the American people to pass judgment on who was at fault and where the blame may rest" if those two nations should fall.

More recently, however, the President has led the Administration away from such suggestions. Secretary of State Kissinger told a Washington audience that the Congressional verdict on military aid would be accepted "without recrimination or vindictiveness."

And Mr. Ford, in a speech at Tulane university in New Orleans on April 23, proposed "a great national reconciliation." The time has arrived, he said, "to look forward to an agenda for the future, to unity, to binding up the nation's wounds and restoring it to health and optimistic self-confidence."

To Confer With Premiers

The President will begin specific discussions on diplomatic relations tomorrow in a series of private meetings here with Prime Ministers Harold Wilson of Britain, Gough Whitlam of Australia and Wallace E. Rowling of New Zealand. On Thursday, he will confer with Prime Minister Lee Kwan Yew of Singapore.

Later this month Mr. Ford will embark on a European trip, his first as President, during which he will meet with Western leaders at a conference of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Brussels. He will later to Spain, Austria and Italy and confer during the trip with President Anwar El-Sadat of Egypt.

Mr. Ford will meet her next month with Premier Yitzhak Rabin of Israel.

BUDGET ... CONTINUED

Another $1 billion was trimmed from the Navy's shipbuilding program, but no ship projects were actually cut back. The committee instead voted to defer a Navy request for money to cover anticipated contract claims and inflation on ships under construction.

"We're going to have to come up with that money and maybe more next year," Aspin said. "They just put it off, not cut it."

According to Aspin's arithmetic, the actual cuts in the panel's annual weapons procurement and research and development authorization bill amount to about $1.3 billion, not $3.7 billion.

The committee gave its full support to the $749 million Air Force request for its top priority B-1 bomber development project, and made a $45 million cut in the Navy's $2 billion request for its top-priority Trident missile-firing submarine.

The panel cut $260 million from Air Force plans to build a fleet of new radar-packed aircraft known as AWACS intended to warn of enemy air attack. The reductions limit the Air Force to the purchase of three rather than six planes next year.

The panel trimmed $185 million from another new plane the Air Force and White House want as a new airborne command post for the President in a nuclear emergency. The reduction keeps the project in development rather than allowing it to move into production.

The House committee—as in previous years—inserted an extra $115 million in the Defense budget to buy 24 more Texas-built A-7D attack planes for the National Guard. The Pentagon did not request these craft.

The House panel also denied a $300 million request by the Pentagon to set up a new fund that would allow quick replacement of weapons taken out of stockpiles for overseas sales.

In the Senate, the Pentagon also appeared to be avoiding, at least at this point, the major slashes in new weapons projects that some defense officials feared would be forthcoming from a new and more liberal Congress.

The Senate Armed Services Committee, meeting behind closed doors, voted 11 to 4 to approve five projects intended to improve the accuracy and lethality of long-range U.S. missiles

In so, doing the full committee overturned an earlier 3-to-2 vote by a subcommittee to kill these projects, which some critics say could stir up the arms race by threatening to knockout an opposing missile force in a surprise first strike.

The Senate panel, it was learned, also voted 9-to-6 to cut $222 million out of the B-1 project. But this reduction continues the B-1 in development and cuts out only the funds related to tooling up for actual production. The decision on whether to mass-produce the new plane is not scheduled to be made until November, 1976.

Because the government is moving toward a fiscal year that will eventually begin annually on Oct. 1, this year's budget request includes both the 12-month period from July 1, 1975 and an additional three-month transition period running from uly 1, 1976, to Oct. 1, 1976.

Thus, in the house committee action yesterday, a total of $1.7 billion was cut from the new authorization request of $28.2 billion for the 12 months of fiscal 1976. The Vietnam money and $300 million stockpile fund brought the total fiscal '76 request to $29.8 billion.

In addition, $390 million was trimmed from the $5.8 billion requested for new weapons procurement and development for the three-month transition period.

Aside from its fiscal actions, the House committee also tabled an amendment that would allow women to enter military academies and go into combat. Rep. Sam Stratton (D-NY) said he would take his academies campaign to the House floor but would probably drop the combat provision.

NEW YORK TIMES
7 MAY 1975 Pg. 67

Army on Airwaves

The Army, which like the other branches of the Armed forces is forbidden to use paid full-time advertising in recruiting, this week started its second test of the airwaves. Its a small one—$600,000 for 13 weeks on radio in 15 markets—and its being done by N. W. Ayer ABH International. The first test, in 1971, used both TV and radio by all accounts was very successful.

WASHINGTON POST
7 MAY 1975 Pg. 46

Spain Said to Want NATO Membership

According to an authoritative source in Washington, the Spanish government remains very much interested in NATO membership but recognizes that it continues to be unobtainable because of opposition from Denmark, Norway, Belgium, and to some extent, the Netherlands.

Spain wanted a firm bilateral defense guarantee from the United States but Washington balked at that, an American source said. The United States preference, is to obtain for Spain a direct NATO acknowledgment that U.S. access to bases in Spain contributes to NATO defense. This is the present focus of discussions, it was said.

It is questionable whether this can be arranged in time to be added to the NATO communique to be issued at the end of the forthcoming NATO summit conference in Brussels, however.

Events in Portugal are said to have underscored the importance of Spain to Western defense in the American perception. American diplomats have been telling their Spanish counterparts that European attitudes in time are likely to become more sympathetic to Spanish participation in NATO.

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WASHINGTON POST - 7 MAY 1975 Pg. 46

Ford, Franco Seek to Heal Rift on Bases

By Miguel Acoca
Special to The Washington Post

MADRID, May 6—Wide differences between Washington and Madrid over continuation of U.S. military bases in Spain will be the key topic when President Ford visits here late this month for talks with Generalissimo Francisco Franco, informed sources said today.

While Spain is anxious to continue its military relationship with the United States, "We are not in the mood for just another piece of paper," a senior Spanish official said.

The Spanish bases are considered vital to the Western defense system particularly the U.S. nuclear submarine base at Rota in Southern Spain.

Pro-Arab Spain, however, has steadfastly refused to allow American use of the bases here to resupply Israel. It does not recognize Israel and there are no indications Spain intends to change its policy.

The hardened Spanish positions has become clear after four months of negotiations here and in Washington. The two countries, sources said, are far apart on the following:

- Continued American use of Torrejon, the big joint U.S.-Spain base in Madrid's suburbs. Spain also wants the Americans to giving up the mothballed Moron Air Base.
- A mutual security treaty.
- Modern military hardware for the Spanish armed forces.
- Contracts to manufacture U.S. weapons and components in Spain under licensing arrangements.

Coloring official Spanish attitudes toward the U.S. and a new agreement on the bases are such related matters as U.S. support of Morocco in its dispute with Spain over the Spanish Sahara and U.S. refusal to back Spain's case against Britain for the return of Gibraltar.

Franco, who at 82 sees his 36 years of authoritarian rule coming to a close, presumably would like to see these problems settled with American help before he fades from the scene.

Another thorny issue involves American strategy to link Spain to NATO. Spain has been excluded from the alliance because of Franco's association with the Axis powers in World War II.

Reflecting the view of the Spanish military, the air minister has declared publicly that Spain is not interested in joining NATO. The military also resent U.S. efforts to structure a "backdoor" NATO association for Spain through a joint declaration signed last summer. It said that the bilateral defense relationship "is complementary to that of existing security arrangements in the Atlantic framework and that equal treatment should be accorded to all the countries of the region."

Franco and the Spanish military were reportedly outraged by a recent U. S. weapons sale to Morocco, which is seeking to annex the phosphate-rich Spanish Sahara territory in northwest Africa and to oust Spain from two enclaves in Morocco.

Spanish officials are said to feel that the United States must recognize that Spain has been a faithful ally and that the bilateral relationship must be sharply upgraded to reflect present power realities in Europe and the Mediterranean.

It is felt that this is especially necessary following the U.S. setbacks in Indochina and political changes in Greece, Turkey and Portugal affecting the American military presence.

Franco invited President Ford upon learning that negotiations were proceeding so badly that they might not be finished by September, when the present agreement expires. He made it clear that, while he is eager to conclude a new bases agreement, any new accord must be rewarding not only politically but economically.

Spanish thinking has also been affected by the left-wing military government in neighboring Portugal. Spanish officials fear that if the worst predictions of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger come to pass and Portugal becomes a Communist-dominated country, Spain will become a target for subversion and guerrilla activities from Portugal, and they want guarantees of U.S. help.

Although Spain remains a politically restricted society, Spanish negotiators are conscious that Spanish public opinion is opposed to foreign military bases here. A newspaper yesterday criticized what it called plans to expand the joint Spanish-American air base at Zaragoza, which would become the main air facility if Torrejon is abandoned.

See RIFT, Pg. 4

BALTIMORE SUN - 7 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

House panel trims little from Ford military bid

By CHARLES W. CORDDRY
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—The House Armed Services Committee approved yesterday a $32 billion military procurement bill —$3.7 billion less than President Ford asked—after sidelining a proposal to let women attend the service academies and become combat officers.

At the same time, the Senate Armed Services Committee dealt the Pentagon a sharp blow by striking from its version of the bill a $222 million sum requested to make preparations for production of the B-1 supersonic bomber.

The Senate panel left intact $726 million to continue research and development with four prototypes of the B-1, but its action on the advance production funds reflected increasing congressional concern about the prospective production cost—more than $80 million a plane—of the bomber.

In its action on the bill, in which it made no cuts in B-1 funds, the House reduced the administration's requests considerably less than the nominal $3.7 billion cut indicated.

For example, the cut included $1.3 billion that had been sought for military aid to South Vietnam, a matter now academic. Another $300 million that was disallowed would have been used to stockpile weapons for sales abroad.

A slash of about $1 billion in ship construction requests was mainly a cut in expected escalation of costs—in money, that is, that would not be spent until later years. The committee said it could not accept the Pentagon's escalation estimates at this time.

The House and Senate panels' proposals are for a 15-month period starting July 1 —instead of the usual 12 months—because the government next year is shifting the beginning of fiscal years to October 1. The Senate committee has not yet completed action on its version.

Representative Samuel S. Stratton (D., N.Y.), who tried unsuccessfully in the committee to win entry to the service academies for women, said he planned to take the battle to the House floor.

On a motion by Representative Lucien N. Nedzi (D., Mich.), who heads a manpower subcommittee, the Stratton proposal was tabled, 24 to 22. The Maryland committee member, Marjorie S. Holt (R., 4th) voted with Mr. Nedzi, who said there were issues other than sex discrimination, such as suits to establish quotas, that might have to be faced.

Mr. Stratton said the idea of combat conjures up pictures of women in foxholes, but that, in fact, they could serve in such roles as ship's officers and pilot instructors after leaving Annapolis, West Point or Colorado Springs.

Mr. Stratton told a reporter the General Accounting Office has made a study showing as many as 10 per cent of academy graduates do not get combat assignments anyway. He hopes to get a measure passed that will admit women to the academies and then let the controversy over combat duty be resolved at another time.

The annual procurement measure fixes ceilings on sums the services may spend on weapons research, development and production and military manpower. Except for certain increases in Army and Navy reserve strength (about 32,000 in all), the House committee approved Pentagon manpower proposals.

The panel voted for a 5 per cent limit on military pay raises for the January 1, 1975-June 30, 1976 period, provided that a similar kept on civilian raises in the federal establishment. It said that limit would save $828 million in 12 months, whereas a prospective 9 per cent increase would have added more than $2 billion to defense costs. Its net saving was arrived at after taking account of its ruling that proposed increases in military commissary prices be suspended.

The House committee shaved requests for several weapons systems, but in one case—A-7 attack planes for the National Guard—it added $115 million.

Originally yesterday, the Senate committee voted a $338 million cut in the B-1 request. On a motion of Senator Robert A. Taft, Jr. (R., Ohio), it restored $116 million by a 9-to-6 vote.

The Air Force had wanted the advance production money to buy materials and save time if it decided next year that the B-1 should go into production. Opponents argue that such action might have committed Congress prematurely to production.

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WASHINGTON POST - 7 MAY 1975 Pg. 43

U.S., Soviets Back Nuclear Pact Again

GENEVA—In a message to the 60-nation conference reviewing the five-year-old nuclear nonproliferation President Ford said yesterday that support for it "is a major tenet of American policy."

The Soviet Union also reaffirmed support for the treaty but the Mexican delegate accused the two major nuclear powers that signed it of dragging their feet on disarmament.

U.S. delegate Fred C. Ikle said that "we have to concern ourselves seriously with the threat of theft and other criminal seizure of nuclear materialm" The Soviet representative also called for international measures to prevent nuclear thefts by criminals and terrorists.

SOVIET ... CONTINUED

Md.)—said their support of any new treaty would depend on acceptance of this condition.

Soviet negotiators at the Geneva talks, which are due to recess shortly, made the Kremlin offer, according to sources here, and it is now being conveyed to congressmen and others outside the administration who are interested in strategic arms limitations.

Over the past weekend, a leading Soviet specialist on American affairs, Georgy Arbatov, said in a Radio Moscow broadcast to the United States that conclusion of the treaty agreed upon at Vladivostok will make it possible "to effect a transition from arms limitation to their reduction."

Dr. Arbatov, director of the Institute for U.S. and Canadian Studies and a Kremlin adviser on foreign affairs, endorsed the resolution proposed by Mr. Kennedy, Mr Mondale and Mr. Mathias as "a very realistic approach to the problem."

Moscow is willing to make this pledge to negotiate reduced ceilings on strategic weapons, multiple warhead missiles and new weapons systems explicitly when the next treaty is concluded, sources here said, if necessary to insure congressional ratification of the pact without full-scale controversy.

Moscow is concerned that Soviet-American rapprochement might be endangered if the treaty is widely criticized.

"What would be very damaging to detente would be a repetition of the trade agreement affair," a Soviet source said, referring to the collapse of the 1972 trade agreement after Congress severely restricted Soviet-American trade terms to force increased emigration of Soviet Jews in a move Moscow interpreted as aimed primarily at undermining detente.

Dr. Arbatov's comments, putting on the record what is being said privately, were viewed as significant because of their timing just before a recess in the Geneva talks for consultations.

But Dr. Arbatov was reported to be speaking not only on behalf of these circles, often described as the doves in distinction to the Kremlin's military and ideological hawks, but on behalf of the whole Soviet leadership following a meeting two weeks ago of the Communist party's policy-making central committee.

That meeting firmly supported the Vladivostok agreement. The party leadership declared firmly that "political detente must be supplemented by the relaxation of tension in the military field and used for the reduction of armaments and the struggle for disarmament."

Presumably, the central committee overrode objections not only to the Vladivostok agreement—the meeting was followed by calls in *Pravda*, the party newspaper, to follow the party's foreign policy line—but also approved the proposed follow-up negotiations for the affirmation of the need for reductions in arms levels as an unexpected note of the committee resolution.

WASH. POST 5/7/75

By Jack Anderson and Les Whitten

Washington Whirl—President Ford has told subordinates that he will press Congress for a full $100 billion military budget, as evidence to the world that the United States isn't planning any more pullbacks . . . Before Congress votes more military money, some legislators intend to ask tough questions about the billions worth of equipment abandoned in South Vietnam. . .

RIFT -- CONTINUED

Recently a member of the rubber-stamp Parliament presented a plea asking the government to evict the United States from all the bases.

Ford will be arriving in Spain at a time of widespread speculation that Franco is preparing to yield power to Prince Juan Carlos de Borbon, 37, his designated successor. Reports that Franco's retirement is imminent have even slipped into the controlled Spanish press. Important establishment personalities have gone so far as to write articles suggesting Franco's retirement.

PULLOUT ... CONT'D

Sources on the base said that about 20 aircraft were carried from Utapao to the Midway by giant helicopters Sunday and Monday. At least two aircraft were reported seriously damaged when they fell from the helicopters—one on the Utapao runaway and one on the Midway.

The aircraft already removed include F-5 jet fighters, A-37 jet fighter-bombers and also C-130 cargo planes which were reported to have been flown direct to the Philippines.

The Thai government's request for a suspension followed contradictory statements by various members of the Cabinet, with some declaring that the affair was solely an American problem while others considered that the aircraft should be held by Thailand until the government decided their fate.

Hanoi radio has claimed that the aircraft are the property of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and warned Thailand that any hesitancy about returning the planes could jeopardize relations between the two Vietnams and Thailand.

Thai Foreign Minister, Chatichai Choonhavan called the acting American ambassador, Edward Masters, in for a 25-minute talk on the matter today. Masters refused to answer any questions after the meeting.

Observers here consider it impossible that Thai military authorities did not know that the United States was taking the planes out of Thailand.

However, the armed forces are considered opposed to giving the aircraft to the Provisional Revolutionary Government. They are known to view the two Vietnams as posing the greatest military threat to Thailand. Additionally, the military leaders would be extremely reluctant to commit any hostile act towards the United States out of concern that U.S. military assistance program to Thailand be maintained at a high level.

Cynics say that the present situation is the best possible one for Thailand, with all of the sophisticated aircraft already gone and the Thai government now taking a "tough stand" to give the impression of surprise and anger at the unilateral action taken by the Americans.

There are, however, government officials who are genuinely angry at the United States for taking such action apparently without formal consultation.

To avoid the risky move of returning the other aircraft to South Vietnam, Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj said the remaining aircraft will stay in Thai custody until peace and order have returned to South Vietnam and the ownership question can be determined.

Foreign Minister Chatichai has also asked to see the United States and South Vietnamese agreement on military aid, saying that if there is an agreement about the title reverting to the United States Thailand would not interfere. Chatichai also requested that a delegation from the Provisional Revolutionary Government come to Bangkok to negotiate the return of the aircraft and other military supplies brought in by fleeing Saigon government forces.

Such contradictory statements highlight the dilemma in which the Thai government now finds itself, in its efforts to be accomodating to both sides.

[Foreign Ministry sources said today that a five-member North Korean delegation will fly to Bangkok Wednesday for talks on establishing diplomatic relations, AFP reported from Bangkok.]

NEW YORK TIMES
7 MAY 1975
Pg. 22

U.S. SHIP WITH 200 REACHES SUBIC BAY

SUBIC BAY NAVAL STATION, The Philippines, May 6 (Reuters)—The Stoddert, last of 46 American Evacuation ships to leave South Vietnamese costal waters, reached the Subic Bay Naval Base today with 200 South Vietnamese refugees, 19 of whom had been rescued from a sinking boat.

The Stoddert, a guided missile destroyer, was expected to be followed into port by five other ships carrying more than 5,000 people.

The ships include a chartered South Korean ship and two South Vietnamese vessels.

A Subic Bay spokesman said that more than 40,000 refugees had been funneled through here in the last four days. Most were flown out in transport planes, to Guam to be processed for entry to the United States.

WASHINGTON POST
7 MAY 1975
Pg. 48

Japan-China Pact

Agence France-Presse

TOKYO, May 6—Japan and China exchanged verbal notes in Peking today on their intergovernmental shipping agreement, clearing the way for its implementation starting June 4.

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WEDNESDAY MORNING, 7 MAY 1975

WASHINGTON STAR - 6 MAY 1975(7) Pg. 11

Schlesinger Reinforces View of CIA Role as Passive

By Jeremiah O'Leary
Washington Star Staff Writer

The finality of Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger's declaration that the CIA has never resorted to assassination could be construed as reinforcing the contention of administration sources that the agency discussed and knew about political murder plots but never was involved in a successful one.

Schlesinger made his statement late yesterday after testifying before the Rockefeller commission investigating illegal domestic activities of the CIA.

He emerged from his closed-door appearance and, unlike some former CIA officials, appeared almost eager to set the record straight. He said, "Let me make it very clear now that assassination has not been used as a tool by the CIA at any time, and I don't think that applies prospectively any more than it does retrospectively."

THE FORMER CIA director was even more emphatic in denying CIA involvement in the slaying of President John F. Kennedy.

"The suggestion of any CIA involvement is preposterous," Schlesinger said. "It is psychologically and intellectually impossible that the CIA could in any way be involved in the tragic event."

Analysis

He said any such suggestions could only emanate from sick imaginations. The agency's whole role, he said, has been to serve and protect the United States and its leaders.

Schlesinger refused to comment directly on reports of CIA involvement in plots to assassinate foreign leaders, but he said appropriate review bodies such as the Rockefeller commission and the congressional committees will want to review those issues.

THE SUM of Schlesinger's declarations are strongly supportive of statements to The Star by White House and CIA officials that the agency knew of, and even discussed, political murder but never was involved in a successful one.

This leaves open the implication that the CIA may have had direct involvement in plots for political murder that did not succeed — for example, perhaps plots against Fidel Castro, whose death was certainly desired by many Cubans. It is even more suggestive that the CIA knew of such plots but was not directly involved.

Commission officials said yesterday that the group, appointed by President Ford and headed by Vice President Nelson A. Rockefeller, is nearing the end of the labors it began last February. The hearings will be completed Monday, and then the commission will begin writing its report and recommendations for the President.

THE REPORT is to be handed to Ford on June 4 and will be released publicly soon after that. At that stage, the Senate Intelligence Committee, headed by Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho, will commence its hearings into the activities of all American intelligence agencies. Its House counterpart is almost totally dormant.

Also testifying yesterday was Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger. He denied having any knowledge or involvement in either alleged CIA domestic spying or foreign assassination plots.

"Since I have been in Washington, the National Security Council or the NSC staff, or the assistant to the president for national security affairs (Kissinger's other title) did not concern themselves with domestic intelligence; nor were they informed about domestic intelligence," Kissinger declared.

Asked about allegations of CIA assassination plots, Kissinger said none of those allegations pertain to the period of his service in Washington from 1968 until the present.

ANOTHER WITNESS yesterday, former CIA Director John A. McCone (1961-1965) said, "During my term of office, there was no, absolutely no assassination plot against Castro or any other foreign leader.

McCone said such plots were not consistent with the moral values of the United States or the CIA.

NEWS SUMMARY -- CONTINUED

Attorney General Levi's proposal for a handgun ban in high-crime areas. Ford said his coming meetings with Egyptian and Israeli leaders won't be part of any new U.S. negotiating effort in the Mideast.

* * *

A WEAPONS BUDGET $3.7 billion below Ford's request cleared a House panel.

Besides eliminating a $1.3 billion budget request for military aid to South Vietnam, the House Armed Services Committee reduced by $260 million the authorization for Boeing's AWACS early-warning plane and cut $186 million of procurement money for the flying command post that U.S. officials would use during a nuclear attack. The total authorization approved for July 1, 1975, through Sept. 30, 1976, was $26.1 billion.

That could be cut further on the House floor or when appropriations are voted. But the sentiment for defense outbacks is being cooled by unemployment and the fall of two U.S. allies in Indochina.

The House panel tabled an amendment that would have let women enter military service academies and go into combat.

The Senate Armed Services Committee voted to cut $222 million in production-related money for the B1 bomber in fiscal 1976 and the following three months.

* * *

The U.S. removed from Thailand at least 25 of the estimated 125 warplanes flown there last week by fleeing South Vietnamese pilots. But then the removal was suspended in response to a request from the Thai government, which wants to evaluate U.S. claims to the planes. Vietnamese Communists have demanded that Thailand send them the planes.

* * *

Jordan's King Hussein said the Arab states are willing to make a final peace with Israel recognizing its right to exist on condition that Israel vacate all occupied territory and "recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinians in their homeland."

* * *

Secretary of State Kissinger said that the U.S. "definitely isn't tilting toward the Arabs" and that "fairly large quantities" of arms have been shipped to Israel in the past month. It probably was a mistake, he said earlier in an NBC interview, to have made Vietnam a test case for U.S. policy.

* * *

Home-mortgage lenders reject almost twice as many applications from minorities as they do from whites, a Federal Reserve Board study of six metropolitan areas indicated. But the 1974 data aren't sufficient to determine that discrimination exists, the Fed said.

A bill to bar discrimination on the basis of age, race, religion or national origin in granting credit was passed unanimously by the House Banking Committee.

* * *

State and local governments plan to increase taxes $3.6 billion this year while reducing construction spending $1 billion and expenditures for services $3.3 billion, a congressional survey made public by Rep. William Moorhead (D., Pa.) indicated. Nearly half of state and local governments are cutting payrolls, eliminating about 140,000 jobs.

* * *

San Francisco anesthesiologists' strike to protest soaring malpractice-insurance rates spread to Los Angeles and San Diego, where a dozen hospitals were forced to cancel all but emergency surgery.

* * *

Mexico attacked the nuclear disarmament policies of the U.S. and Russia at a 56-nation Geneva conference that is reviewing the five-year-old treaty banning the spread of atomic weapons. But U.S. support for the treaty was reaffirmed in a message from President Ford.

* * *

A dozen tornadoes struck eastern Nebraska, killing at least two persons in Omaha and injuring scores more. Gov. James Exon mobilized the National Guard.

* * *

The nomination of Lt. Gen. Louis H. Wilson Jr. as Marine Corps commandant was approved by the Senate Armed Services Committee.

* * *

A Commonwealth of Nations summit meeting ended in Kingston, Jamaica, with presidents, premiers or chief delegates of 34 former British colonies warning of a race war in Rhodesia unless the majority blacks there are allowed to enter the government.

* * *

Sen. George McGovern (D., S.D.) called for an end to the U.S. trade boycott against Cuba as he arrived in Havana for an "educational" visit.

* * *

Saudi Arabia banned contraceptives after the World Moslem League ruled that birth control violates Islamic law.

* * *

Died: Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty, 83, former primate of the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary who was convicted of treason in a Communist trial in 1949, and later spent 15 years in asylum in the U.S. embassy in Budapest, in Vienna, of a heart attack following surgery; **J. G. Underwood,** 80, president and chief executive officer of Harsco Corp., in Harrisburg, Pa.

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 7 MAY 1975 Pg. 19

Canada's air defense commitment

To stick with U.S.— but for how long?

By Don Sellar
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Ottawa

This week Canada is expected to renew its participation in the 18-year-old North American Air Defense Command (NORAD) agreement with the United States for at least five more years.

Defense Minister James Richardson, an enthusiastic NORAD supporter, will announce the decision to continue sharing with the U.S. in continental defense sometime before the current pact expires May 12.

The only uncertainty surrounding the new NORAD arrangement is the length of Canada's commitment. Mr. Richarson favors an unlimited term, but has been under pressure to opt for a five-year package.

A Parliamentary committee, dominated by members of the ruling Liberal Party, recently did some deep soul-searching about NORAD and concluded another review after five years would be in order.

Cabinet must decide

However, the cabinet, led by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, will make the final judgment on the matter. If it decides on an indefinite term, Canada would want the option to withdraw on one year's notice.

NORAD, a sophisticated surveillnce system, currently costs about $1.4 billion a year to operate. The U.S. foots the bill for 90 percent of the command, whose headquarters are at Colorado Springs, Colorado.

Only once since NORAD was formed did Canada not sign a minimum five-year deal. That was in 1973, when the Trudeau Government, then a minority in Parliament, angered some American officials by settling on a two-year term which is now expiring.

Some of NORAD's critics have described the $140 million Canadian component of the system as a waste of money, although its proponents reply that an all-Canadian defense system would cost a great deal more than that.

Military picture changed

There is also the military-strategic argument which contends NORAD was designed to counter a Soviet manned bomber attack — a threat seen now as minimal at best.

But NORAD planners already have recognized the validity of that criticism, to some extent, by reducing the number of interceptor aircraft in the system to 500 from 2,000. At the same time, they have upgraded NORAD communications and tracking systems, and broadened its role.

Another line of attack against NORAD is the political-ideological argument which holds that Canada relinquishes its sovereignty by participating. At present, Americans are responsible for NORAD flights across vast tracts of Canadian landscape.

Canada has only one regional control center, at North Bay, Ontario, but this base is charged with responsibility for watching over part of the northeast U.S.

Edmonton base planned

The sovereignty argument against NORAD, however, may diminish further in the next two or three years, when Canada assumes responsibility for its own air space.

Last week, as a prelude to the renewal of NORAD, Mr. Richardson announced construction of a second Canadian regional base, at Edmonton, Alberta.

This $25 million installation will cover western Canadian air space previously handled from an American one. Under the new zone format, North Bay will assume responsibility for eastern Canadian air space and relinquish its role in the northeast U.S.

Defense Department sources in Ottawa say it could take two years or more before all the NORAD zones of responsibility are redrawn and the new Canadian installation at Edmonton is operational.

Had Canada failed to continue its NORAD obligations, officials here admit relations with the U.S. would have been dealt a stunning psychological blow.

But such a change in attitude by the Trudeau government would be startling, since only four years ago it declared the defense of North America to be its No. 2 priority in defense, behind only that of Canadian territory itself.

WALL STREET JOURNAL
7 MAY 1975 Pg. 24

Suit To Bar Vietnamese Asks Environment Data

Special to THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

SAN FRANCISCO—A federal district judge will hear a request today that no more South Vietnamese citizens be given refuge in the U.S. until an environmental impact statement is filed.

The suit was filed by Delta Citizens Group and James Shanks and William Shauer, two Sacramento businessmen, against Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, the Interior and Defense Department secretaries, and against the Immigration and Naturalization Service. It was transferred here from Sacramento.

The suit notes that an estimated 50,000 to 75,000 refugees will be immigrating with State Department help of up to $500 million. The suit says, "this is a major federal action with extensive national and local consequences," requiring an environmental impact statement under the National Environmental Policy Act.

It says the refugee program is a "monumental undertaking," with considerable consequences on U.S. citizens and that incoming refugees haven't been fully screened for communicable and contagious diseases.

The suit asks federal Judge Spencer Williams to issue a temporary restraining order that would halt any further entrance of South Vietnamese citizens into the U.S. and also halt further issuance of immigration permits to them.

NEW YORK TIMES 7 MAY 1975 Pg. 23

SAIGON SAYS CITY IS NORMAL AGAIN

HONG KONG, Wednesday, May 7 (Agence France-Presse)—The Saigon radio said yesterday that life had returned to normal in the South Vietnamese capital, with telephone lines functioning as before and well-stocked markets crowded with shoppers.

Thousands of Saigonese who had fled the city last week when the Communists took over were now said to be returning by bus.

Meanwhile, preparations were reported under way to celebrate the victory of the revolution.

Teachers belonging to patriotic associations were asked to meet yesterday afternoon to arrange a reception at which civilian and military leaders would presumably be presented to the people. Students were scheduled to meet last night.

It appeared that the celebration might be held some time today, one week after the city was surrendered to the Communists.

The radio said workers were busy at their jobs, noting that this was especially the case at the Sicovina textile factory, which has 1,000 employes.

Saigon bookstore owners were said to have tossed out all books that were regarded as useless or offensive.

Television Resumes

Among the indications that life had returned to normal, the radio said, was that a television station in the capital resumed operation Friday. In addition, an official newspaper published its first issue last Sunday.

A new administrative and moral order was reportedly being established in Saigon through the mobilization of volunteers, divided into several groups.

Medical aid was reported being handled by a group of 100 people, among them doctors and nurses.

Two groups of 50 volunteers each were said to be responsible for public order, while 120 people, divided into 17 teams, wearing civilian clothes and red armbands and carrying guns, were reported directing traffic.

The radio also mentioned a weapons reception group, staffed by 23 volunteers. They were said to have collected or requisitioned 4,323 guns of all kinds and undetermined quantities of grenades and ammunition.

Still another group of volunteers was said to be assigned to the distribution of revolutionary propaganda.

For the first time mention was made in a Vietnamese Communist broadcast of activities of Western journalists still in the city. They were said to have been present at Tan Son Nhut airport Friday to watch the first plane with the insignia of the Revolutionary Government to land there.

However, Western newsmen who last filed dispatches from Saigon last Wednesday, the day of the surrender, continued to be forbidden to send news out.

Broadcasts from both Saigon and Hanoi yesterday said a total of 13 South Vietnamese islands from the Gulf of Tonkin to the Gulf of Siam had been "liberated" in recent days, among them the prison islands of Son and Phu Quoc.

Some of the islands were in the Spratly group 200 miles or more east of the southern part of South Vietnam. But there was no mention of the Paracel Islands, which are east of Da Nang. This archipelago was occupied by Chinese forces in 1974 after brief fighting with South Vietnamese troops.

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WASHINGTON POST
7 MAY 1975 Pg 8

Radio Jingle To Promote Army Career

United Press International

After a four-year hiatus the Army is seeking recruits again with paid radio jingles.

The 13-week campaign began in 15 cities Monday. Because the service is limited to a $600,000 budget, the ads will appear only on radio. In the spring of 1971 the Army had $10.6 million and advertised on television as well as radio.

The services have long asked radio and TV stations to broadcast free ads, but they usually appeared after midnight.

The 1971 campaign and the current one are both designed to attract volunteers for the infantry, artillery and armor. There is also a financial inducement because each volunteer for the combat branches gets a bonus of $1,500 to $2,500.

The 1971 ad campaign was considered a success by the Army, which got 10 times as many volunteers in the last month of the campaign as in the same month of the preceeding year. But in the first eight months of the current budget year, the Army reached only 76 per cent of its combat needs.

NEW YORK TIMES
7 MAY 1975, Pg 23

News Blackout May End

PARIS, May 6 (UPI)—Officials of the Revolutionary Government's mission here said today that foreign newsmen would soon be permitted to file dispatches from Saigon again.

WASHINGTON STAR 6 MAY 1975, Pg 3B (7)

'Politics' Charged in Plan To Shift P.G. Navy Office

By Brad Holt
Washington Star Staff Writer

"Keep My Chevy Off The Levee," proclaimed the sign held by an employe of the Naval Oceanographic Center.

About 1,300 center employes expect the Navy to transfer their Suitland office to the area of Bay St. Louis, Miss. and thus disrupt their lives—because of the move south itself, or because they will quit their jobs to stay in this area and then face the task of trying to find comparable work.

LAST NIGHT the employes, who perform scientific, engineering and environmental studies for the Navy as well as other federal and civilian agencies, had their chance to protest to the Navy. About 800 appeared at the Suitland High School cafeteria for a hearing on an environmental impact draft statement on the proposed move published by the Navy.

Among the 58 speakers who testified before a Navy hearing board were Maryland politicians from Congress, the state Senate and House of Delegates and the Prince Georges County government.

The politicians of the Free State were solidly behind their constituency—about 57 percent of those threatened by the move live in Prince Georges County.

U.S. Rep. Gladys N. Spellman, D-Md., told the crowd, "It disturbs me that the Navy thinks it can move people around like pieces on a chess board. They're dealing with disrupting families.

"For what reason?" she asked. "Politics," she answered.

BOTH THE oceanographic employes and the Maryland politicians pointed out that the center's annual payroll is about $25 million, which would leave Maryland along with the center. The proposed site, located in Mississippi close to the Louisiana state line, is sponsored by Sens. John Stennis, D-Miss., and Rusell Long, D-La., chairmen respectively of the Senate Armed Services and Finance Committees, last night's meeting was told.

Francis B. Francois, chairman of the Prince Georges County Council, said county officials "have been opposed to the move and that strong opposition still stands. The county executive and the County Council are ready to use every legal weapon available."

REP. MARJORIE S. HOLT, R-Md., read a letter written to Defense Secretary James Schlesinger from Reps. John M. Murphy, D-N.Y., and Charles A. Mosher, R-Ohio, respectively the chairman and ranking minority member of the oceanographic subcommittee of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. The letter announced oversight hearings on the proposed move to begin May 21 and asked for postponement of a "final decision on this transfer" until the hearings are completed.

THE NAVY STUDY, under the heading of "Adverse Environmental Effects," noted that "blacks, who comprise about 14 percent of the work force, may be reluctant to transfer to the proposed relocation site." The study notes that as many as 80 to 90 percent of the blacks may refuse transfer and that those who go "must consider the general attitudes of the majority populace toward minorities..."

Louise Driscoll, a deputy equal employment opportunity officer for the center who toured the area recently, said that "along the Gulf coast, everything is fine, but when you go inland, it's the old South. In the movie theaters, blacks are on one side and whites on the other; a black cop can't arrest a white man....It's very separate and very unequal."

Members of the Navy hearing board agreed with Mrs. Driscoll in her estimation of the racial situation but disagreed with statements about the availability of housing and the quality of education.

AT THE CLOSE of the hearing, members of the board told a reporter that there was adequate housing available near the Mississippi site.

WASHINGTON STAR 6 MAY 1975, Pg 11 (7)

Army Moving Its Prep School

Associated Press

Secretary of the Army Howard Callaway said Monday that the U.S. Military Academy Preparatory School will be moved this summer from Ft. Belvior, south of Washington, to Ft. Monmouth, N.J.

Involved are 325 students and 65 civilian and military instructors and administrators.

The Army said the shift will provide the shcool improved permanent facilities by the beginning of the 1976 session a year from August.

The Army said the transfer of the school to Ft. Monmouth will permit expansion of the Defense Systems Management School at Ft. Belvoir before January. The U.S. Military Academy Preparatory School prepares regular and reserve soldiers to qualify for entrance to West Point.

WASHINGTON POST 7 MAY 1975, Pg 43

For the Record

• **Soviet Communist Party chief Brezhnev and Premier Kosygin will visit West Germany this year,** the ruling Social Democratic Party announced in Bonn. The Soviet news agency Tass, meanwhile, said in Moscow that Kosygin will visit Libya the first half of this month.

LOS ANGELES TIMES 4 MAY 1975 (7)
Pg 6B

Californians Pressured Navy to Buy F-18, Critic Charges

DALLAS (AP)—The U.S. Navy has been pressured to spend $6 billion for a deficient fighter plane just to ease California's unemployment problems, according to U.S. Rep. Dale Milford (D-Tex.).

Milford said Saturday in a statement issued from his home that the Navy was pressured "in a demanding letter" to choose the F-18 fighter built by McDonnell-Douglas and Northrop in California. He said the plane is inferior to the LTV F-16 which the Air Force chose in January. Congress earlier had recommended the Navy and Air Force adopt the same new fighter plane.

"This letter clearly stated the demand that the award should go to Northrop because of California's high unemployment factor," Milford said. He said the letter was written by "the entire California (congressional) delegation."

Milford said the Navy's decision, which still requires congressional approval, is indefensible on the basis of the F-18's performance, economy or as the best combat plane available for Navy use.

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WEDNESDAY MORNING, 7 MAY 1975

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R A
DEBATE 5-7
DAY LD
BY JOHN MILNE
WASHINGTON (UPI) -- THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE HAS VOTED IN FAVOR OF THE "COUNTERFORCE" STRATEGY OF FIGHTING NUCLEAR WARS, WHICH SUPPORTERS SAY WOULD GIVE THE PRESIDENT MORE FLEXIBILITY IN RESPONDING TO CRISES.

OPPONENTS CONTEND "COUNTERFORCE" WOULD ADD NEW, DANGEROUS ELEMENTS OF RISK AND INSTABILITY TO RELATIONS BETWEEN NUCLEAR POWERS. THEY SAID TODAY THEY PLAN TO FIGHT THE DECISION IN THE WHOLE SENATE.

SOME SENATE SOURCES PREDICT A CONFRONTATION SIMILAR TO THE RECENT FIGHT OVER THE ANTIBALLISTIC MISSILE.

THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE MET BEHIND CLOSED DOORS TUESDAY ON THE PENTAGON'S $10.2 BILLION RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT REQUEST. IT IS EXPECTED TO ANNOUNCE FINAL DECISIONS SOON, PERHAPS TODAY.

SOURCES NOT WISHING TO BE QUOTED BECAUSE THE COMMITTEE HAS NOT YET MADE ALL ITS DECISIONS SAID THE VOTE WAS 11-4 IN FAVOR OF $109 BILLION IN RESEARCH FOR FIVE "COUNTERFORCE" PROPOSALS. AN EXAMPLE OF ONE IDEA IS MARV, A NUCLEAR WARHEAD THAT CAN BE GUIDED TOWARD A TARGET AFTER IT IS FIRED. THE IDEA BEHIND "COUNTERFORCE" IS TO HAVE A MISSILE SO ACCURATE AND POWERFUL THAT IT CAN DESTROY AN ENEMY MISSILE BEFORE IT IS FIRED.

THE COMITTEE REVERSED THE RESEARCH SUBCOMMITTEE, HEADED BY SEN. THOMAS MCINTYRE, D-N.H., WHICH HAD ELIMINATED THESE PROJECTS. MCINTYRE IS ONE OF THE OPPONENTS WHO CALLS "COUNTERFORCE" DANGEROUS, IN HIS PHRASE, "PUTTING A HAIR TRIGGER ON NUCLEAR WAR."

THEY SAY IT IS ONLY A MATTER OF TIME UNTIL BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION GET THIS CAPABILITY, AND IF A CRISIS COMES BOTH SIDES WILL ITCH TO PUSH THE NUCLEAR BUTTON FIRST -- BECAUSE THE SECOND ONE COULD HAVE ITS NUCLEAR ARSENAL DESTROYED.

SUPPORTERS, WHO INCLUDE SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER AND SECRETARY OF DEFENSE JAMES SCHLESINGER, SAY "COUNTERFORCE" GIVES THE PRESIDENT ANOTHER MILITARY OPTION BETWEEN DOING NOTHING IN A CRISIS OR RISKING ALL-OUT NUCLEAR WAR.

THE SOURCES ALSO SAID THE COMMITTEE VOTED TO CUT $222.3 MILLION FROM THE $672 MILLION REQUEST FOR THE B1 BOMBER PROGRAM, AND PERMIT ONLY CONTINUED RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, NOT PRODUCTION. THE SUBCOMMITTEE ORIGINALLY CUT $160.8 MILLION, AND THE COMMITTEE VOTED NARROWLY TO KEEP THE CUT. A LATER COMPROMISE CUT MORE, THE SOURCES SAID, AND IT PASSED 10-4.

CONSERVATIVES MAY ASK THE FULL SENATE TO RESTORE FUNDS FOR THE B1, DESIGNED AS THE NATION'S MAJOR HEAVY BOMBER FOR NUCLEAR WAR. THE HOUSE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE WAS KINDER TO THE CONTROVERSIAL PLANE, VOTING TUESDAY TO AUTHORIZE ALL THE PENTAGON ASKED.
UPI 05-07 03:42 AED

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(BANGKOK) -- A REPORT BY THE SAIGON RADIO, MONITORED IN BANGKOK, SAYS A HUGE CROWD GATHERED AT THE FORMER PRESIDENTIAL PALACE TODAY. THE RADIO SAYS THE COMMANDING GENERAL OF THE SAIGON AREA PROMISED LENIENCY TO FORMER FOES OF THE VIET CONG AND RESPECT FOR LIVES AND PROPERTY OF FOREIGN RESIDENTS -- PROVIDING, HE SAID, THAT ''THEY EARN AN HONEST LIVING THROUGH CLEAN BUSINESS'' AND OBEY LAWS AND ORDERS.

GENENRAL TRAN VAN TRA, WHO LED THE ATTACK ON SAIGON IN THE 1968 TET OFFENSIVE, ALSO WARNED OF SEVERE PUNISHMENT AGAINST THOSE WHO -- AS HE PUT IT -- ''SEVER THEMSELVES FROM THE PEOPLE'' AND ''SERVE AS HENCHMEN FOR FOREIGN COUNTRIES.''
03:24AED 05-07-75

WALL STREET JOURNAL 7 MAY 1975, Pg 7

IBM Permits Army To Cancel Orders Without Any Penalty

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WHITE PLAINS, N.Y. — International Business Machines Corp. said it has allowed the Army to cancel three remaining computers on a nine-computer contract without paying scheduled penalties of $9.6 million.

But IBM acknowledged — after a statement was issued by Rep. Jack Brooks, (D., Texas), chairman of the House government operations committee—that the Army was paying $6 million over current market prices for the six computers it is buying from IBM, and that the Army had violated federal law by signing the original contract.

"The Army has acknowledged a procedural error," an IBM spokesman said, commenting on a charge by Rep. Brooks that only the General Services Administration has legal authority to buy data processing equipment for the government.

IBM explained the $6 million price differential by noting that in 1973, when the agreement was reached, the price to the Army of $2.7 million for each of the six system 360, model 65 computers was "competitive" in the market. Since then the going price has dropped to $1.7 million, the spokesman said, because of "dynamics in the market" rather than any change in production costs.

IBM said the original contract, which was for up to 24 computer systems, was awarded by comeptitive bidding in 1967 but was revised by the Army and IBM in 1973 when Army requirements were reduced. Under that agreement, the Army was to pay $4.3 million for each computer if it purchased fewer than nine.

Rep. Brooks said the Army would purchase the other three computers on the open market, presumably at the lower price.

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CURRENT NEWS

PART II - MAIN EDITION - 1130

THIS SUPPLEMENTS PART I-EARLY BIRD EDITION

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TUESDAY, MAY 6, 1975

BALTIMORE SUN
6 May 1975 Pg. 1

Phnom Penh said to order executions

By DEAN MILLS
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—The State Department said yesterday that the new rulers of Cambodia have ordered the execution of all top political and military leaders of the old regime, down to the local level.

The order, if carried out, would mean the death of thousands of Cambodians who served under the defeated government of President Lon Nol.

American officials indicated that a program of mass reprisals would make the United States hesitant to recognize the new regime in Phnom Penh. Henry A. Kissinger, the Secretary of State, said in an interview televised yesterday that "very tragic and inhuman and barbarous things are going on."

"We don't regret not having recognized Cambodia immediately," he added.

Robert Anderson, the State Department spokesman, confirmed at a department press briefing reports of the execution orders given in radio transmissions intercepted by American intelligence.

And he said the United States has "information that in one outlying area this order was carried out and this involved 80. . .leaders and their wives."

But Mr. Anderson said information available to the United States is too fragmentary to indicate whether the execution orders have been carried out on a wide scale. There were solid indications, however, that the new leaders have been harsh in establishing their authority.

Western journalists who remained in Phnom Penh for the Communist takeover and who arrived in Thailand over the weekend have hinted darkly of severe measures taken by the new government, although they have foresworn writing directly on the subject for now for fear of harming those left behind.

PHNOM PENH...Pg. 2

WASHINGTON POST
6 May 1975 Pg. 1

Refugee Critics Shock Ford

By Carroll Kilpatrick
Washington Post Staff Writer

Congressional and public criticism of administration policy on the admission of Vietnamese refugees has shocked and disturbed President Ford, White House sources said yesterday.

The President is expected to express himself on the subject in strong terms at a televised news conference at 7:30 tonight, the first he has held since the surrender of Saigon.

The President was quoted by one source as having said "it is not the America I know" when informed of what some public figures and citizens have said about not wanting the Vietnamese to come to this country.

The President also is expected to discuss in public for the first time the consequences for this country of the Communist victories in Cambodia and Vietnam.

He asked Congress yesterday for $507 million to care for the Vietnamese refugees until they can find homes and jobs, and he is expected to defend his position that they should be welcome and that the United States owes them refuge.

Last week, through his press secretary, Mr. Ford said he was "proud" of what he had done to help evacuate Vietnamese who wanted to leave their country.

Yesterday, press secretary Ron Nessen, asked about reports of criticism of Graham A. Martin, ambassador to South Vietnam, quoted the President as strongly defending the ambassador and hailing the success of the evacuation.

"The President feels that Ambassador Martin accomplished an extraordinarily

CRITICS...Pg. 2

BALTIMORE SUN 6 May 1975 Pg. 8

Kissinger denies links to any CIA death plots

Washington (AP) — The Secretary of State, Henry A Kissinger, yesterday denied having any involvement in alleged Central Intelligence Agency domestic spying or foreign assassination plots.

"Since I have been in Washington, the National Security Council or the National Security Council staff or the assistant to the President for national security affairs did not concern themselves with domestic intelligence or were informed about domestic intelligence," Mr Kissinger told reporters after a two-hour-closed-door session with the Rockefeller commission.

Asked about allegations of CIA assassination plots, Mr. Kissinger chuckled and said, "None of those allegations pertain to any period of which I have personal knowledge."

The Defense Secretary, James R. Schlesinger, who headed the agency briefly in 1973, also testified and later told reporters that "assassination has not been used as a tool by the CIA at any time."

However, Mr. Schlesinger said he would have "no comment on allegations regarding the assassination of foreign leaders" and added that "there are questions here that the commission and the appropriate congressional bodies may wish to review."

Asked whether the CIA had undertaken domestic surveillance in response to White House pressure, Mr. Schlesinger said, "My recollection ... is that indeed there were expressions of interest on the part of senior officials of the government."

Asked if these expressions came from Mr. Kissinger, who ordinarily would direct CIA covert activities, Mr. Schlesinger indicated that the requests for domestic surveillance "came through channels other than national security channels."

Vice President Rockefeller, the commission chairman,

KISSINGER...Pg. 2

NEW YORK NEWS
6 May 1975 Pg. 2

U.S. Taking Viet Planes From Thais

Washington, May 5 (News Bureau) — Despite official Thai objections, the United States has begun removing the 125 U.S.-supplied military planes flown to Thailand by fleeing South Vietnamese pilots, the Pentagon said today.

Meantime, it was announced that the U.S. would reduce by about 25% the number of American troops and planes in Thailand. The number of troops will be cut from 25,000 to 19,500, mostly Air Force personnel.

Scheduled for removal next month are two squadrons of U.S. F-111 fighter-bombers (36 planes) and three squadrons of F-4 fighters (72 planes). The total of American planes currently in Thailand is 340, including 176 fighters; 16 F-4s configured for reconnaissance duty; 17 B-52 bombers; 12 AC-130 gunships, and a number of other aircraft of the liaison, spotter or utility types.

The U.S. troop reduction, disclosed earlier today in Bangkok, was described in a Thai Foreign Ministry statement as the first step in an effort to phase out the American military presence in Thailand by March 1976.

The decision to bring the South Vietnamese aircraft to the United States had not been disclosed previously.

The announcement came as Thai Foreogn Minister Chatichai Choonhavan said in Bangkok that the Thai Government would noretian the planes for the time being. He indicated that he wanted to discuss the matter with u.s. officials.

North Vietnam and the new Communist government of South Vietnam have demanded the return of all planes and ships

VIET PLANES...Pg. 2

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NEW YORK TIMES 6 May 1975 Pg. 1

Kissinger Denies Involvement In Domestic Spying by C.I.A.

By NICHOLAS M. HORROCK
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 5—Secretary of State Kissinger said today that he and the National Security Council had had no involvement in any domestic operations of the Central Intelligence Agency and that he had never "transmitted" to the agency any feeling of concern about domestic security on the part of President Nixon.

His statement was made to reporters after he testified before the Rockefeller Commission, which is investigating the C.I.A.

Richard Helms, former director of Central Intelligence had said in January that domestic operations were conducted in response to Presidential concern that foreign influences were controlling the domestic antiwar movement.

Mr. Kissinger's statement raised the question of whether the C.I.A.'s operations were outside the chain of command suggested by the National Security Act of 1947, which calls upon the C.I.A. to "perform such other functions and duties related to inelligence affecting the national security as the National Security Council may from time to time direct."

The present C.I.A. chief, William E. Colby, said in January that the agency conducted domestic intelligence gathering from 1970 until 1973 as an outgrowth of Presidential concern over radical activities.

This concern was expressed in the so-called Tuston plan, a proposed attack on radical movement that included burglaries, electronic surveillance and mail covers, which was prepared in 1970 but not implemented. The C.I.A., Mr. Colby has said, continued to gather information and maintain files on Americans even though the plan was not adopted.

The National Security Council, a national security advisery body, and the 40 committees are the normal conduits for commands to C.I.A. for instance, covert activity abroad is conducted either with the express approval of the 40 Committee or under the power of executive orders issued through the council. (The 40 Committee includes representatives from the major agencies of the intelligence community, Mr. Kissinger and members of the council.

But today, under questioning, Mr. Kissinger said that "since I have been in Washington, the National Security Council or the National Security Council staff or the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs did not concern themselves with domestic intelligence or were not informed about domestic inteligence.

Mr. Kissinger has directed the council since 1969 and his tenure covered the years 1970 until 1973, during which Mr. Colby sai dthat part of the domestic intelligence operation took place.

Vice President Rckefeller said today that there were other channels of cammand between the White House and the C.I.A. outside of the National Security Council and that these channels could have included President Nixon himself.

Mr. Kissinger also disavowed today any knowledge of alleged assassinations b ythe C.I.A. Each of the day's other witnesses—a former C.I.A. chief, John A. McCone, Secretary of Defense James M. Schlesinger, and a former White House aide, Walt Rostow — were asked about assassinations.

All denied direct knowledge. Mr. McCone said that during his term of office there was "absolutely no assassination plot or authorized assassination plot against Castro by the Cuban Premier, [Fidel Castro] or any other foreign leader."

Today's session was one of the last two in which the commission will hear witnesses. It has begpn to prepare its report, which is scheduled to be given to President Ford on June 6.

Mr. Schlesinger said what he recalled, from his internal investigation of C.I.A., indicated that what authorizations came in the summer of 1971 came through "channels other than the N.S.C."

The concern of the Nixon Administration with domestic radicals was synthesized in a plan written by John Charles Huston, then a White House aide, in the summer of 1970. The plan had been contributed to by members of the major intelligence agencies. It would have authorized, with Presidential approval, the use of burglaries, mail covers and electronic surveillance to gather intellegence about the domestic radical movement.

The plan was in effect for five days, but was rescinded when the late J. Edgar Hoover refused to allow the F.B.I. to be involved. It was not the only period in which the C.I.A. has conducted domestic intelligence, according to Mr. Colby, the agency head.

KISSINGER...Continued

briefing reporters on the day's session, confirmed that "there were many channels from the White House to the CIA" but refused to supply details or state where requests for domestic surveillance had originated.

Walt W. Rostow, Mr. Kissinger's predecessor as national security adviser, also appeared before the commission but declined any comment on his testimony.

John A. McCone, the central intelligence director during the early 1960's, also testified before the eight-member commission investigating allegations of CIA domestic wrongdoing.

Mr. McCone later told reporters he had to "plead ignorance" in response to questions about alleged plots against the life of Cuban Premier Fidel Castro. "During my term of office, there was no, absolutely no assassination plot or authorized assassination plot against Castro or any other foreign leader," Mr. McCone said.

Mr. Kissinger was asked by reporters about the future of a former CIA director, Richard M. Helms, now Ambassador to Iran. "Helms will remain ambassador to Iran," Mr. Kissinger said. "I have complete confidence in him."

Last January, Mr. Helms acknowledged publicly that a special counter-intelligence unit was set up within the CIA in response to presidential concern that domestic unrest was influenced from abroad.

VIET PLANES...Cont'd

bused by South Vietnamese to flee their country before it fell last week.

But Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger has said that the U.S. retained title to the planes.

In response to questions, a Pentagon spokesman said that some South Vietnamese C-130 transport planes were being flown from Thailand to Clark Air Force Base in the Philippines and that most of the other South Vietnamese planes were being removed by ship.

About 54 F-5 fighters and A-37 light attack bombers, formerly os the South Vietnamese Air Force — which was once the world's foruth largest — were being loaded on the aircraft carrier Midway off the Thai port of Sattahip, sources daid. Alos aboard the Midway were 48 U.S.-supplied helicopters, either from South Vietnam of Cambodia.

PHNOM PENH...Continued

Several officials speaking privately yesterday agreed with Mr. Anderson's observation that the information so far is too thin to judge whether mass executions have begun. But they said the execution orders given in the intercepted radio messages applied even to low-ranking political and military officials at local levels.

Given the insurgents' reputation for ruthlessness, some analysts here said, there was no reason to doubt that the orders were being carried out. Ronald H. Nessen, the White House press secretary, told reporters yesterday that "80 to 90 officers and their wives" had been executed in Cambodia. Mr. Nessen also said the United States has had "some reports" of executions of South Vietnamese officials.

CRITICS...Continued

difficult task under trying circumstances and did it well," Nessen said.

Declaring that Martin was responsible for the lives of Americans in Saigon and for maintaining the embassy to the end, Nessen said the President "thinks the results speak for themselves."

The Americans were evacuated safely as were thousands of Vietnamese, Nessen said.

Nessen said Mr. Ford appreciated the support of Gov. Reubin Askew of Florida and Gov. David Pryor, of Arkansas both Democrats, for refugee resettlement activities in their states.

Evacuees are being sent to Eglin Air Force Base in Florida, Ft. Chaffee in Arkansas and Camp Pendleton in California.

Asked if the President had thanked Democratic Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, Nessen replied, "Why should he" Brown has complained of the new immigrants at a time when many Americans are unemployed.

While there have been reports of heavy mail to members of Congress opposing the admission of Vietnamese refugees, Nessen said White House mail favored their admission.

Of 7,600 letters received on the subject in the last month, 4,456 supported the President's policy, 2,936 opposed it and the remainder commented but stated no firm position, Nessen said.

Asked about a suggestion by Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.) that some of the refugees would want to return to their homeland, Nessen said they left voluntarily and if some want to return they are free to do so.

Nessen confirmed earlier reports that the President has invited Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin to visit Washinton next month. The visit will take place June 11-12, Nessen said, for discussions of "matters of mutual interest and in order to further strengthen the friendly ties between the two countries."

Israeli officials were reportedly disturbed last week because the White House announced that the President would meet first with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat during Mr. Ford's trip to Europe.

The meeting with the Egyptian leader is scheduled for June 1-2 in Salzburg, Austria. The President will first attend a North Atlantic Treaty Organization summit meeting in Brussels May 29-30 and also visit Madrid and Rome before returning to Washington June 3 or 4.

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Part II--Main Edition--6 May 1975

WASHINGTON POST 6 May 1975 Pg. 1

Vietcong Wins First U.N. Recognition

From News Dispatches

The new Communist government of South Vietnam has released all prisoners from the Conson Island prison where inmates were held in notorious "tiger cage" cells, the Vietcong radio said Monday.

The move came as the Vietcong's Provisional Revolutionary Government continued to tighten its control over the country and won its first recognition from the United Nations as the successor of the former Saigon government.

The PRG ordered all officials of the former government to report to authorities by Thursday and extended to May 31 the deadline for members of the defeated armed forces to turn themselves in. Saigon Radio also reiterated its order for military equipment to be turned in immediately.

The Vietcong's Giai Phong Radio, monitored by the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug, did not give the number of prisoners released from Conson Island prison, but it said they would be reunited with their families.

Former U.S. Rep. William R. Anderson (D-Tenn.) once referred to the "tiger cages" of Conson Island as "the most shocking treatment of human beings I have ever seen" after touring the prison where 10,000 persons were held, most of them for political reasons.

During the height of the U.S. opposition to involvement in the Vietnam war, reports on the "tiger cages" raised a furor in the United States. At one point, 116 South Vietnamese political prisoners claimed that they had been paralyzed from maltreatment on the island and from being kept in the "cages."

The radio also reported that former officials of the defeated Saigon government, including former President Duong Van (Big) Minh, had been returned to their families in Saigon.

The officials were told upon their release that it was hoped that they would contribute to rebuilding the country, the radio said. Minh responded by saying he "welcomed the victory of the liberation forces and said he was happy to be a citizen of the independent Vietnam," the radio said

Meanwhile, Saigons' new rulers ordered the immediate closure of all overseas missions set up by the previous government and indicated that the new envoys would be sent out soon to take over.

In a three-point directive, the Foreign Ministry ordered all heads of mission to cease operations and close their embassies and to draw up lists of documents, equipment and property for handover to new representatives who would be sent out soon, and warned that acts of sabotage and illegal removal of funds would be punished.

The directive was the new government's first order to the former government's dozens of embassies, the largest of which are in Washington and Paris.

Domestic proclamations by the PRG have dealt thus far with the reconstruction of the country and the establishment of administrative machinery. Essential services have reportedly been restored and many factories are said to be in full operation. Communications with the outisde world, however, have not been restored, and news has been confined to radio broadcasts monitored outside South Vietnam.

In Wellington, New Zealand, a U.N. official said that almost all the displaced persons in Vietnam are expected to be resettled in their villages by the end of May. The U.N. official said his agency, the U.N. High Commission for Refugees, is working closely with the new Saigon government to provide medicines, food, tools and seeds.

The North Vietnamese news agency in Hanoi reported that the television station in Hue has resumed broadcasting and Giai Phong Radio said a group of dancers from Hanoi performed in the former imperial capital on Sunday.

The radio also reported that Saigon citizens are scraping walls and cleaning up streets and market places. Old movie posters and posters of the Thieu regime have been replaced by revolutionary slogans, the radio said.

At the United Nations, the U.N. Economic and Social Council recognized the PRG as the successor government to the former Saigon regime yesterday, despite American "regrets" at the "premature" decision.

In a public debate on the recognition, other U.N. delegates suggested that the US. statement indicated that Washington would recognize the PRG "in the coming days."

U.S. representative Clarence Ferguson responded, "We will not recognize any government-in-exile, but that is not an either-or proposition. As of this moment, we do not recognize the authorities in Saigon."

Ferguson said the United States was "uncertain as to an eventuality of double representation."

The PRG's earlier application for membership in two U.N. bodies—the World Health Organization and the World Meteorological Organization—has indicated to some observers that the new Communist rulers in the South are preparing for a prolonged period of diplomatic activity independent of North Vietnam.

Yesterday's U.N. decision means that the PRG would succeed the government it defeated as an "observer" at the world body, but neither of the agency applications has been acted upon.

Monday's action at the United Nations was prompted by a request from Senegal that the PRG be invitec to attend the U.N. International Women's Year conference in Mexico City in July

Meanwhile, the Soviet news agency Tass reported that two Soviet ships had docked in Danang and brought 4,000 tons of food and fuel to the city. The Soviet vessels were the first ships to enter the port since the Communist government took control.

Western diplomats in Moscow said they expected the Soviet government to move quickly to supply the South Vietnamese Communists in a move to blunt Chinese influence in the area.

Neues Deutschland, the East German Communist Party newspaper reported from Saigon that the Danang harbor was reopened April 24.

Tass also reported that the new government's newspaper; Saigon Liberation, said that North Vietnamese and Vietcong forces killed or wounded more than 400,000 troops of the Saigon government in the final days of the war.

The Los Angeles Times quoted an American official as saying that 15 tons of gold remained in the vaults of the central bank when South Vietnam surrendered. The official said some efforts had been made to fly the gold out during the U.S. evacuation of the city.

NEW YORK NEWS 6 May 1975 Pg. 8

Says Egypt Fortifies Suez' Eastern Bank

By JOSEPH FRIED
Staff Correspondent of The News

Jerusalem, May 5—Israeli Defense Minister Shimon Peres charged today that Egypt had laid the military groundwork for a crossing of the Suez Canal, like the one that triggered the 1973 Mideast war.

Peres also disclosed for the first time that a Soviet spy ship had been operating off the Israeli coast for the last five years, using electronic equipment to monitor activities within Israel.

Peres told the Kresset that the Soviet Union had not only resumed the flow of weapons to the Arabs, but had considerably increased the numbers of shipments, including ammunition and spare parts for Soviet-made weapons already in Egypt.

Specifically, Peres said, the Kremlin was supplying Egypt with MIG-23 warplanes, surface-to-air missiles and spare parts for tanks and planes.

He said that Egypt had completed laying the groundwork for fortifications on the east bank of the Suez, where they could deploy forces to cross into Sinai.

Peres said that Egypt had been working on the east bank of the canal since the January 1974 signing of the separation-of-forces agreement with Israel following the Yom Kippur War in October 1973.

Peres said the new fortifications included gun emplacements, bunkers and ditches.

"They've set the stage for another invasion should Egypt decide to go to war again," sources said here. "So far, it appears to be a contingency effort, but all that could change overnight if the Egyptians decide to move their troops and weapons across the canal."

Peres' disclosure coincided with reports here that Egypt might shift additional troops to the east bank of the canal on grounds that they are required to protect the canal after it reopens June 5.

Others Aid Egypt

Israeli Transport Minsiter Gad Yacobi warned today that any such troop movement would "sabotage" efforts toward achieving a Mideast settlement.

Peres also disclosed that both Algeria and Saudi Arabia had bolstered Egypt's arsenal since the October 1973 war.

He said that Algeria had bought Soviet tanks and turned them over to Egypt and that the Saudis had transferred some of the Mirage jets it bought from France.

Peres added that Egypt was trying to buy military equipment in Western Europe, including France and Britain.

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Air Defense System

WASHINGTON POST 6 May 1975 Pg. 14

U.S. to Sell Arms to Jordan

By Murrey Marder
Washington Post Staff Writer

The United States has agreed to supply Jordan with an air-defense system including Hawk ground-to-air missiles, American officials said yesterday.

Confirmation that Jordan's King Hussein last week won a specific U.S. commitment for the air defenses he long has sought came in an unusual sequence yesterday.

Earlier, State Department spokesman Robert Anderson was asked if the United States still held to its position that there will be no new American arms commitment to Israel, or its Arab adversaries, during the current reassessment of Middle East policy. Anderson said that still is U.S. policy and he was "unaware of any commitments that were made to King Hussein" during his talks here last week.

Officials later disclosed the weapons arrangement with Jordan. To defend official credibility, they described this as confirmation of an earlier intention, rather than a new commitment.

Hussein has cited Jordan's lack of air defense as the reason why Jordan participated only symbolically in the October, 1973, Arab-Israeli war.

U.S. officials said an American survey team was sent to Jordan and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger last February told Hussein that the United States intended to supply the air-defense system. An official said "final agreement" was "reached on details" last week.

Components of the system, including Hawk missiles and antiaircraft guns, will not begin reaching Jordan until the fall, it was said.

Jordan is reported to have argued that if it did not get the air-defense system from the United States, it would have to go, through Syria, to the Soviet Union for arms help.

Before Hussein's visit to Washington, a report circulated that Syria and Jordan agreed to a joint military command, which would have access to Soviet weapons. U.S. officials expressed disbelief over the report and Hussein denied it in a television interview here on Sunday.

To counter charges of discrimination against Israel, U.S. officials emphasized that Israel continues to receive deliveries of American weapons from previous commitments. This includes, one source said, "quite a large number of tanks" in April.

Kissinger, in a "Today" show interview to be televised this morning (NBC, WRC), said President Ford had "set a tentative deadline" for the Mideast policy reassessment, but that was before Indochina events "took a great deal of our attention." It is "a mistake to believe that there will be some clear terminal date at which one can say from now on the assessment is completed," Kissinger said.

He said that "on the whole . . . the final decision will not be made until President Ford has had an opportunity to meet with the leaders of the countries principally concerned."

Referring to the advanced F-15 warplanes which Israel wants, Kissinger said such aircraft, "in any event, would not be delivered until the end of 1977, early 1978."

WASHINGTON POST 6 May 1975 Pg. C-1

Navy Move Plan Scored

By Harold J. Logan
Washington Post Staff Writer

Almost 700 persons indicated through speeches, signs and applause last night that they think the Navy's plan to shift its oceanographic office from Suitland to the Gulf Coast is ill-considered, politically motivated, and technically unwise.

The crown that overflowed the cafeteria at Suitland High School, where a public hearing was held on a Navy-prepared study of the environmental impact of the proposed move was made up of mostly middle class professional employees of the office who would be directly affected by its proposed relocation to Bay St. Louis, Miss.

Many of them indicated that they felt, as did oceanographer **Lewis J. Franc**, that politics, rather than Congress's stated effort to reduce the Navy's presence in the Washington area, is "what appears to be the primary driving force of relocating to the proposed site."

"The proponents (of the move) have argued again and again that it is not politically motivated; that it was only an accident that the loss of Congressman F. Edward Hebert's chair on the House Armed Services Committee concided with the sudden demise of Michoud, La., as a viable site for relocation."

The relocation of the facility, which employs 1,300 workers, is being pushed by Sen. John C. Stennis (D-Miss.), chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee and Sen. Russell B. Long (D-La.), chairman of the Finance Committee. One of the things at stake is the oceanographic offices' $25 million annual payroll.

Other testimony at the hearing focused on the almost 200 black persons who work at the office, and who are expected to oppose a move to the deep South.

Louise Driscoll, the deputy equal employment opportunity officer at the oceanographic office, said "EEO (equal employment opportunity) is hard enough right here. We don't need to go to Mississippi."

Mrs. Driscoll said she was one of several oceanographic office employees who visited the Bay St. Louis area and reported, "On the coast it's fine (for blacks), but don't go a mile inland. It is just like it was 100 years ago."

The environmental impact study that was the subject of the public hearing asserts that "potentially, as many as 80 to 90 per cent of the blacks may refuse transfer."

It also predicts that "relocation will likely cause a number of individuals to exercise their retirement options earlier than previously planned." The study says 268 oceanographic employees are eligible for part or full retirement.

The study contemplates that about 800 of the institute's 1,300 employees would make the move if it is approved by the Navy.

It predicts that the influx of oceanographic office employees would seriously strain the housing and public school capacities of the Bay St. Louis area.

The study predicts no serious negative impact of the move on the natural environment of Bay St. Louis.

Only one person testified in favor of the move. Mrs. William King spoke highly of the fishing, golf, and other recreational benefits of the Gulf area, and said its sunset "has been compared to those on the Riviera." She said the educational and cultural opportunities in the area 55 miles northeast of New Orleans are good.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
6 May 1975 Pg. 13

U. S. takes 'wait, see' Viet stance

WASHINGTON [AP]—Secretary of State Henry Kissinger says the United States will watch the actions of the new Communist regime in Saigon before deciding whether to recognize it diplomatically.

"We now have to see what the conduct of this government is internationally and partially domestically," Kissinger said in an interview with Barbara Walters Monday on NBC's Today show.

"For example, we know that in Cambodia very tragic and inhuman and impoverished things are going on," Kissinger said. "We don't regret not having recognized Cambodia immediately."

Kissinger also said he doubts that Hanoi would have staged its successful military drive on Saigon if Watergate had not sapped Presidential power and Congress had not passed the war powers act.

"IN JANUARY '73 we did not foresee that Watergate would sap the executive authority of the United States to such a degree that flexibility of executive action inherently would be circumscribed," Kissinger said.

"We did not foresee that the Congress would pass a law which prohibited us from enforcing the Paris agreement and while we probably might have done nothing anyway, it makes a lot of difference for Hanoi whether it thinks the United States probably will not or whether it thinks that we certainly cannot," Kissinger said.

"I do not believe that Hanoi would have sent 19 of its 20 divisions south if these two things hadn't happened," he added.

THE SECRETARY also defended the Ford administration's refusal to reveal the contents of a January, 1973, letter in which former President Nixon promised Thieu the United States would use full force to punish any violations of the Paris peace agreement.

"If we begin revealing the contents of letters, simply because a senator, on top of it a Presidential candidate, but quite apart from this, a senator alleges that there is something in these letters, then Presidential correspondence will lose its private character," Kissinger said.

Sen. Henry M. Jackson [D., Wash.] had demanded that the administration reveal the contents of any secret commitments Nixon made to Thieu.

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EDITORIALS

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
6 MAY 1975

Our best military customers

For a time, $722 million was a familiar figure. It was the amount that President Ford on April 10 asked Congress to appropriate promptly for military aid to South Viet Nam. About the same time, Sen. Gaylord Nelson widely distributed a list of military sales to foreign countries in the current fiscal year thru March 26 [almost nine months]. The list was prepared by the Defense Security Assistance Agency. It is of interest to note that cash sales to each of three countries so far in fiscal 1975 exceeded $722 million. These countries and the amounts of their military purchases are: Iran, $1.9 billion; Saudi Arabia, $1.1. billion; and Israel, $806 million.

There is a big drop to fourth place, Kuwait, $332 million, and another drop to a clump of three, West Germany, South Korea, and Greece. China [Taiwan], Turkey, and Italy round out the top 10.

Tho $722 million is a large sum, $1.9 billion is much larger. It is more than a little startling to realize that arms sales to Iran, a country not very high in the awareness of most Americans, are large enough to bring that many petrodollars back to this country in nine months. It is surprising, too, to find military sales to Saudi Arabia running appreciably ahead of sales to Israel. And it is a corrective to the popular preoccupation with Europe [when we think of foreign affairs at all] to note that less than 8 per cent of the dollar volume of military sales to our 10 best customers goes to Europe. The other 92 per cent goes to Asia, most of it to western Asia—Iran, Saudi Arabia, Israel, Kuwait, and Turkey. And only a geographical technicality prevents adding Greece to that list.

Southeast Asia's prominence in the news should not obscure the fact that western Asia, alias the Near East, is a most explosive part of the world. In a paradoxical way, the fact that the United States is supplying both Saudi Arabia and Israel, both Greece and Turkey, both Iran and [in nonstrategic goods] the Soviet Union, may discourage massive detonation of the arsenals in that part of the world.

U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT
12 MAY 1975 (6)

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The coming debate on funding for the controversial B-1 bomber is viewed on Capitol Hill as the main event in this year's congressional struggle over military spending. "It's going to be a now-or-never situation for the B-1," says one House strategist.

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR - 6 MAY 1975

Nuclear club: members only

How do the members of an elite and powerful club make everybody else happy not to join it?

This is a basic question posed to the countries already possessing nuclear weapons as Geneva talks begin in a renewed effort to prevent the potentially catastrophic spread of such weapons. How to deter the increasing number of countries developing a-capability to "go nuclear" if they choose?

The answers lie in reducing the apparent advantages of belonging to the nuclear weapons club — and reducing the disadvantages of staying out of it.

Specific means to these ends are being discussed in the conference to review the 1970 nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) which began in Geneva yesterday. Though public interest has not exactly been galvanized by the treaty with the jaw-breaking name, progress at the conference is vitally important if the lid is to be kept on what has so often been called the Pandora's box of nuclear proliferation.

The good news is that there is hope for such progress on the basis of new cooperative efforts by the United States and the Soviet Union. These are signaled by the joint release of policy reports on the subject by a panel of Americans and a panel of Russians under the auspices of the respective United Nations Associations of the two countries.

There are differences along with much fundamental agreement. Particularly significant is an increased Soviet disposition to talk "seriously" about pressing ahead with carrying out the terms of the NPT, according to Prof. Lincoln Bloomfield of the Center of International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a panel member who met with the Russians in Moscow in March.

India's explosion of a nuclear device appeared to be one spur to the Soviet concern about further nuclear spread. With Israel, Brazil, and South Korea among several other nations discussed as potential nuclear powers, the whole world should share an urgency to answer that question of why any nonnuclear country should resist going nuclear.

The UN Association panel reports suggest various means of encouraging abstinence. For example:

• Internationally safeguarded help from the nuclear countries to the nonnuclear countries, including the use of peaceful nuclear explosions. This could remove pressure from countries to develop their own, perhaps less safe-guarded, efforts.

• Self-control by the nuclear countries in the development of weapons, while pursuing the NPT's provision for pushing toward a comprehensive test ban treaty. Salt II ought to be followed by a SALT III, suggests Professor Bloomfield, going beyond the limitation of strategic weapons to an actual cutting back on such weapons. Such steps could show the nuclear powers doing their part in reducing nuclear threat.

As the U.S. panel stated: "The most significant actions that the nuclear powers can take to discourage the spread of nuclear weapons will be major, prompt steps towards reducing their own nuclear capabilities. An international climate must be created in which the use of nuclear weapons in a military conflict is totally unacceptable and in which the political utility of possessing nuclear weapons steadily diminishes."

The steps are complicated, of course, so long as nuclear powers China and France remain outside the NPT. The review conference ought to work toward inducements to them to join in reducing arms. With all the danger of theft and misuse of spreading nuclear materials, the stricter safeguards recently proposed in a Vienna meeting of experts called by the International Atomic Energy Agency also need to be pursued.

The NPT review didn't make headlines yesterday. But its work is crucial to everybody's future.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR - 6 MAY 1975

Thailand and U.S. troops

Thailand is moving with characteristic alacrity to accommodate to the emerging communist dominance of Indo-China. The withdrawal over the next two months of another 7,500 American troops is a part of the process, begun long ago, of disengaging from the United States.

How far that process will be carried — some 19,500 U.S. troops will still remain — is not clear. Thailand's traditional, and shrewd, diplomacy has been to adjust to the realities of the moment in order to keep its independence. Hence Bangkok is trying hard not to offend the communists, which accounts too for its eagerness to be rid of the Cambodian refugees.

Treading the fine line between accommodation and independence will not be easy, especially in relations with Vietnam. Thailand also has a problem of communist insurgency, thought to be supported by the Chinese and North Vietnamese; serious battles took place only recently. The Thais may therefore wish to keep a certain American presence in their country.

One important factor in the equation is Peking. It is not known what the Chinese leaders really think, but comments made to foreign visitors suggest they look favorably on U.S. support for countries on the rim of Asia, including Thailand, in order to prevent Hanoi's domination of Indo-China and keep the Russians at bay. Peking would not, however, countenance the use of U.S. troops to fight domestic insurgencies.

Nor of course would the American Congress and public. Hence the question now is how American military power can best be used in Asia to keep the region stabilized and at the same time avoid local entanglements.

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ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH
16 APRIL 1975 (6 MAY)

It's Turkey's Move

One of the reasons given for Turkey's reluctance to compromise on the Cyprus issue was the unstable, interim status of the government in Ankara. Now, however, a new coalition has been formed by Premier Suleyman Demirel and it will be interesting to see if this results in making a small but meaningful compromise aimed at resuming the dialogue with Greece and the shipment of U.S. military aid to an important member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Compromise is possible by an announcement by Premier Demirel of intentions to resettle refugees uprooted as a result of Turkey's invasion of Cyprus and occupation of the northern one half of the island. It is possible by recognizing, at least in principle, the necessity of withdrawing the occupying forces and the desirability of unifying the island which would perhaps be given a federated status, but under a central government made up of Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

Without this sort of a compromise, Congress should reject pressure from the Ford Administration to lift the arms embargo from Turkey. Military aid would be resumed under a bill approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by a nine-to-seven vote. We hope the Senate does not fall for the Administration's argument that NATO's eastern flank is being undermined by the embargo. The resumption of aid would further antagonize Greece and thus leave the eastern flank undermined. It would also make a mockery of U.S. laws which prohibit such military assistance to countries using U.S. arms to invade other countries.

The only way to restore NATO's health in the eastern Mediterranean is to settle the Cyprus issue and this requires certain compromises from a country whose invading forces are on foreign soil.

NEW YORK TIMES 6 MAY 1975

U.S. Foreign Policy: After Vietnam

To the Editor:

There are a number of points that deserve comment regarding Secretary of State Kissinger's recent observations about Vietnam.

First, it is not helpful to blame Congress for the debacle. Recent Congressional rejection of Administration requests for military aid contributed something to the decline in ARVN's will to resist. But after all, the main Washington decisions have been made by successive Administrations. Future problems press so hard upon us that this is not the time for a post mortem on Washington's role.

Secondly, the breathtaking collapse in Saigon surely results mainly from the internal inadequacies of the Saigon regime itself—its inability to inspire; its corrupt, incompetent military leadership; its rigid, unresponsive political structure. No amount of American aid could have made up for these chronic deficiencies as Saigon faced its Vietnamese enemies.

Thirdly, the collapse of Vietnam should have come as no surprise. This development has been expected in most of Southeast Asia ever since the cease-fire sprung American troops and established a complicated "political process" neither party seriously accepted. Most governments in Southeast Asia long ago prepared for the present contingency. The surprise is only that Saigon lasted so long and that the collapse, when it came, was so abrupt.

Fourthly, the Secretary is right that there will be "consequences" following on the abrupt American withdrawal, particularly in Thailand, Malaysia and South Korea. But it is not correct that statesmen in Western Europe and the Middle East, where our interests are so much more substantial and direct, will look on our withdrawal from Vietnam as a guide to our likely reactions to crises in their area. Their principal response is one of relief that now Washington is at last free to tackle more central issues.

There are humanitarian imperatives the President and Secretary rightly seek to cope with. These will require urgent actions by many concerned Americans, including the Congress.

Finally, now the President, the Secretary and the Congress must turn their serious and nonpolemic attention to the agenda of foreign-policy challenges before us. These include (1) the continuing risk of war in the Middle East; (2) the troubling ambiguities of "détente"; (3) the stalled progress in SALT; (4) American relations with Europe, Japan and the Asian giants of China and India, and (5) reshaping an economic order accommodating the many profound changes since Bretton Woods. These are of far greater urgency and consequence to our national interest than how or why our entanglement in Indochina came to such an end.

We now have an opportunity to revitalize that gift of innovative attacks on complex international problems which made American leadership of the postwar nineteen-forties and early nineteen-fifties so remarkable—and so widely welcomed.

(Prof.) HOWARD WRIGGINS
Director, Southern Asian Institute
Columbia University
New York, May 1, 1975

WASHINGTON STAR - 5 MAY 1975 (6)

Candor in Correspondence

The administration, we think, has been a good deal less than candid about the correspondence between former President Nixon and South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu previous to the signing of the Paris peace agreement in 1973. The private assurances given to Thieu, revealed in two letters made public here by a former cabinet minister in the Saigon government, go well beyond the promises admitted by the White House, that the United States would "react vigorously" in case of violations of the agreements by Hanoi.

As it turns out, the pledges were considerably more specific. In November of 1972, Thieu received from Nixon "my absolute assurance that if Hanoi fails to abide by the terms of this agreement it is my intention to take swift and severe retaliatory action. In January of the next year, a recalcitrant Thieu was offered "my assurance of continued assistance in the post-settlement period and that we will respond with full force should the settlement be violated by North Vietnam". It is quite understandable that the Saigon government should have taken these assurances as a promise that the United States would intervene, at least with massive air attacks, if the peace accords broke down.

Why is the Ford administration touchy about these communications between two former presidents? The presumption must be that they were made in good faith by Nixon. The reports that he had every intention of retaliating against massive North Vietnamese violations of the peace accords have not been denied. Nixon's sudden loss of authority as the result of his Watergate problems in the spring of 1973 is a quite logical explanation of why the projected air strikes on North Vietnamese military installations in South Vietnam were cancelled. It is true, of course, that private correspondence between heads of state are not normally made public. But in the present circumstances, with both president's out of office and one of the two governments no longer in existence, the argument of confidentiality carries little weight.

Nor do we believe that the Congress or the American people were deliberately deceived. In many public statements early in 1973, Nixon threatened retaliation against the North Vietnamese in terms very nearly as specific as those in his letters to Thieu. It was the circumstances that made these warnings, as they say, inoperative. As Nixon's authority crumbled under the weight of Watergate revelations, Congress passed specific legislation prohibiting the kind of relatiatory action that Nixon had pledged. After that, it is incredible that Thieu should have expected any American intervention, and in fact, there is sound evidence that he did not.

So why all the pussy-footing about the letters, which, in any case are already in the public domaine? The administrations's qualms in this matter simply feed charges from Senator Henry Jackson and others that it is once again covering up. President Ford, it seems to us, has nothing whatever to lose in making all of the correspondence public, and we urge him to do so forthwith.

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Part II — Main Edition - 6 May 1975

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER - 6 MAY 1975

Consent is the foundation of foreign policy success

We aren't sure that there are any new lessons to learn from the Vietnam debacle, but there certainly is an old one. It is that no foreign policy of the U. S. government can be successful without the informed consent of the American people.

That may sound like a truism, but it seems necessary to state it because even the brilliant Secretary of State Henry Kissinger does not seem to have grasped it. In an interview yesterday on the NBC "Today" show, Mr. Kissinger reiterated a favorable theme. Reflecting on the debacle, he saw it stemming from the inability of the Executive Branch to conduct foreign policy as it saw fit.

"In January '73," he said, "we did not foresee that Watergate would sap the executive authority of the United States to such a degree that flexibility of executive action inherently would be circumscribed."

And he went on to say, "We did not foresee that the Congress would pass a law which prohibited us from enforcing the Paris agreement . . . I do not believe that Hanoi would have sent 19 of its 20 divisions south if these two things hadn't happened."

Looked at one way, this is a roundabout way of saying that Congress is to blame for America's failure to meet its commitments, but there are deeper implications as well.

Mr. Kissinger's approach rests on two untenable assumptions—that the Executive Branch, which is to say the President and himself, not necessarily in that order of importance, know the right course to follow in foreign affairs and that their action should not be "circumscribed" by public opinion.

One must grant, of course, that public opinion can be wrong. Still, it seems to us that when the people make erroneous judgments it is usually because they have not been given the facts on which to make right judgments.

And that is the history of our involvement in Southeast Asia—a history of an Executive Branch which, over the years, operated in secrecy and insisted on public acquiescence, not to say acclaim, without telling the public the truth. Many of the crimes of Watergate were themselves rooted in President Nixon's obsession with secrecy—the wiretapping of newsmen and officials on Mr. Kissinger's staff, for example, and the attempt, by a burglary, to "get something" on Dr. Daniel Ellsberg, who had revealed the secret study of the truth about our Vietnam involvement.

Secrecy breeds deceit, and deceit breeds distrust. The War Powers Act was not immaculately conceived. It was born of a congressional determination, reflecting public opinion, that never again would an Executive Branch deceive the American people into another shooting war.

That may be an inconvenience to the administration. The necessity of obtaining public consent to policy may also seem to be an inconvenience. Yet the very process of obtaining public consent can save policy-makers from their more egregious errors, for there is no better way of testing policy than to debate it openly. That, after all, is what democracy is all about.

What went wrong in Southeast Asia was not the inability of the Executive to pursue a policy but the policy itself, and if one lesson of America's defeat is that the Executive Branch can also be wrong, surely another is, as Averill Harriman put it, that "no foreign policy will stick unless the American people are behind it." And they cannot be expected to give any administration "flexibility" unless the administration gives them the facts.

NEW YORK TIMES - 6 MAY 1975

Choice for Portugal

Portugal's chances for peaceful progress toward political democracy, social reform and economic development now depend critically on the answer to one question:

What do the country's military rulers mean when they speak of "Portuguese socialism" as the goal of the revolution they launched with the overthrow of the fascist regime a year ago?

If they mean social democracy in the Western European mold—social reform, free speech and press, economic planning, state intervention or ownership in some sectors, private enterprise in others—they can be assured of a relatively smooth passage.

This pattern was supported by more than 63 per cent of the voters who marked their ballots for the Socialist and Popular Democratic parties in the election of a constituent assembly a few days ago. This direction would win immediate sympathy and support for Portugal from many European governments and presumably from the United States as well.

If, however, the military leaders are bent on pervasive Marxist socialism with no political democracy—the socialism clearly favored by one of the most orthodox Communist parties in the world, as well as by radical spokesmen for the Armed Forces Movement—Portugal faces a bleak future. The Portuguese will find they have exchanged a dictatorship of the right for one of the Marxist left.

To its credit, the Armed Forces Movement ignored Communist pleas for a delay and carried out a remarkably free election. The response—a 92 per cent turnout—was magnificent. But if the people demonstrated above all their desire to participate in the democratic process, they also indicated clearly the direction they wish to go. The Communists, far better organized at the outset than any other party and lavishly financed from abroad, got only 12.5 per cent of the votes. Only 7 per cent took the advice of some military leaders and cast blank ballots.

The wiser military chiefs surely realize that to ignore such decisive results will risk unrest and opposition to the legitimate goals of the 1974 revolution. But others behave as though the election had no significance whatever.

There can be no effective challenge to the authority of the Armed Forces Movement. All major parties have agreed, albeit under pressure, to a dominant military role in Portugal's political life for at least three years. But the hope must be that after the long night of fascism the military rulers will not substitute the ideas of a radical minority for the clearly expressed will of the people.

What those people were saying emphatically last week is that Portugal can have social reform, structural change and economic advance within a framework of democracy and a climate of freedom.

NEW YORK NEWS - 6 MAY 1975

THE AMERICAN WAY

The Ford administration will ask Congress for $507 million to pay the cost of bringing 125,000 Vietnamese refugees to this country and helping them to start new lives. That is in keeping with this nation's tradition of compassion and hospitality.

Honoring another cherished American principle, the refugees will be given a free choice whether to remain here, return home, or settle in another land. That, we hope, will still the vicious Communist lie that these people were "kidnaped" by the U.S.

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BOSTON GLOBE - 4 MAY 1975 (6)

Lessons from Vietnam

The greatest disaster in American foreign policy has ended at last. This country's intervention in Southeast Asia cost us more than 50,000 American lives and $150 billion in tax money. And, in the end, we got nothing for our effort but pain and humiliation.

If there is a single lesson in this terrible experience, it is that America's foreign policy has been isolated from the will of the people at home and has become increasingly out of touch with the ideals and aspirations of the people we aimed to help abroad — not just in Vietnam, but in places like Greece and Portugal, Chile and the Middle East.

In large part our deafness has stemmed from a dangerous overdependence by two Presidents on a single brilliant and tireless Secretary of State who was given free rein to promote what he saw as the best interests of the United States.

This has resulted in short-term gains without long-range solutions. It has made waste of a large and extremely capable State Department. And it has not only led to the neglect of areas beyond Dr. Kissinger's personal scrutiny but it has closed the Administration to valuable outside advice.

As Mary McGrory suggested last week, it was not until our young people "took up arms in the McCarthy campaign" and "evicted a President" that the ordinary citizen began to question our activities abroad. With the young people and their parents of the World War II generation in rout, grass roots resentment began to penetrate Congress.

American foreign policy has too often been regarded as the exclusive province of the President and his Secretary of State. Today Congress is taking an active interest in foreign policy. It should be a long time before any Administration is again allowed to lead the nation down the road of military intervention.

And, with the people still casting a suspicious eye on everything that happens in Washington, there is a fair chance that a consensus foreign policy can evolve.

It may be a dangerous process. The temper of the country is more isolationist than internationalist these days and, as James Q. Wilson points out in the Spring issue of "The Public Interest," there is a continuing decline in the people's trust in their government.

This could manifest itself in a Congress which substitutes obstruction for consideration and result in a foreign policy that is timid rather than cautious. Recent polls seem to suggest that the average citizen would just as soon forget Asia and the Asians and focus entirely on domestic matters.

But we cannot forget Asia — or Europe or Africa or Latin America or the Middle East. Americans must not give unwitting credence to the domino theory by reacting so strongly to the failure in Indochina that we abandon our commitments to the rest of the world rather than creatively modifying them. As President Kennedy once put it, "Domestic policy can defeat us; foreign policy will kill us."

Overall, our goal must be to get back to the point where the United States is respected for what it is, not for the power it wields.

What this country needs now is a new type of commitment. No longer can we rely on threats of arms and economic reprisal to get our way. In fact we should work to reduce the reliance on arms everywhere. And this process might well begin with a review of all of the 50 to 80 bilateral treaties now in existence that require the United States to use force on behalf of a perceived ally, regardless of our lasting national interest.

Our new commitment should be based on openness and on respect for the rights and interests of other nations as well as our own. Economic, technical and humanitarian aid should be based on mutual interest but they should not be used to curry favor with one people while letting another people become our enemy.

It will not be easy to change a foreign policy which has undergone little modification since the days of John Foster Dulles' brinksmanship. But change it we must, if we are to survive in a changing world.

BALTIMORE NEWS AMERICAN - 1 MAY 1975 (6)

The Taste Of Ashes

So it has ended at last, this Vietnamese war of more than 30 years, and perhaps the strongest first reaction was a sense of numbed surprise that the end came so quickly in the final cataclysm.

It is literally difficult to grasp that it really is all over, that unconditional surrender was given by the Saigon government to its Communist invaders, that it would do so with such meekness after so much suffering by its people over so many years.

The brutal fact is that Saigon was beaten and had absolutely no hope of victory left. In the face of forces armed by unlimited supplies from the Soviet Union and Red China, South Vietnam was doomed when the 74th Congress withheld similar aid from the United States.

It is unfair to blame Congress. Its members are elected to represent the views of the American public. And that public — in no uncertain terms—had signalled the hell with Vietnam and any further involvement in that country's troubles.

You have to face it. Following a generation of trying to help the south, a collapse of American will occurred when we got our own fighting men out of there through the Paris "peace" accords. The war had cost us over 50,000 dead, 300,000 wounded, some $140 billion and all kinds of damaging domestic divisions. Enough was enough.

Along with Saigon's surrender, a tragic chapter in this country's history thus has ended. Because of our failure to carry through in support of South Vietnam, a new and uncertain chapter in our future remains to be written.

The outlook is not encouraging, but the taste of ashes from our Vietnam defeat need not be as important as it may seem.

We can recapture lost credibility with our allies by keeping ourselves militarily strong — and henceforth living up to commitments made with the same kind of selective care taken by pragmatic bosses of the Communist world.

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FEATURES COLUMNISTS

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR - 6 MAY 1975

CIA view proved right Last days of Saigon:

By Daniel Southerland
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Hong Kong

Graham Martin, the U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam, is the target of much criticism for the hasty and disorderly way in which the last Americans and some of their Vietnamese friends were evacuated from Saigon.

But as time moves on, the critics are likely to focus increasingly on the more weighty issue of Mr. Martin's entire Vietnam policy and what embassy insiders began to describe openly in recent days as the Ambassador's "illusions" and "overoptimism."

Prominent among those insiders were Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) officials, who were painting a gloomier picture of Saigon's prospects for survival several weeks ago than Mr. Martin was.

Even well after the fall of the city of Da Nang at the end of March, the Ambassador persisted, according to embassy officials, in thinking that Saigon could hold the line at some point on the military front. The CIA, on the other hand, was convinced soon after the fall of Da Nang that the war was lost.

Last-ditch hopes held

With much of the country in Communist hands, Mr. Martin argued that the Communists actually held little more than "deficit," or nonproductive, areas, and that Saigon still had a hope of defending the more productive areas.

According to well-placed embassy sources, the CIA at that point saw the need to encourage the establishment of a new and more conciliatory leadership in Saigon. But Mr. Martin and some of his subordinates were advocating the formation of a "fighting cabinet" in Saigon under President Nguyen Van Thieu.

As it was, the "fighting cabinet" was ineffective, the CIA's pessimism over Saigon's prospects for survival seemed justified by further government retreats, and the CIA station chief in Saigon apparently had some success in helping persuade Mr. Martin that President Thieu's leadership was a liability.

It may remain one of those "ifs" of history, but some CIA officials are convinced that if Mr. Martin had foreseen more clearly the defeats that lay ahead of Saigon, he and Washington might have been able to move quickly enough to set up conditions for at least a gradual, phased Communist take-over, and a more graceful American exit, instead of the outright military take-over that eventually occurred.

Saigon bickered to the end

By the time Mr. Thieu resigned in late April and Saigon did shift to a negotiating posture, there was still much bickering among the Saigon politicians as to how power should be transferred from the old Thieu regime to a new "peace government."

The Communists began hardening their public position on negotiations, and, after halting major attacks for four or five days,

See CIA VIEW, Pg. 2-F

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER - 6 MAY 1975

Thais Want U. S. to Go, Not Afraid of Dominoes

By JAMES McCARTNEY
Inquirer Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Pentagon announced a 28 percent slash in U. S. troop strength in Thailand yesterday, raising new fears about tumbling "dominoes" in Southeast Asia.

The announcement, made jointly with the Thai government, cut authorized troop levels from 27,000 to 19,500 by the end of June. The announcement did not say how many of the 350 U. S. military planes remaining from the armada that bombed Cambodia and North and South Vietnam would be allowed to remain.

The new figure represented a sharp increase in the speed of U. S. troop withdrawals from Thailand, on the Indochina frontier, and could signal the beginning of the end of a U. S. military presence in Thailand.

The announcement, forced by Thai officials who have publicly demanded a total U. S. troop withdrawal by next March, could hardly have come at a more awkward time for the United States.

It came only a week after a total U. S. pullout from nearby South Vietnam, at a time when President Ford, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and other top officials have been attempting to reassure the world that U. S. commitments remain unaltered.

Thailand has long been considered the next major country that might be threatened with a Communist take-over, if the Communists won in Indochina, as they have now. It has been considered the next potential threatened "domino" in the much-discussed "domino theory."

But officials here do not believe that Thailand is under immediate military threat from Communists in Indochina. Instead, pressure on the United States to withdraw troops is coming from a shaky conservative government, under domestic political pressure to get rid of unpopular foreigners and pursue a more neutral policy.

In the classic "domino" theory, as first explained by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, the United States was supposed to give military assistance to threatened "dominoes." Now the Thais are not asking for U. S. help — they are asking the United States to leave.

The United States first sent major

See THAIS, Pg. 2-F

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
6 MAY 1975

U.S. looks beyond Vietnam

By Dana Adams Schmidt
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

The shape of U.S. foreign policy in the Far East — how will it emerge after the Vietnam experience?

U.S. leaders are groping for new plans for American influence and power — where to use it and to what ends.

The effort might be described as one intended to stop the trend that set in with Vietnam, to limit the damage, and make sure that other American commitments remain firm; to avoid future overcommitment without lapsing into isolation.

The President, who intends increasingly to take key policy decisions into his own hands, has made a commitment to maintain American strength. And Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger has talked about making a stand on a chain including Taiwan, Japan, and South Korea.

Now Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and his Undersecretary for Political Affairs Joseph J. Sisco offer new insights into what they feel should lie ahead for the United States.

Dr. Kissinger in an appearance on the NBC "Today" show asserted that the major objectives of the United States "dictated by our history" remain unaffected.

"They are more difficult as a result of our setback, but we can master them and we will master them," he said. Recalling that "almost every great initiative in the postwar period has either been initiated by America or has been carried out with our strong support," he declared that "if we want to avoid a world of chaos, if we want to achieve a world of progress, the American role is absolutely imperative."

The problem, he said, "is to gear American commitments to American capabilities."

A major step toward cutting back on these commitments, meanwhile, was indicated by agreement between the United States and Thailand to reduce the American presence

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PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER
6 MAY 1975

The war machine: expensive

By WILLIAM VANCE
Inquirer Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Throughout the war years we have been counseled by officialdom to look at the bright side and rejoice in the economic wonders wrought by high defense spending.

The multi-billion dollar defense budgets, we were led to believe, had a happy and healthy spinoff in terms of new jobs rippling through the economy.

Well, would you believe that those $80 billion military budgets actually were creating unemployment instead?

Would you believe that between 1968 and 1972, Pennsylvania and New Jersey were being robbed of an average 180,000 jobs a year because of the "negative impact" of defense spending.

That, at least, is the premise of an intriguing study that has just arrived here from the Public Interest Research Group in Michigan (PIRGIM).

The report relies heavily on the research and methodology employed by Yale Professor Bruce Russett, who analyzed 30 years of military spending for a book on the burdens of national defense.

Russett found that, yes, military spending does have a stimulative effect on some specific localities. But nationally, when spending on military goods goes up, spending on consumer-oriented items—clothing, food, cars, houses and the like — goes down.

For example, $1 billion spent on the military means $187 million will not be spent on civilian services, $163 million will not be spent on durable goods and $114 million will not be spent on housing, the analysis showed.

The study shows that military spending creates fewer jobs per billion dollars than any other government spending except the space program.

The real stunner here is in the translation to lost jobs.

Pennsylvania suffered the fifth worst negative employment impact in the nation, the study shows, with 127,000 "foregone" jobs, on an annual average, from 1968 to 1972. New Jersey was eighth with a minus 53,000 jobs, and Delaware was 24th with a minus 1,000.

In the five hardest-hit states — New York, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio and Pennsylvania — the number of jobs foregone because of high Pentagon budgets "averaged 85 percent of their total unemployment for 1968-72," the study says.

In all, 26 states lost jobs because of high military spending, including every major industrial state except Texas and California.

And despite defense-related job gains in the other states, the bottom line in PIRGIM'S analysis shows a net loss of 844,000 jobs for the U.S. as a whole.

THAIS -- CONTINUED

combat units to Thailand in 1962 and began a major buildup of air power for the Vietnam war on Thai bases in 1964.

U. S. troop strength reached a peak of 48,000 in 1969, under former President Richard M. Nixon. Major withdrawals began after the signing of the Vietnam peace accords in 1973.

U. S. officials apparently would like to maintain about 10,000 U. S. troops in Thailand, but the Thais apparently are under heavy pressure from student groups and others to force the United States out.

Thais also would like to improve relations with North Vietnam, now that North Vietnam has established itself as the dominant power in Indochina.

Thailand is not part of Indochina. The term refers to countries that were colonized by France, now known as Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Thailand is one of the few nations in the area that was never a colony for anyone. It maintained itself as a buffer state between British and French colonial interests in the area, often playing one great power off against another, with some success.

It is still a largely undeveloped country, operating under a so-called "constitutional" monarchy. People still fall on their knees before the king.

Only last week, Thailand's foreign minister angrily denounced the United States as a country without morals and vowed to expel U. S. servicemen within a year.

The foreign minister Chartichai Choonhavan, responded to remarks made in Washington by Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger, about a U. S. "obligation of a moral nature" to defend Thailand.

"Moral?" asked Choonhavan. "The United States does not have any morals at this point. They have already pulled out from Cambodia and South Vietnam, so we are going to have to depend on ourselves."

While State Department officials do not talk in terms of "moral" obligations to Thailand, they point out that the United States has had a mutual defense treaty with Thailand and other so-called "SEATO" countries in Asia since 1954.

The treaty requires that the United States come to the aid of Thailand in the event of "common danger" in "accordance with its constitutional processes."

In 1962, Secretary of State Dean Rusk embellished this obligation by stating publicly that the United States accepted a responsibility for defending Thailand regardless of what other SEATO nations might do.

Another matter causing tension between the U. S. and Thailand involves disposition of about 125 U. S.-built aircraft flown to U. S. bases in Thailand by fleeing South Vietnamese airmen.

The United States insists that it has title to the planes. Some Thai officials favor returning the planes to the new Communist government in South Vietnam. U. S. officials say the matter will be "negotiated." The Communists insist that they own the planes.

The Pentagon reported yesterday that it already had started to remove some of the planes, according to the Associated Press. A spokesman said the larger C-130s were being flown out and smaller aircraft such as helicopters were being loaded onto the carrier USS Midway off the Thai port of Sattahip.

CIA VIEW -- CONTINUED

they grew impatient and began pressing again militarily. The demoralized Saigon Army crumbled rapidly in the face of more concerted thrusts. And as senior Saigon Army officers began sending their families out of the country and then fleeing for their own lives, the smell of victory apparently became overpowering for the Communists. There was little left for them to do but walk into Saigon.

By late Monday, April 28, Ambassador Martin still thought the Communists probably would go through the motions of negotiating a final settlement that would amount to little more than a disguised surrender for Saigon but would permit the presence of a reduced U.S. Embassy staff in South Vietnam.

This view still prevailed at an embassy meeting that ended around 2 a.m. Tuesday. But by late that morning the risk that the Communists might soon overrun the city became apparent to all and the final evacuation was ordered.

Evacuation started late

Mr. Martin earlier had feared moving toward a complete evacuation of Americans, because he thought that it would amount to "pushing the panic button," and would undermine any further "will to resist" on the part of Saigon. A staged evacuation had been going on for weeks, but it had been orchestrated to give the impression that not all the Americans were leaving.

One mistake, in the view of many critics, was not to have evacuated earlier, along with their families, more of the Vietnamese who had worked for the Americans. But Ambassador Martin had thought he had more time to get them out. As it was, an undetermined number of these Vietnamese were left behind.

The irony was that some of the Vietnamese the Americans considered the most "deserving" were left behind, while quite a few corrupt officials and military officers, as well as bar girls and prostitutes, got out on the basis of personal friendships with Americans and hastily contrived "marriages."

About 180 Vietnamese, comprising employees of the U.S. Information Service (USIS) and their families, had gathered at the USIS offices in Saigon Tuesday to be taken to the airport. When buses for the airport began to load, people from the streets poured onto them, the employees were pinned inside the USIS compound, and left behind.

BEYOND VIETNAM -- CONTINUED

there by one-fourth, from 25,000 to 19,500. Some 350 aircraft, which once spearheaded American bombing of North Vietnam and Cambodia, are expected to be reduced proportionately

The reduction is a first step toward total withdrawal with 12 months demanded by the Thai Government.

That will leave the main American military presence in the form of the Seventh Fleet with its five aircraft carriers, about 40,000 men in South Korea, and a Marine division on Guam. The Philippines has asked for renegotiation of U.S. air and naval bases, Indonesia's anti-communist regime has shown signs of nervousness, and Japan is seeking to draw tighter the strands of the United States mutual defense commitment.

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U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT 12 MAY 1975 (6)

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE MARINES?

There's unrest in the ranks, key weapons are short, career leathernecks are fed up. It's enough to raise fresh worries about the Corps' future.

Signs that the U.S. Marine Corps is fading as the nation's elite fighting force is a matter of deepening concern in Washington—and in the Corps itself.

The quality of the men who serve is a matter of widening debate. Desertions and court-martial convictions are climbing. Crime inside the barracks is rampant. Many career Marines are fed up and are getting out.

Key equipment is in short supply. Marines still lack the latest antitank missiles, though they already are being made available to Mideast nations. The Corps' own tank forces are approaching obsolescence.

Marine generals are wracked with dissension over the future of their service. A bitter fight over selection of a new Commandant was dampened only by President Ford's earlier-than-usual nomination April 30 of Lt. Gen. Louis H. Wilson Jr., to become the top Marine.

Lean and hard, or—? The Marines' top leadership agrees that the service has problems brought on by post-Vietnam stresses. But it maintains that corrections are under way and that the Corps is lean, hard and ready to meet any crisis. A growing number of Marine officers disagree.

Talks with high-level Marines both at headquarters and in the field as well as with other defense officials reflect the widespread alarm.

A chief concern is evidence that the quality of the men in the Corps has been sliding.

In an effort to reduce on-base thefts and fights, for instance, staff noncommissioned officers have returned to living in barracks as policemen, according to Marine officers.

A senior colonel relates that on Okinawa, "We have two fully armed sentries on duty at all armories at all times. Who are they protecting the armories against? Our own men."

"Disorder squads." The Marines on Okinawa, the colonel continues, were forced to form "disorder squads," which come on duty at 4 p.m. daily, equipped with night sticks, body armor and face protectors.

Figures provided by the Marines and the Department of Defense show this about changes in the Marines since the Corps quit drafting men in 1972:

- The Marine desertion rate per 1,000 men is more than double that of the Army—89 to 41. In 1971, rates were nearly reversed—Army, 73; Marines, 56.
- The U.S. Army is nearly four times the size of the 196,000-man Corps, yet 1,328 Marines were convicted of major crimes in federal and State courts in 1974, only slightly fewer than the 1,697 convictions of soldiers.
- On a percentage basis, the Marines led all the services in 1974 in issuing bad-conduct, undesirable and dishonorable discharges. This has been generally true since 1970. In previous years back to 1950, less-than-honorable discharges were about the same for the Marines and Army, with the Marines often showing fewer. In mitigation of these figures, Pentagon officials point out that the other services are more prone to release men who will accept discharges in lieu of a trial.
- At two Marine installations with a total Marine population of 43,931—Camp Lejeune, N.C., and Camp Pendleton, Calif.—court-martial convictions for felonies jumped from 91 during 1972 to 184 in 1974.

Public complaints. So troublesome have discipline and other personnel matters become that some Marines have begun complaining publicly.

Said former 1st Lt. David E. Kelly, who once served on Okinawa, in a recent magazine article that received wide attention: The Marine Corps has "antiquated equipment, living conditions far below those of the other services, poor training facilities and lack of discipline." He added:

"Too many of the quality Marines get out."

Over all, the Marines report few difficulties in meeting their goals in numbers of recruits. Men completing their first tour of duty are re-enlisting at a rate of 19 per cent, 7 percentage points higher than in 1972.

However, re-enlistment among career Marines is off, a fact that worries many officers. What's more, Marine officials have expressed concern over having to dip deeper into groups of men who have been high-school dropouts, in order to meet enlistment quotas.

No magic number? Several generals told *U.S. News & World Report* in private that they fear the Corps has become hypnotized by numbers at the expense of quality—that there is no magic in 196,000 Marines, the number supposedly needed to maintain three divisions and three air wings as required by law. Perhaps, they said, the solution lies in letting manpower levels drop to where the Corps winds up with only 150,000 "really good men."

Racial integration poses problems, too. Though only 20 per cent of the Corps is black, the combat and combat-support groups are 38 per cent black. Headquarters explains that blacks are generally less well educated and thus do not qualify for many specialist ratings.

Black-white relations have taken a turn for the better recently, with the introduction of compulsory race-relations studies. Clashes based on race have been halved in the past two years.

Equipment shortages. As if personnel problems were not enough, there are equipment shortages.

For one: Wire-guided TOW antitank missiles and shoulder-fired Dragon missiles are in the Army's inventory—and even those of some Middle Eastern nations. But the Marines have none. They still depend on recoilless rifles, their own tanks and air support to defeat enemy armor. Latest antiaircraft weapons, such as those used in the 1973 Israeli-Arab war, are making the air-support operation costly, however.

Modern tanks are in short supply. The Marines are authorized 408 M-60 tanks, which are heavily armored and mount a 105-mm gun. By the end of June, the Marines hope to have 120—which looks unlikely since they have only about 60 on hand and production lines are slow.

As the backbone of their armored forces, the Marines have 431 M-48 tanks with 90-mm guns.

Such tanks "are not considered viable battlefield opponents for Soviet tanks," states an Army report.

The Marines have two antiaircraft-missile battalions, but only one is equipped with the faster, more-accurate and improved Hawk missile, designed to hit low-flying planes.

In aircraft, the Marines are well supplied by their standards with fighter-bombers, such as the F-4 Phantom, and ground-attack planes—the A-4 Skyhawk and the A-6 Intruder. The marines are also up to strength in helicopters and in amphibious-landing vehicles.

Even if the Marines had the most advanced equipment available, they would have difficulty getting where they wanted to go.

Fewer transports. The Navy, which had 157 amphibious-warfare ships in 1968, now has only 66, scattered from Okinawa to the Mediterranean Sea.

There are some estimates that to assemble the ships, embark an assault force of 25,000 Marines and transport them to a distant point—say the Persian Gulf—would take at least 45 days.

It is a decision to buy an advanced weapon that has touched off one of the Corps' hottest disputes.

A number of generals are angered by a move to acquire four squadrons—48 planes—of Navy F-14 Tomcat fighters, costing 18 million dollars each.

The F-14, built by Grumman Aerospace Corporation, is an extremely fast and agile interceptor designed to shoot down enemy planes at great distances from aircraft carriers. It now is being modified to carry air-to-ground weapons although, as a manufacturer's representative noted, it would not have the accuracy of much cheaper planes.

The generals are questioning the wisdom of sending an aircraft with an 18-million-dollar price tag to do a job that is done better by one that costs less than 4

(See MARINES, Pg 4-F)

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WASHINGTON STAR 5 MAY 1975 (6)

The Credibility of U.S. Commitments

CROSBY NOYES

The question before the world in the wake of the debacle in Vietnam is the credibility of the American commitments. And for just about everyone, friend and foe alike, it is a very important question indeed.

There are three major elements involved. The first is how our adversaries — notably the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China — view our performance in Vietnam.

The second is how those who depend on American power for their security view it. And finally, there is the question of how we view it ourselves.

So far as our adversaries are concerned, there probably is less to worry about, in the view of many diplomatic experts, than with the other two groups. The Chinese and Russians being somewhat cautious types, no very sweeping conclusions are likely to be drawn about Vietnam.

To be sure, the Americans intervened in the war and their allies were ultimately defeated. On the other hand, neither the Russians nor the Chinese intervened, except with military and economic aid, even when their allies were most hard-pressed.

The Russians, for their part, allowed the Arab armies to be defeated in 1967, without seriously impairing their credibility in Eastern Europe.

The general guess is that our adversaries will be cautious in pressing their luck. They may even be somewhat concerned that the United States could overreact to a new challenge in order to re-establish its credibility as a world power.

The attitude of our friends and allies obviously is ambiguous.

They are making the calculation that our real national interests were not involved in Vietnam and (hopefully) that they are involved in Western Europe, Japan, Israel and other areas.

The most confident are those with whom we have formal security commitments, such as NATO and the Japanese-American mutual security treaty. The least confident are those nations who rely on American power (like, say, Yugoslavia) but with whom we have no formal commitments of any kind.

Other countries with whom we have commitments, like Thailand or Taiwan, or even an American military presence, as in South Korea and the Philippines, are betraying a growing anxiety as the result of the outcome in Vietnam.

For them, the really critical question is how the American public itself will react to the defeat. And they suspect that they have something to worry about.

I can hardly blame them. They, like everyone else, have access to polls which show that the majority of Americans would intervene militarily to protect no foreign country in the world except Canada (which also happens to be one of the least-threatened areas in the world).

They, too, can read the endless pronouncements of our most eminent political leaders about the "lessons of Vietnam," the mistake that will never be repeated, the myth of American power, and so on.

To them, it adds up to a powerful new mood of isolationism in this country that leaves them feeling suddenly and uncomfortably naked. And that also is understandable.

MARINES -- CONTINUED

million.

Atop all this, the Corps' leaders are in turmoil over its future mission.

This furor burst out in the form of a bitter struggle over the successor to Gen. Robert E. Cushman, Jr., as Commandant later this year.

Inside war. "Old breed" Marines with 20 to 30 years of service said the infighting was the fiercest in their memory, fragmenting the upper echelons of the Corps.

Selection of General Wilson to take over as the next Commandant is expected to calm, though not necessarily end, the differences.

"We can live with him," said one general who has been critical of present leadership.

Many Marine generals considered the selection of the new Commandant more important at this time than in any other period since the 1930s when the Corps pioneered in amphibious assault. The reason lies in the fact that the new chief will play a major role in charting the course of the Corps for four years during a period of transition.

Since the Boxer Rebellion and U.S. intervention in China at the turn of the twentieth century, the Marines have been oriented toward operations in the Pacific Ocean basin and, closer to home, the Caribbean area.

An about-face. Now the Marines are beginning to look across the Atlantic, convinced that the nation is turning its back on most of Asia for the foreseeable future.

Many Marines believe their new areas of interest will stretch from Norway through Central Europe to the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf—from the Arctic to the deserts.

> These are all high-risk areas in which heavy loss of men and material is a very real possibility if fighting comes about. It will be the new Commandant who will lay down guidelines for combat doctrine there, thus affecting training, as well as type and quality of material.

Despite the headaches facing the Corps, General Cushman believes the Marines are still the crack force they are designed to be.

Liking for violence. The Commandant told *U.S. News & World Report* he thought the personnel problems are being tackled properly; that most recruits who complete training go on to become good Marines.

The general noted that the Corps is "afflicted with all the ills that plague big cities."

He added that the Marines "no longer get the big strapping farm boys" but the ones who are street wise.

They come, the general felt, with problems of drugs, racial prejudice and "a greater propensity to violence."

One general, rated as a possible future Commandant, said: "Stability is a matter of great importance. When you have high-quality men, all the other problems take care of themselves—drugs, discipline, race and crime. . . .

"We need to reinvigorate ourselves. Overriding all else is something not really quantifiable, but it is a fact. That fact is that we can develop men who will go into battle and win—or they will die in the attempt."

The foregoing was reported by Bem Price of this magazine's staff, himself a Marine for 12 years.

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U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT 12 MAY 1975 (6)

THE CASE FOR MORE NUCLEAR CARRIERS

By Adm. Hyman G. Rickover, Authority on Atomic Warships

The Navy on May 3 commissioned the U.S.S. *Nimitz*, our second nuclear-powered aircraft carrier and our seventh nuclear-powered surface warship.

The *Nimitz* has a length of 1,092 feet, a flight-deck width of over 250 feet, and a combat-load displacement of nearly 95,000 tons, and can operate and provide sustained support for a naval air wing of about 100 aircraft. Her initial nuclear cores will provide her with enough fuel to carry out operations for the next 13 years, thus making her truly independent of propulsion-fuel logistic support. These cores contain energy equivalent to over 2 million tons of coal or 11 million barrels of oil—enough oil to fill a train of tank cars stretching from Washington to Boston.

Freedom from oil. The *Nimitz* marks the renaissance of a modern nuclear-powered surface Navy. Nuclear power in surface warships gives them the ability to operate continuously at high speed; this affords them protection not available to nonnuclear ships. This could mean the difference between victory and defeat in battle. As the number of our advance bases decreases and the size of the fleet continues to shrink, the need for ships independent of the logistic umbilical cord for oil will continue to increase.

Next to providing the major deterrent to all-out nuclear war, I believe that the most important mission of our Navy is to insure that our first-line naval striking forces can carry out their mission against threats potential enemies are presently developing. A significant portion of our major surface warships must be nuclear-powered or we may end up without a credible deterrent to aggressions which do not warrant escalation to a nuclear war.

For the foreseeable future, the aircraft carrier will be the principal offensive striking arm of the Navy in a nonnuclear war. No other weapon system under development can replace the long-range, sustained, concentrated firepower of the carrier air wing. Nuclear submarines and nuclear surface ships with antiair and antisubmarine capabilities are all needed to supplement and augment the capabilities of the nuclear carrier.

The U.S. Navy currently has 14 active aircraft carriers: the *Enterprise*, eight oil-fired *Forrestal*-class, large-deck carriers built in the 1950s and 1960s; three post World War II *Midway*-class carriers, and two World War II *Essex*-class carriers, the *Oriskany* and the *Hancock*. This is about half the 24 carriers the U.S. Navy had at the beginning of the Vietnam War.

It will be necessary to start building replacements for the eight *Forrestal*-class carriers soon just to sustain a 12-carrier force. With the declining number of overseas U.S. bases and the decreasing number of carriers, it is important that the new carriers we build be as capable as possible. The *Nimitz* and her sister ships are such carriers.

Our carriers are vulnerable to attack by Soviet sea-based cruise missiles—as are all surface ships. However, the first line of defense our surface ships have against such missiles and their launching platforms is carrier-based aircraft. Without carriers and their aircraft, other surface warships, replenishment ships and amphibious forces would be all much more vulnerable.

The nuclear-carrier task force with its capability of unlimited operation at high speed is the most powerful, least vulnerable surface-ship force in the history of naval warfare.

Some have objected to nuclear warships on the basis of higher initial-investment cost. In this regard, it should be borne in mind that the initial cost of conventional ships does not include the cost of oil. Recently, oil costs have risen dramatically.

It costs more than $25 a barrel to buy, store and deliver oil to Navy ships. At that rate, it would cost about 270 million dollars to provide the amount of oil for a conventionally powered carrier equivalent to the nuclear fuel in the *Nimitz*. That is almost three times the comparable cost of nuclear fuel for this type ship.

Nuclear ships are often compared in cost with cheaper conventional ships of much less military capability, the argument being that we should build more of the cheaper conventional ships rather than fewer of the nuclear ships. Yet study after study has shown that when *all costs* are considered, nuclear warships cost little more than conventional warships having the same weapons systems—and the nuclear warships are far superior militarily.

Further, the cost of war itself far exceeds any cost needed to be prepared to prevent a war. The best warships we can build are those which are never used in combat because they have served to prevent war.

At stake: "our survival." With the heavy military and nonmilitary demands on its budget, the United States must only spend where it is necessary and where the value received is clear. But the *real* value of having a Navy capable of countering the Soviet threat cannot be measured in dollars alone; our survival may also depend on it.

The Soviets recognize the importance of becoming the world's strongest sea power. We have now chosen not to challenge them with numbers of ships. For this reason, it is essential that the ships we do build are the most powerful and effective weapons we know how to build. This means nuclear propulsion for major warships. The penalty for any other approach is the steady erosion of our conventional military forces, with the consequent reduction in our influence and in our "options" in world affairs.

The alternative is to rely for our security on nuclear weapons. Their use could mark the supreme failure of mankind.

DEFENSE SPACE BUSINESS DAILY 5 MAY 1975 (6)

TUNNEY URGES SUPPORT FOR B-1. Sen. John Tunney (D-Calif.) has called on the Senate Armed Services Committee to provide the full funding requested for the B-1 bomber, asserting that the B-1 is necessary "to maintain the strategic arms balance and to demonstrate our willingness to support our commitments abroad by bolstering our defense at home."

He said that the B-1, which is an indispensable part of America's strategic deterrent, will provide the U. S. with "bargaining power" to encourage detente.

"It is important to demonstrate to the Soviets, the Chinese and whoever else might doubt the fiber of our determination that this country has not abandoned its role of world leadership and its dedication to a stable balance."

Tunney cited the major strategic advances made in recent years by the Soviets, including development of four new missile systems and a potentially strategic bomber (Backfire), and discounted the "many myths" brought up about the reliability, cost-effectiveness and usefulness of the B-1. "Study after study has demonstrated those concerns are unfounded," he said.

In addition to its strategic value, the senator reminded the committee, the B-1 will provide 41,300 jobs directly and another 62,000 indirectly to California, whose economy has been sagging. (see page 20, for Rep. Les Aspin's charges against the B-1 program)

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Part II--Main Edition--6 May 1975

DEFENSE SPACE BUSINESS DAILY 5 May 1975 (6)

ASPIN SAYS AIR FORCE HIDES B-1 COST OVERRUNS

Pentagon Denies Charges

Declaring that: "Whether to continue the B-1 program or not is one of the major issues facing the Congress in consideration of this year's defense budget," Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wis.) says the Air Force B-1 bomber has incurred "a cost overrun" of $225 million in its research program.

He cited a special General Accounting Office report which also said that General Electric, producer of the aircraft's engines, is expected to have "a cost overrun" of $75 million to $100 million.

Aspin has also charged that the Air Force "has attempted to gloss over cost increases" on the B-1 by "claiming the increases are caused by inflation and delays in the program." He noted that the Pentagon "blamed" economic escalation, schedule delays, estimated changes, and the inclusion of component improvement costs for the $1.9 billion cost increase during the final quarter of 1974.

A Pentagon official said the Air Force has not attempted to play down the cost increases in the B-1 program and has admitted before Congress that there has been cost growth in the program. It was pointed out that Air Force Secretary John McLucas recently told Congress that the Air Force expected a cost growth of 10-12 percent in the B-1 program, not including inflation.

As the official explained it, "if the Pentagon and the rest of the nation cannot keep up with inflation, how can the contractor keep up?"

Aspin was referring to the most recent Selected Acquisition Reports summary for Dec. 31, which the Pentagon released in March, which explained there had been an increase of $1.939 billion in the cost of the B-1 reflected during the final quarter of the year (Defense/Space Daily, March 26). Although Aspin does not break this cost increase down, the Pentagon reported in March that $1.007 billion was due to inflation, $375 million for increased lead time requirements and procurement schedule impact resulting from delayed start; $407 million for estimating changes, and $143 million for component improvement costs.

The Wisconsin congressman, frequent Pentagon critic, says the Air Force "has never publicly acknowledged there are direct cost overruns on various contracts." He said the "cost overruns are the direct result of mismanagement" on the part of General Electric and Rockwell International.

Aspin said the GAO report also states that "no minimum performance requirements" have been established for the B-1 -- "there is no way for Congress to know if the B-1 degrades below an acceptable performance."

GAO said there have been reductions in the supersonic and subsonic ranges, and an increase of about 5000 pounds in gross takeoff weight, with the current estimated gross takeoff weight 395,000 pounds-- "the maximum load the landing gear can tolerate."

Another charge made by the GAO is that the number of technical changes made in the B-1 that will be incorporated in the actual production "may be so significant that the test results will not be meaningful" or representative of the production aircraft.

The Air Force has admitted that it has had to reduce the speed capabilities of the B-1 as the aircraft has developed, but has emphasized that these reductions "did not degrade the capability of the B-1 to complete its mission."

It was explained that the gross weight of the B-1 was increased from the 360,000 pounds for the original vehicle to a planned 395,000 pounds, but the landing gear system has been redesigned to accommodate this increase. As for design changes, these are said to be less than 10 percent, "and not significant."

WASHINGTON POST 6 May 1975 Pg. B-11

The Federal Diary

By Mike Causey

* * *

Naval Oceanographic Office: Another hammer-lock has been placed on the Navy which is trying to move its Suitland-based unit to the Mississippi Gulf Coast.

The House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee has agreed to oversight hearings (via its Oceanography Subcommittee) into the move, which has been pushed by the powerful Mississippi-Louisiana congressional delegations. Washington area members of Congress got a boost two weeks ago when Sens. Warren Magnuson and Henry M. Jackson, both Democrats of Washington state, said they wanted the Suitland outfit to stay where it is.

The Navy has been looking, for many years, for a new locale that would please the politicians who control its budget as well as a succession of admirals who prefer sunny climates. When the Bay St. Louis, Miss., site was proposed by Armed Services Chairmen Sen. John Stennis and Rep. F. Edward Hebert (then House Committee chairman), it seemed to fit Navy's requirements perfectly.

It is rare that Navy has a chance of making three powerful legislators (Sen. Russell Long of the Appropriations Committee likes the idea, too) happy, at the "minimal" cost of disrupting the lives of only a few thousand employees and their families. So Navy studies were made and each concluded that the move should be made.

Rep. Marjorie Holt (R-Md.) has been punching the Navy goliath all along. She is the one responsible for getting a General Accounting Office probe of the move, and the upcoming hearings. She hopes the subcommittee (first meeting is May 21) will tell the Navy to delay any decision on the move until the GAO study is in. That is likely to be the end of September, and could knock Navy's secret timetable which calls for a go-decision within the next few weeks, so that the first workers can be transferred and in place by August. * * *

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WASHINGTON REPORT - APRIL 1975(6 MAY)

Is It Safe to Be an Ally of America?

Early this month I had lunch with Tran Kim Phuong, Saigon's Ambassador to the United States. The morning news had featured the fall of several leading cities in South Vietnam. The reports had told of the armies of South Vietnam in desperate retreat, as they sought to find positions where they might be able to use their ever-decreasing supplies of arms to greater advantage against the armies of the north.

As you might imagine, Ambassador Phuong was very discouraged. He found it almost impossible to believe the turn of events. As we talked, he sought a tactful way to express his disappointment at the decision of our Congress to abandon his country to the communist enemy. It was beyond his comprehension -- as it is beyond mine. With deep emotion, he spoke of the sacrifices in blood and resources his countrymen had made to defend themselves and to preserve their right to choose their own form of government. He recalled the clear and unmistakable pledge of our national leaders to supply his people with the military weapons necessary to defend themselves in order to get their approval of the inequitable Paris agreement negotiated by the U.S. and imposed on South Vietnam.

And he spoke, as best he could, about the terrible slaughter which was already taking place as the communist conquerors took over the land. In particular, he stressed that the first group of people being rounded up were those who had worked directly with the Americans -- from the chauffeurs to government officials.

After lunch, I found myself mulling over his remarks and thinking back to a preceding week when Tran Van Lam, the president of the South Vietnamese Senate, had come to the United States to try to tell our officials and the American people what lay ahead for South Vietnam if it did not receive the promised military aid from the U.S. [See WR 75-3 for report of press luncheon cosponsored by ASC and the Vietnamese-American Council for the Honorable Tran Van Lam.] On several occasions, U.S. Senators had left Mr. Lam and several of his colleagues from the South Vietnamese Senate cooling their heels in the anterooms for inexcusable periods of time. On one occasion, a senior U.S. Senator finally stormed out of his door after a long delay and shouted at the South Vietnamese group that he planned to vote against further aid and that he did not want to hear their side of the issue.

I also found myself reflecting on the many arguments being used to justify cutting off aid to South Vietnam. I was most offended by the argument that the South Vietnamese army did not have the courage to stand and fight. I was especially struck by the fact that the Members of our Congress making this charge were the same who were choking off the supplies essential to that army's survival. I could not help wondering how much courage those Members would have displayed if they had been faced by a horde of tanks and rocket launchers while all they had were a few bullets for their rifles -- and no hope for new supplies.

It Was Predictable

On our Washington Report radio program, General John E. Murray, top U.S. military representative in South Vietnam in 1973 and 1974 and one of America's foremost diplomatic authorities on Indo-China, recently conceded that Congress's refusal to provide the one-for-one replacement of arms and equipment provided by the Paris Peace Agreement led directly to the weakening and collapse of Saigon's morale. The North Vietnamese were badly beaten in 1972, General Murray noted, but we have thrown away all this and surrendered by default. What could have been a shining example of freedom in Southeast Asia has turned to ashes, and we cannot escape our role in it at all.

As General Murray said to our radio audience, "The tragedy was entirely predictable. It was predicted and was reported. My remarks have appeared in the press. My official reports have been passed through the Pentagon. Congressmen that I talked to would be upset about the situation. But it was like dropping a rose petal down the Grand Canyon and waiting for the echo. Nothing happened. Now everyone seems to be surprised.

"The Vietnamese were on a starvation diet. We cut their ammunition more than half, we cut their fuel back 85%, we stopped giving them combat rations, even their medical supplies were shorted. Batteries for communications -- things they needed to move, shoot and communicate -- they simply did not have. Their GI's, for example, used to have ten grenades pinned on them when they went into battle in the Delta. Now they were only permitted two and effectively that is only one, because they always keep one as a last resort. This end is, as I say, entirely predictable."

Our Vital Interests

The other argument that came to mind was the one that America's vital interests are not involved in Vietnam. This is the key argument. It has strong popular appeal. Saigon is a long way from Washington. But a moment of serious thought will show that the argument is supported by geography, not political reality. It is precisely this argument, however, which must be answered. If the answer is "yes," then there is some justification for our policy of abandoning Vietnam. If the answer is "no," then we are not only aiding and abetting in a tragedy of mammoth proportions, we are being foolish as well.

Recently I was talking with a distinguished U.S. diplomat regarding the far-reaching implications of our policies in Vietnam. He gave me some insight into their effects in the Middle East and Western Europe. He noted Dr. Kissinger's remarkably candid explanation of his recent failure to arrange a peace between Egypt and Israel. The solution Dr. Kissinger had proposed called for an Israeli withdrawal from much of the Sinai desert coupled to a pledge of support by the U.S. in the event that Egypt's minimum declaration of non-belligerency proved to be temporary. But, Dr. Kissinger admitted, Israel did not see a pledge by the United States as enough, in light of our failure to support our ally, South Vietnam.

In regard to Western Europe, he told me of a telephone conversation the day before with a colleague of his who was representing the United States at a major capital in Europe. His friend had relayed the amazement of the NATO diplomatic corps at the reaction of both the Congress and the Chief Executive to the events in Vietnam. The leading political figures in Western Europe, he reported, simply could not understand how the Chief Executive could enjoy a golfing vacation and the Congress an Easter recess while a country the United States had pledged to support was being destroyed by an invader. The political leaders of Europe were astounded that the President had not rushed back to Washington and convened the Congress in an emergency session.

In light of the makeup of the Congress these days, the President's request for $722 million in military and humanitarian aid was quite bold. But in view of the

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circumstances in Vietnam and throughout the world, his request was totally inadequate.

Hanoi Thanks Americans Who Helped

There is also no question that communist leaders had gotten the message -- and a long time ago. The telegram from Dinh Ba Thi of North Vietnam, which caused the furor at the Academy Awards ceremony by expressing gratitude to those Americans who had contributed to the communist success in "liberating" South Vietnam, certainly indicated that the communists understood the realities -- including the fact that the Americans who had participated in producing and distributing the propaganda film "Hearts and Minds" had served the communist cause well.

One of the difficulties with Vietnam is that it has caused many Americans to focus on an immediate event and lose valuable perspective. From time to time, we need to drop back in time and broaden our view. As a starting point, it would be wise for us to remind ourselves that 20th century technology has compressed the globe, forced interdependence on independent states, and made all the nations of the earth neighbors -- for better or for worse. This condition means that every nation can be infected by a disease anywhere in the world body politic. All systems are interconnected. An anti-freedom malignancy anywhere will eventually affect us here.

National Self-Determination

In the interest of a politically healthy and stable world order, the United States has long advocated the self-determination of nations. First expressed by President Wilson at the conclusion of World War I, the principle holds that each nation has the right as an aspect of its sovereignty to select its own form of government. Wilson called for the creation of the League of Nations primarily as a means of providing for collective action against any aggressor nation which sought to impose its form of government on any other nation by force of arms.

In one sense, World War II was fought to reestablish the principle of self-determination. And it was the Soviet breach of that principle in Eastern Europe which started the Cold War.

In pursuit of the right of self-determination, the United States committed its military forces to combat in Korea -- far from America's shores -- because our leaders knew that if we failed to halt aggression there, we would legitimatize it by acquiescence. That is, we knew that if we did not act to stop aggression by North Korea, we would signal acceptance of it. In the instance of Korea, we participated with other allies under the flag of the United Nations.

In the case of Vietnam, we acted unilaterally to defend South Vietnam against military attack and to prevent North Vietnam from imposing on the South an unwanted political regime. Former Secretary of State Dean Rusk said it simply one time: "The trouble with North Vietnam is that it will not let its neighbors alone."

The Policy of Gradualism

Because our purpose in entering the war in Vietnam was not to destroy North Vietnam but to preserve South Vietnam's right of self-determination, we acted on the battlefield with great restraint. The official word was "gradualism." While we fought essentially a holding action, we urged North Vietnam to cooperate with us in a political solution to the problems of Indo-China, one which would in no way challenge the existence of North Vietnam -- even its preeminence -- but would respect the sovereignty of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

In the early years of the war, before the Soviets supplied North Vietnam with anti-aircraft missiles (SAMs) and supersonic interceptors, we could have physically destroyed North Vietnam in a few weeks with a fraction of our force of tactical and strategic aircraft using conventional bombs. But instead, we employed our sea and land based airpower against easily repaired supply routes -- primarily the Ho Chi Minh trail -- following a policy of tactical interdiction. And we used our considerable seapower in largely unproductive patrols along the coast of North Vietnam.

Some people have made the mistake of assuming that because our airpower did not destroy North Vietnam, it was incapable of doing so. In August 1967 the Senate Armed Services Committee released a study showing that only two percent of the targets for our bombers in North Vietnam recommended to the White House by the Joint Chiefs of Staff were approved. Instead of the JCS-recommended targets, others were substituted by a team of "experts" in the White House -- targets which had very little military significance -- "gradualism" targets.

I recall a story to illustrate this point which goes back to an early period in the war. The story was relayed by an Air Force friend. It appears that the Air Force recommended and the JCS approved as targets three airfields, all fairly close to Hanoi. They were: the main commercial field for Hanoi, a training base that had just received a new supply of Soviet MIG fighters, and a new airfield still under construction. The one the White House approved was the airfield under construction. And, one should remember, that target would have been among the two percent counted by the Senate Committee. You can imagine how unimportant militarily some of the targets must have been that were substituted by the White House selection team.

Never a Civil War

What makes our policies in Vietnam so incredible is that the war there was actually fought within the larger framework of the balance of power between the communist and free worlds. The war in Vietnam was never a civil war, in our eyes or in the eyes of Moscow and Peking. In their eyes, the war in Vientam was the test case for their new concept of "Wars of National Liberation." To us, the war was originally intended to signal to world communist leaders that we could not accept the right of communists to impose their form of government on a non-communist nation by military force.

In short, the location of the war was never a determining factor in its importance. To return to the figure of speech about disease in the world body politic, the aggression in Vietnam was simply the place where the political malignancy was erupting.

Our failure to fight in Vietnam in such a way as to destroy the malignancy means now that other outbreaks will surely take place elsewhere in the course of time. And everywhere the political health of the free world has been undermined.

A Policy of Phased Surrender

As Sir Robert Thompson, one of Britain's leading experts on Southeast Asia and guerrilla warfare, observed: "We are all becoming dominoes. The American retreat before Moscow, like that of Napoleon, is beginning to litter the route with corpses."

Sir Robert's graphic statement raises the question again which has troubled me for years, that our actions in Vietnam and elsewhere in the world have added up to a policy of phased surrender. I remember the blunt declaration by Dr. Slobodan M. Draskovich, a Serbian

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Joseph Kraft

WASHINGTON POST - 6 MAY 1975

Letting Go of the Vietnam Issue

A puzzle tinges the overwhelmingly hostile reaction of ordinary Americans to the Vietnamese refugees. The puzzle is why so many intelligent and well-educated Americans find the reaction puzzling. For the whole history of the war testifies that most Americans don't care beans about Vietnam.

Not because of what are called "racist" reasons. On the contrary, the true background lies in the strong, autonomous inner beat of American life.

The attention of 200 million throbbing operators is not readily gained by remote people in faraway places. Europe matters to the United States because so many Americans have roots there. Russia and China count because of sheer size and the impact of Titanic revolutions. So do the Japanese because of a sneaking suspicion they know how to build better mousetraps.

But Vietnam? New York, Chicago and San Francisco combined probably have fewer Vietnamese restaurants than Paris. The main point of perhaps the best American book on Vietnam—"Fire in the Lake" by Frances FitzGerald—is that Americans aren't into Vietnamese customs or culture. Even Miss FitzGerald had to rely on a French authority—Paul Mus—for her insights into the Vietnamese character.

American indifference to Vietnam shaped the two central features of the war—its massive and enduring character. In the early 1960s a group which I have called the "piano-wire hawks" argued that the Vietnam war—which they wanted to win—could only be won by following the lead of the insurgents. They felt the United States had to adopt guerrilla tactics—knife in the teeth and piano wire in the hand.

But that argument was always a non-starter. The American army and the American people were not about to change themselves into Vietnamese. So this country fought the war—as it was bound to fight the war—with planes and tanks and aircraft carriers and big battalions.

Connected reasons explain why the fighting went on so long. As early as the 1966 elections, I believe, and certainly by 1968, the majority of Americans were fed up with pouring out blood and taxes in Vietnam. If allowed to proceed unhampered by outside events, the Vietnamization program pushed by Defense Secretary Melvin Laird would probably have seen the United States out of the war long before 1973.

What got in the way was the anti-war movement—or at least that element of it which used Vietnam as a stick to beat the United States. Ordinary people may have had it with the war. But they didn't think the United States was a rotten country. They weren't that much down on the President, the military, the party system, the concept of loyalty and other features of American life which the war critics brought under fire.

So President Nixon was able to rally what he called the "silent majority." The antiwar movement was more than canceled. The war went on and on and on, even though hardly anybody wanted it.

The underlying reality, however, was that hardly anybody wanted it. The country, long sick of Vietnam, got sicker and sicker as events ground to their inevitable end.

So now more than ever the country wants to wash its hands of Vietnam. Hence the hostility to the refugees. It may not be a generous attitude. But it is not puzzling. It is natural and logical. Even healthy.

For the basic fact is that the Vietnam experience is not powerfully relevant to the present problems of the United States. Our difficulties did not lie in an all-powerful executive or an unruly military or an uncontrolled intelligence community—least of all in an imperial-minded people.

To harp on these matters is another form of the self-delusion expressed in the constant replaying of Watergate and the Kennedy assassination. It is a way of not facing up to the prime present problem—the unglamorous and morally neutral problem of making the domestic and world economy work.

Everybody knows the trouble laid up by the true believers who refuse to abandon the Vietnam war. Worse I think will ensue if the war critics prove as unwilling to let go of the Vietnam issue.

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IS IT SAFE? -- CONTINUED

scholar of communism, who wrote in his book, *Will America Surrender?*, "Our policy of no-victory in Vietnam and our recent advances to China and Russia have made it unmistakably clear that the U.S. is pursuing a policy of historical surrender to communism." He explained, "There is no other name for a policy which rejects U.S. national interests as its permanent basis, and shuns the idea of asserting U.S. rights and will in the world as a danger to peace. . . . Only surrender and suicide can designate a policy which rejects and penalizes U.S. friends and allies, and helps and supports U.S. enemies in the world."

There is still another aspect about Vietnam which has received little attention. We are now in the act of acquiescing in a breach of an international agreement by a minor communist nation – not an agreement between a communist nation and some other free world nation – but one involving the United States of America. We negotiated and signed the Paris Peace Accord. And we are allowing North Vietnam to breach that Accord with impunity. The massive invasion of South Vietnam was a tearing up of that Accord and a direct challenge to the U.S.! We have not only failed to respond militarily. We have also failed to act diplomatically. Neither the U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. nor the Secretary of State has demanded that the U.N. impose sanctions against North Vietnam for its direct challenge to peace and to the sanctity of international agreements. Our President failed to ask the Congress for the right to use military power, if necessary, to force North Vietnam to comply with the terms of the Agreement. (Nor did he ask for further assistance to Cambodia.)

From the Far East, a valued friend of the U.S., President Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines, declared recently that Congress's refusal to extend additional aid to our Indochina allies suggests strongly that the United States no longer considers Southeast Asia vital to its interests. Philippine authorities are now looking carefully at our bilateral defense pact and at our military base agreements to see whether they were mutually beneficial.

If our national leaders did not understand the importance and the implications of the tragedy in Vietnam, the policy-makers in the Middle East, Far East, and Western Europe certainly had no difficulty.

Our failure to take action against North Vietnam is especially significant to our allies around the world. Ambassador Phuong made the point clearly in a television interview recently when he said: ". . . the United States has not lived up to the Paris ceasefire agreement and the world probably would conclude that it is safer to be an ally of the Communists than the Americans."

If it can be argued that we do not have the military strength to follow any other policy than that of acquiescence in Cambodia and Vietnam, then we must ask, Why do we not have the sufficient strength?

If we are going to allow North Vietnam to breach the Paris Peace Accord, then why should Moscow not feel free to violate the SALT Agreements?

The clear answer to whether or not the communists can be trusted to keep other Detente agreements, such as the SALT Agreements, can be found in Vietnam!

The only remaining question is: what can we still do to prevent the tragic effects of our naivete in believing that the communists want a true Detente from being felt in our own land?

I am asking our National Strategy Committee to review our crumbling and discredited foreign policy and to make recommendations as to what must be done.

In the meantime, please note the recent assessment by the Foreign Policy Task Force of the Liberal Coalition for a Democratic Majority which is excerpted in the pages following.

John M. Fisher
President
American Security Council

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NEW YORK TIMES 6 MAY 1975

Feuds and Bad Planning In Saigon Exit Recalled

By FOX BUTTERFIELD

Special to The New York Times

MANILA, May 5 — Although more than 100,000 Vietnamese successfully escaped from Saigon, the evacuation was marred by what diplomats and newsmen now recall as bad planning, bitter feuding between sections of the United States Mission and often an every-man-for-himself attitude.

As a result, many key Vietnamese officials and others who had long worked for the Americans were left behind. Many fearing reprisals from the Communists.

Moreover, the selection of those to be evacuated often seemed arbitrary. Dozens of prostitutes, for example, were taken out by American contractors and officials who listed them as wives or fiancées. But the chief spokesman for the Saigon Government and his staff, who would be major Communist targets, were apparently not helped despite repeated pleas.

In addition, same officials in the United States Embassy and Consulate — partly because of panic and partly out of concern for their own Vietnamese staffs —are known to have deceived each other or failed to notify subordinates about the final evacuation on Tuesday, endangering many lives.

In the end, no American officials are known to have been left behind, and the loss of life in the evacuation was minimal.

But the series of mix-ups and the haggling that accompanied the final American exit angered many American officials, and on the evacuation ships that carried them here they talked of their bitterness toward Ambassador Graham A. Martin.

It was Ambassador Martin, they say, who by delaying evacuation until the last possible minute — to avoid throwing Saigon into chaos — was responsible for the failure to rescue many endangered Vietnamese.

Some officials go further, accusing Mr. Martin of having been so isolated inside his walled embassy that he was blind to the inevitability of the Communist victory. The Ambassador, an aloof, secretive man who strongly supported former President Nguyen Van Thieu, became ill with pneumonia in the last few days before Washington finally ordered him, last Tuesday, to "pull the plug."

Leaving Saigon among the last American evacuees, the Ambassador boarded the Seventh Fleet flagship, the carrier Blue Ridge, and—except for a chance encounter with a few newsmen — remained unavailable to the press. He could not be asked about criticisms of his role.

According to knowledgeable diplomatic informants, when some American officials began to push for evacuation planning after the loss of the northern two-thinds of the country in March, Mr. Martin's opposition delayed it.

As a consequence, some parts of the United States Mission— composed of the embassy, the Agency for International Development, the United States Information Service, the Defense Attaché's Office and the Central Intelligence Agency — privately began their own withdrawal scheme.

This worked best for those institutions with their own air transportation and money to bribe Vietnamese officials and guards — namely the Defense Attachés office and the C.I.A. But the embassy and the aid and information agencies, which did not have their own "assets," in the popular term, were much less successful in getting their staffs out.

General Is Dismissed

On April 12, with North Vietnamese troops beginning to tighten around Saigon, Brig. Gen. Richard M. Baughn, the senior Air Force officer in the Defense Attaché's Office, was abruptly dismissed and transferred out of Vietnam by Ambassador Martin. According to military sources, he had angered the Ambassador by beginning to fly Vietnamese employes in the office to the Philippines aboard Air Force planes.

It was not until April 20, after the siege of Xuan Loc had begun 40 miles northeast of Saigon that Ambassador Martin on orders from Washington assented to the first legal evacuation flights by Air Force C-141 planes.

Thereafter the evacuation was pushed hard, with the embassy pressing the Saigon Government to accelerate granting exit permits and special passes for Vietnamese dependents and employes of Americans. In some cases the embassy actually helped in secretly taking Vietnamese out of the country without officials permission.

But there appeared to be little coordination or careful planning to separate cases of Vietnamese seriously endangered from those who merely wanted to leave.

Thus, for instance, a Vietnamese who had worked 10 years for the C.I.A. in Pleiku in the Central Highlands, before it was abandoned to the Communists, discovered no one in the embassy would help him when he managed to flee to Saigon. All his friends from the agency had already been transferred out of Vietnam and there was no one who recognized him.

But by contrast, on Saturday, April 26, a blue compact car of the type used by the embassy pulled up in front of Annie's Bar on Tu Do Street and took away three bar girls carrying suitcases.

Perhaps the worst case of confusion involved the United States Consulate General in Can Tho, the center of Military Region IV in the Mekong delta.

Officials from the consulate say they were never given any notice at all to evacuate their Vietnamese personnel until 11:30 Tuesday morning, when they were suddenly ordered to withdraw only their remaining Americans. By that time, the last emergency evacuation had already begun in Saigon.

As a result, the Con Tho office acting on its own at the last minute was able to get out only 42 of 573 Vietnamese employes, and 312 of over 3,000 Vietnamese dependents.

One Can Tho official who made three special trips to Saigon to discuss evacuation was reportedly turned away with the answer that Ambassador Martin would not accept puling out the Vietnamese employes

Another Can Tho official who was dispatched to Saigon over the last weekend to try to press for help in evacuating Vietnamese staff, was in the office of Donald Anderson, the embassy administrative officer in charge of pulling out field staff, on Tuesday morning when the order for final evacuation was given.

"Anderson got up and left his office with some of his own Vietnamese without telling our men anything," recalled a furious Can Tho official. "He just went out to get on an airplane with his people, leaving our man sitting there."

The Can Tho consulate at its own initiative had prepared several evacuation plans, including its main one using four Air America helicopters stationed in Can Tho. However, at 8 A.M. on Tuesday the local C.I.A. officials asked to borrow the four Air America helicopters for their own personnel and flew off to Saigon without returning the aircraft.

DEFENSE SPACE BUSINESS DAILY 5 MAY 1975 (6)

BILL PROPOSES REVIEW OF DOD CIVILIAN MANPOWER CHANGES

A 25-member, high-level commission which would seek to mitigate the economic effects resulting from the cutback of Defense Department civilian personnel employed at various military bases would be established under legislation introduced by Sen. Hirman Fong (D-Hawaii.).

The proposed Advisory Commission on Future Civilian Manpower Requirements at U.S. Military Installations, which would include the secretary of defense, would not be authorized to prevent closing or cutbacks at military bases directed by DOD. However, it would be authorized to find out what military installations are to be eliminated or cut back and to recommend "new ways to effectively utilize the changed status of the affected bases." It would also be authorized to: 1) Study the trends regarding the use and employment of civilians at U.S. bases and implications for the future use of such manpower. 2) Determine and project the impact that the withdrawal of U.S. troops from overseas bases and the reduction of the armed forces will have on various states and communities. 3) Make recommendations for lessening the economic impact of base closing; channeling the skills of those laid off into new fields of employment; retaining those laid off; and notifying the state and local communities at the earliest possible date of layoff plans.

In addition to the secretary of defense, the commission would include the secretaries of commerce and labor, the director of OBM, the chairman of the Civil Service Commission, five governors, five mayors, five country officers and five nongovernmental leaders.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 6 May 1975

WASHINGTON POST 6 MAY 1975

Israel Expects New U.S. Effort on Mideast

By John M. Goshko
Washington Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM, May 5—Israeli observers are convinced that America, now relieved of its responsibilities in vietnam, will soon launch a more intensified effort to defuse the Arab-Israeli conflict.

President Ford and Secretary of State Henry A. kissinger will meet Egyptian President Anwar Sadat in Europe the first week of June, and Israeli Premier Yitzhak Rabin will be Mr. Ford's guest in Washington on June 11 and 12.

Relations between Israel and the United States have been strained since March,when Kissinger's shuttle-diplomacy effort to mediate a further interim agreement between Israel and Egypt on troop pullbacks in the Sinai Peninsula failed.

Kissinger and Mr. Ford let it be known that they placed the main responsibility for the breakdown of those talks on Israeli inflexibility, and they ordered a complete "reassessment" fo U.S. policy in the Middle East. Since then; the Ford administration has continued to show annoyance at what it characterizes as Israel's shortsightedness and failure to recognize its own long-term interests.

Among other things, Washington has suspended negotiatios on supplying new arms to Israel and leaked word that Israel's pending request for $2.5 billion in military and economic aid during the coming fiscal year will be cut back substatially.

All this has caused great dismay within Israel, which looks to the United States as the ultimate guarantor of its existence.

In recent interviews, High-ranking officials of Rabin's government have frequently used such phrases as "tragic" and "deeply regretable" to describe the rift with Washington.

These same officials expressed a deep conviction, however, that Washington's tendency to blame Israel for the failure of the Kissinger mission is unfair and unjustified They left little doubt that the Rabin government badly wants to patch up the quarrel, but they also stressed that Israel will not accept a rapprochement on terms that it ragards as dangerous to its security.

This stance appears to have the overwhelming support of Israeli public opinion. The U.S. policy reassessment, which is widely regarded here as a psychological pressure tactic, has helped to solidify this support and may have hardened the Israeli position.

One foreign diplomat assesses the mood in more ominous terms, saying, "The Israelis are getting close to the point of developing a Samson-in-the-temple complex."

Officials in Rabin's government say that, in retrospect, they can see several reasons for the Kissinger mission's failure, and Vietnam is one to which they assign considerable prominence. By a strange quirk of timing, the situation in South Vietnam and Cambodia began to deteriorate just as Kissinger came to the Middle East.

The collapse of the peace agreements that Kissinger had negotiated in Vietnam made the Israelis skittish about the kind of accord he wanted them to strike with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat. In the Israeli view, this would have obliged them to give up very specific military advantages in exchange for vague, ill-defined assurances that the Israelis feel had been given to South Vietnam and that subsequently proved meaningless.

At the same time, the Israelis charge, the knowledge that his Vietnam accords were failing had a distracting effect on Kissinger. The officials leave little doubt of their belief that Kissinger and Mr. Ford wanted a diplomatic success in the Middle East to help compensate for the defeat in Indochina, and when this success proved to be beyond their grasp, they reacted by indulging in a fit of pique against Israel.

But, the officials add, they think that Kissinger's efforts would have failed even without the distorting effect of events in southeast Asia. The March negotiations, they say, revealed, perhaps for the first time, that a big gap exists between Kissinger's and the Rabin government's perceptions of how to resolve the Middle East crisis.

In pursuing his step-by-step diplomacy, Kissinger appeared to be going on the assumption that the nature of the problem —working out an Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab territory—requires that the major concessions be made by Israel. Kissinger was said to consider this as working to Israel's long-term advantage, because it would lead in the end to the general Middle Eastern peace settlement that the Israelis want.

The Israelis, however, as one official said, "believe that the process should not be step-by-step but step-for-step," in which every significant Israeli concession should be matched by an Arab concession of roughly comparable weight. This would guarantee that neither side gained too lop-sided an advantage in the interim stages enroute to a final peace settlement.

In the March negotiations, for example, the Israelis say that they were willing to meet Egypt's demands for withdrawal from the Abu Rudeis oilfields on the Gulf of Suez and the strategic Mitla and Gidi passes in the Eastern Sinai Peninsula, but, they felt that they were entitled, in exchange, to an unequivocably clear-cut statement of non-belligerence from Egypt.

The Israelis contend that Kissinger accepted the Egyptian position—return of the passes and oil fields for an ambiguously worded statement of Egyptian intent—as the goal of the negotiations.

"I don't even think it could he described as a genuine negotiation," one official who took part in the talks sav. "In our view, the Egyptians hardly moved at all over the entire course of the negotiations. If anyone was inflexible, it was Sadat. For our part, we gave be described as a genuine neconsiderable ground from our opening position. But we got nothing of a matching nature in return—only pressure to give still more."

"Even then," he continues, "we were willing to go on bargaining and talking. But when we made clear that Egypt would have to make a better offer if we were to meet their full demands, Sadat apparently lost his temper and Kissinger apparently lost heart. It was they who broke off the negotiations, not us."

The officials say that the Rabin government would still react the same way under similar circumstances. As to the quarrel with Washington, they say that Rabin has decided to avoid exacerbating the situation by engaging in recriminations, and to wait instead for "practical signs" such as a resumption of arms aid talks.

In the meantime, Israel has carried out, a quiet reassessment of its own, dispatching a small army of former Cabinet ministers and other prominent figures to the United States to explain Israel's position and to test American public and political opinion. As a result, the government now feels that Israel's standing with the U.S public and Congress remains high and that its problems are primarily with the Ford administration.

Even so, the officials add the government regards Mr Ford and Kissinger as "friends" and is hopeful that the dispute with them can be resolved amicably. Official circles have been encouraged by the fact that the signals coming out of Washington in recent days had a noticeably more upbeat tone. Earlier this week, for example,

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SECURITY OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE IMPROVED--DOD. The Defense Department reported to Congress last week that the security of U. S. nuclear weapons in Europe has been improved since a senatorial team found some nuclear munitions being stored under lax security in the basement of an administration building in Europe in 1973. The DOD statement came in response to the release of a report Wednesday discussing the 1973 inspection by the Senate team.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 6 May 1975

WALL STREET JOURNAL 6 MAY 1975

Sadat's Diplomatic Offensive

By Ray Vicker

CAIRO -- America should say clearly *whether it wishes to guarantee* Israel within its borders or to guarantee Israel's occupation of lands taken from Arabs.

That is the thesis President Mohamed Anwar el Sadat will be expounding to President Ford at their forthcoming meeting in Salzburg, Austria June 1 and 2. And the Egyptian president is pushing the same theme hard in a round of diplomacy which seeks to rally world opinion against continued occupation by Israel of Arab lands seized in the 1967 war between Arabs and Israelis.

Here in Egypt, where the emphasis seems to be upon rebuilding the country rather than on war, there is strong support for the diplomatic offensive unleashed by President Sadat. There is also an attitude of injured indignation. In government ministries, on the campus of Cairo University, in homes of Egyptians one is constantly lectured that it has been Egypt which is seeking a real peace in this part of the world, that it is Israel which has been dragging its feet through Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's aborted shuttle diplomacy.

"I don't understand what is the matter with America, why it doesn't see that we are holding out a hand of friendship. We want peace. We want to work with America. Yet the United States does not use its strength for achieving peace. It treats us like . . . like lepers," says Mohamed Kamel Anous, director general in the ministry of foreign trade.

And at Cairo University, Mahmoud Gamel, a 23-year-old economics major, contends: "It should be obvious by now to everybody that there can be no peace in the Middle East when so much of our land still is occupied by the Jews. Yet America seems unwilling to even admit that for eight years the Jews have been sitting in the Sinai, in the West Bank of Jordan and on the Golan Heights, pumping our oil from the Sinai, building settlements on Arab lands and ignoring United Nations resolutions which call for withdrawal."

Blunt Speaking

In one recent speech, President Sadat bluntly said: "I say to the United States that it is high time for the United States to adopt a well defined attitude to be clear-cut and black and white. Is the U.S. defending Israel within its borders or is it defending Israel's occupation of the land usurped from Arabs? This should be made clear in the reevaluation of U.S. policy."

(To many observers, however, the definition of "occupied territory" is not so clear-cut. Most Israelis remain deeply suspicious of the Egyptian call for return of the land occupied in 1967. They argue that Egypt couples this demand with a further call for "justice to the Palestinians," who were displaced in the 1948 fighting that gave birth to the State of Israel. This further demand, argue the Israelis, may well mean that Egypt still wants to dismember their country as it existed before 1967. Certainly many Arabs, and particularly the Palestinians, consider all of Israel to be "occupied Arab territory.")

Questions raised by the Egyptian diplomatic offensive are somewhat embarrassing to President Ford's administration. Up to now, the U.S. has avoided any clear-cut answer to some of those questions. By inference, there is the implication that the U.S. does not favor annexation by Israel of those subjected lands. But that hasn't been spelled out.

Israelis strongly contend that a readjustment of borders was necessary for its defense, which means that Israel would not return to the so-called "Green Line."

> ***Egypt's president is pressing the U.S. to define its own policies concerning Israeli "security" and if that fails, to bring the issue home to the American public.***

This is the border which had pertained before the 1967 war. However, Israel has not defined what it considers to be a "defensible" border.

In 1973, in one interview in the lobby of the Tel Aviv Hilton Hotel, General Ariel Sharon blandly declared that the most defensible border with Egpyt from his standpoint was the Suez Canal. Two days later, the Yom Kippur war (known as the "Ramadan war" here) proved that the Suez Canal wasn't so defensible after all.

Nevertheless, if you talk to 10 Israelis, you probably will obtain 10 different descriptions of what constitutes "defensible borders." And none of them are likely to involve returning to the Green Line, as Arabs insist.

In this age of long distance rockets, of supersonic planes and of murderous weaponry, no borders are any longer defensible in the static manner which usually is meant when the term is used. Perhaps the best way to work for peace is not to seek "defensible" borders which might prove as illusory as the impregnability of Israel's Bar Lev Line along the Suez Canal, but to try to diffuse the animosities which are the basic cause of trouble in the Mideast.

Israel, however, has committed itself to the "defensible borders" concept. This favors delay and more delay in the surrender of any occupied territory since any retreat at all is likely to antagonize some segments of the Israeli population. And the present government in Israel is not strong enough to risk any splintering of its support.

In the face of delay, Arabs have three basic choices: To press a diplomatic offensive hoping to achieve aims peacefully, to launch another war, or to fall back to a no-war-no-peace situation which most likely would lead to a war of attrition and then to a full fledged, bloody war, anyway.

With oil money pouring into Arab lands, time no longer is on the side of Israel, something which still has not sunk into many minds in Israel. That belief, though, is becoming more widespread in Western Europe, in Japan and among many Americans who have had opportunities to travel through Arab countries recently.

Another war, today, would be far bloodier than any so far in this part of the world. And the odds probably would favor Israel as the "victor" on the battlefield, without its being able to score such a resounding success that it also could dictate the peace. Only once did that opportunity appear, in 1967. Israel didn't rise to the occasion with the generous peace offer which might have led to peace, and the opportunity was lost.

So now, at a time when the world does not like military occupations, Israel finds it necessary to justify an occupation which it obviously wishes would continue indefinitely. Alleged "security" thus becomes the basic argument for such a policy. From the Israeli standpoint, it is a good debating position, for emotions may be touched easily with it. Who within a country could be against "security," for instance? Who would make political hay by arguing against it?

President Sadat's diplomatic offensive is a very clever gambit, too. He wants the U.S. to define its own policies concerning Israeli "security." If that doesn't come officially, he would like the American public to become so aware of the issues that people in the U.S. might pressure Washington to reassess its position. This would lift peace moves from the stagnant mire into which they fell after Secretary of State Kissinger shelved his shuttle diplomacy.

Prospects of War

If the Sadat offensive fails, then the Mideast could be heading directly for another war. This is something which should be understood now, with a whole lot more clarity than was the case in 1973. Well before the Yom Kippur (Ramadan) war, President Sadat advertised his desire to get things moving by booting Russians from positions of influence in Egypt. Both America and Israel ignored that action. Subsequently President Sadat indicated his intention to launch a war since nothing else seemed able to awake America and Israel. Again, few paid any attention to him. Yet war did come.

From the Egyptian standpoint, the timing of the current offensive could not be more advantageous. This offensive comes just at a time when the collapse of South Vietnam is bringing home to the American people the troubles which might stem from having the U.S. attempt to play policeman to the world. Secretary of State Kissinger has declared that one lesson to be learned from Vietnam is that "foreign policy must be sustained over decades if it is to be effective, and if it cannot be, then it has to be tailored to what is sustainable."

So Egyptians are asking: Is it American policy to defend Israel's occupation of Arab lands? And by implication there is another question: Does America really think that the affirmative can be sustained over decades in the face of bitter opposition from over 100 million Arabs plus literally over a 100 supporting nations?

And Vietnam provides lessons concerning what might happen if America is led to give guarantees which it can't sustain, say Egyptians. For Israel, there is a disturbing factor here, too. Suppose the U.S. clearly declares that it has no intention of guaranteeing Israeli possession of occupied lands? Then suppose another war starts, with Arabs claiming they seek only to win back occupied territories? What would the U.S. attitude be then?

Such questions are all involved in that thesis which President Sadat is expounding. Like it or not, the U.S. must consider them in reassessing its own Mideastern position.

Mr. Vicker is the Journal's senior international editor and is currently stationed in the Middle East.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 6 MAY 1975

Jordanian paper says Israel masses troops

Amman, Jordan

Israel is massing troops and armor along the entire length of the Syrian and Jordanian cease-fire lines, the Jordanian newspaper Al-Destour asserted Monday.

There was no immediate comment from the Israeli, Syrian, or Jordanian commands.

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RADIO - TV DEFENSE DIALOG

RADIO TV REPORTS INC. WASH.,D.C., SUMMARIES NOT TO BE QUOTED.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 7, 1975 (BROADCASTS OF MAY 6, 1975)

SUMMARY OF NETWORK NEWS IN THIS ISSUE

John CHANCELLOR, Irving R. LEVINE, John COCHRAN, Catherine MACKIN, Lou ALLISON and Ray CULLEN, all of NBC, report on refugee related subjects. LEVINE reports that the AFL-CIO has come out in favor of resettling Vietnamese refugees. He includes a statement by AFL-CIO head George MEANY. COCHRAN reports by way of Republican congressional leaders President FORD's reaction to those who oppose resettlement of refugees. MACKIN reports on congressional reaction to the refugee aid bill. ALLISON reports on the arrival at Guam of sealifted refugees, including about 1,000 fishermen. CULLEN reports on the arrival of Nguyen Cao KY at Camp Pendleton, California and about his new status as a refugee. CHANCELLOR reports that the U.S. has agreed to stop removing aircraft flown by Vietnamese to Thailand, but that we have already removed a large portion of them.

CHANCELLOR and Kenley JONES, NBC, report on the Mid-East and a speech by King HUSSEIN of Jordan. CHANCELLOR reports that the U.S. has agreed to sell the Jordanians a Hawk missile system. JONES reports on HUSSEIN's speech in which he talked about Israeli peace conditions and Arab acquiescence. Included is an excerpt of an interview by Barbara WALTERS with Secretary KISSINGER. CHANCELLOR also reports that the U.S. and Russia called for a stoppage of lax security measures which might enable people to gain possession of nuclear materials. He reports that $222 million was cut from the B-1 funds and that an amendment calling for entrance of women into military academies was tabled.

Roger MUDD, Bob SCHIEFFER, Lesley STAHL, and Bruce DUNNING, all of CBS, report on refugee related events. SCHIEFFER reports by way of Republican congressional leaders Presidential reaction to opponents of refugee resettlement and that only 35,000 jobs are needed. STAHL reports that mail received at Capitol Hill is against resettlement and includes statements by congressmen on the subject. DUNNING reports on the arrival of sealifted refugees at Guam. MUDD reports that the U.S. has recovered 50 of the 120 Vietnamese planes which landed in Thailand.

Harry REASONER and Howard K. SMITH, ABC News, report on the arrival of the las U.S. Navy ship to leave Vietnam at Subic Bay; on the repossession of Vietnamese aircraft from Thailand by the U.S.; and that Australia has recognized the new Saigon regime and is willing to accept refugees.

REASONER reports on funding cuts for the Air Force's B-1 bomber; House committee approval of a $26 billion weapons bill; and the tabling of an amendment to allow women in military academies. REASONER and Ted KOPPEL, ABC, report on the Mid-East. KOPPEL reports on the reassessment of American foreign policy in the Mid-East, using as indicators U.S. approval of providing Jordan with an air defense system and inaction on Israeli requests for F-15s and other items.

Bruce MORTON, CBS Morning News, reports along with Ike PAPPAS on the phased shutdown of U.S. bases in Thailand and the removal of U.S. troops. PAPPAS also reports on the repossession of Vietnamese planes by the U.S. MORTON also includes a statement by State Department spokesman Robert ANDERSON who says that the Khmer Rouge are executing former Khmer officials and their wives.

Barbara WALTERS, the "Today" show NBC TV, interviews Secretary of State KISSINGER on the fall of Vietnam and Cambodia and their relation to detente; on China's position as a result of Indochina losses; and on the current situation in Thailand with respect to their withdrawal requests.

PREPARED BY THE AIR FORCE SAFAA) AS EXECUTIVE AGENT FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE TO BRING TO THE ATTENTION OF KEY DOD PERSONNEL MATTERS WITHIN THEIR OFFICIAL RESPONSIBILITIES.

FOR INFORMATION REGARDING THIS PUBLICATION CALL MR. HARRY ZUBKOFF, OX 52888.

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NBC NIGHTLY NEWS NBC TV
7:00 PM MAY 6

Vietnam Refugees

JOHN CHANCELLOR: Good evening. President FORD got a big assist today from organized labor in his efforts to get Vietnamese refugees settled in this country. This afternoon the executive council of the AFL-CIO held its regular quarterly meeting and to a lot of peoples' surprise produced a ringing endorsement of the President's plan to bring in up to 150,000 refugees, of whom 30-to-40,000 would need jobs. Irving R. Levine has the story.

IRVING R. LEVINE: The AFL-CIO leaders met after some union officials had objected to resettling Vietnam refugees. Afterwards George MEANY said that even with high unemployment the economy can absorb the Vietnamese and MEANY denounced critics.

GEORGE MEANY: Frankly I think the attitude of people who say dump these refugees in the sea, send them back, to me is really deplorable. If this great country can't absorb another 30 or 40,000 people and try to find some way for them to make a living then I feel we're -- in a sense we're denying our own heritage, we're denying the history, the background, the traditions of this country as a haven for the oppressed.

LEVINE: In practical terms George MEANY's words mean that AFL-CIO officials around the country are now forbidden from objecting to Vietnam refugees settling here. It also means that the AFL-CIO will use its influence in Congress to get President FORD the money to find homes and jobs for the refugees. Irving R. Levine, NBC News, Washington.

CHANCELLOR: Yet in the Congress there was little movement today on the President's request for $507 million for resettlement of the Vietnam refugees. There was a meeting at the White House between the President and Republican congressional leaders. One of them came out and quoted the President as saying opposition to the refugees makes him damned mad. Here's more on the refugee story from Washington.

JOHN COCHRAN: Republican congressional leaders told the President he will not get all the refugee aid he wants. There was some criticism of liberals who oppose the President's refugee program. Mr. FORD did not mention anyone by name, but after the meeting Senate Minority leader SCOTT had some sharp words about Senator George McGOVERN who went to Cuba after suggesting that some Vietnamese refugees would be better off in their own country.

SENATOR HUGH SCOTT: We're not running off to Cuba to divert attention from the serious problems, we're not asking that they go back in any sort of people killing program.

COCHRAN: So far mail coming into the White House indicates that Americans want to help the refugees as long as they don't stay here. By latest count the letters were running nearly two-to-one in favor of some kind of refugee aid. But the initial response to bringing the Vietnamese here shows a three-to-one margin against resettling them in the United States. The President told Republican leaders today that he is just burned up by liberal opponents of the resettlement program. Mr. FORD said, "these great humaniitarians, now damn it they want to turn their backs. We didn't do that with the Hungarians and the Cubans, and damn it we're not going to do it now." The President's language will be milder at tonight's news conference, but his aides say he will still make a strong appeal for public support of his refugee program. John Cochran, NBC News, the White House.

CATHERINE MACKIN: Mail received by leaders of Congress and those who represent states where the Vietnamese are being processed is not considered overly heavy, it's certainly not on the scale of a major issue like Watergate. But those who do write are virtually all against the new refugees because they think they'll take work away from them. Some in Congress think these fears result from early administration estimates that the refugees could run as high as a million. Nevertheless there is divided opinion in Congress over refugee aid.

SENATOR ROBERT BYRD: Now I have a feeling that the American people, with the 8.9 percent unemployment rate here and with the welfare caseload burgeoning, feel that this number of refugees could have an additional economic impact.

SENATOR ALAN CRANSTON: I don't think we can abandon them. The American history and heritage is to open our doors to those who flee what they may deem to be terror somewhere else. And I don't think that we can turn away from that historic policy.

MACKIN: It's too early to say whether President FORD will get the entire $507 million he's requested for refugee aid, but the leaders in Congress say there is no doubt that substantial humanitarian aid will be approved and that Congress

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will act soon. First the administration will have to answer a lot of questions about how the money will be spent and give assurances that state and local governments won't have to pay any of the refugee costs. Catherine MACKIN, NBC News, Washington.

***(Commercials)

CHANCELLOR: A week out of Phuoc Loc island, South Vietnam the freighter American Challenger arrived today in Guam with more than 5,000 South Vietnamese refugees aboard. The captain said he left behind possibly 50,000 people on Phuoc Loc and just off its shores in small boats and he added that three infants died aboard his ship while half a dozen more were born. Lou Allison reports.

LOU ALLISON: For the next 10 days American ships like this one will be bringing South Vietnamese refugees to Guam. In all the sealift will add 80,000 evacuees to the more than 50,000 who have begun moving through Guam by airlift. The first evacuation ship, the American Challenger, docked at the Guam Navy Station early Wednesday morning Guam time with more than 5,000 people aboard, people at sea for four weeks but most of them in good health and happy to be safe here. The American officials running operation "New Life" say they're marked changes as the flood of refugees continues to grow. They say these people and those on the other ships are much poorer than those who came before. These people told NBC News reporter Ngo Yen KY (?) that the largest single group of refugees aboard the American Challenger were penniless fishermen from the southern coast of Vietnam. The fishermen and their families, numbering more than 1,000, are actually North Vietnamese. They fled their homes more than 20 years ago to get away from the Communists then. In this rescue operation the evacuation ship had to leave thousands of people behind and the ship's captain said there was desperation among those left in their fishing boats.

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The fishermen and their families may stay many months, perhaps years, in resettlement and training camps here or on the United States mainland. The fact that they were uprooted by war once before and resettled in South Vietnam with no other skills than fishing will make it much harder for them to start a new life in America and much harder for Americans to help them. Lou Allison, NBC News, Guam.

CHANCELLOR: The most prominent of the South Vietnamese refugees to arrive at Camp Pendleton, California is Nguyen Cao KY, former vice president of South Vietnam. KY is the man who said that any South Vietnamese leader who left the country in the face of enemy attack would be a coward, and then KY left. Ray Cullen has more on KY in the United States

RAY CULLEN: KY was escorted from the plane by military police who followed him only to the terminal. Otherwise there was no special security.

NGUYEN CAO KY: I will stay with them as a normal refugee.

REPORTER: Do you consider yourself a normal refugee?

KY: Personal I can live among my people here.

CULLEN: Former premier KY says he's just a normal refugee, but it's obvious he's trying to improve his image among his fellow countrymen. His actions today were not those of a regular refugee. Conscious of the cameras, KY walked freely around camp talking to both newsmen and evacuees. He said it was too cold to sleep last night and asked a Marine officer for heavier clothing and more bedding. There were no security guards and officials say he will be given no special treatment in processing. A woman cried as she told KY of losing two sons in the defense of South Vietnam. KY says he wants to leave the base as soon as possible and will then join his family in Washington. Ray Cullen, NBC News, Camp Pendleton, California.

CHANCELLOR: The United States promised Thailand today to stop removing planes flown to Utaphao Airbase in Thailand by South Vietnamese pilots escaping from the war. The United States made the promise after it took away many of the 120 planes involved. The smaller jet fighters were hooked onto big helicopters and flown to the carrier Midway in the Gulf of Siam. The Midway then sailed away. American sources in Thailand said that a number of C-130 transports, which is too big to be picked up any helicopter, were simply flown out of the country.

U.S. and Mid-East

CHANCELLOR: Secretary of State KISSINGER said today that the United States is definitely not tilting towards the Arabs in the Middle East. KISSINGER did confirm that the United States has agreed to sell Hawk missiles to Jordan. But he said American Mid-East policy is even handed. He said military equipment was sent to Israel under existing agreement. The United States has, however, put off any new arms agreement with

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Israel pending a reassessment of American policy. And Israel today expressed concern over the missile deal with Jordan. Jordan's King HUSSEIN, who is visiting this country, made an important speech in South Carolina today concerning Israel and the Arabs. Kenley Jones reports.

KENLEY JONES: HUSSEIN came to the Citadel, the military college of South Carolina, to receive an honorary doctor of law degree and to make what aides called a major foreign policy statement. The Jordanian King said the Arab nations have changed their policy since 1967 when they refused even to recognize the existence of Israel. He said Jordan, Egypt and Syria are all now ready, even eager, to negotiate a peace treaty.

KING HUSSEIN: We accept the conditions for peace that have been laid down; recognition of Israel, non-belligerence, Israel's right to exist within recognized borders, and our willingness to make and support a final peace. All of these we accepted on condition that Israel withdraw from all Arab territory and recognize the legitimate right of the Palestinians in their homeland. It is as simple as that.

JONES: HUSSEIN called on private citizens in this country, as well as the government, to put pressure on Israel to withdraw from the occupied territory. Kenley Jones, NBC News, Charleston, S.C.

CHANCELLOR: Secretary KISSINGER said the United States does not now have a peace plan for the Middle East. He said one reason for that is that events in Indochina have taken up so much time and attention. KISSINGER said these things in the second part of an interview with Barbara Walters broadcast this morning on the Today Show program. Here's part of that interview.

BARBARA WALTERS: Almost six weeks ago President FORD asked for a reassessment of our policy in the Middle East. Now I know you haven't finished the reassessment, it's said it will take another week or so. But can you tell us anything of what is in there.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Well first of all when President FORD announced this and set a tentative deadline it was before events in Indochina took a great deal of our attention. Secondly it's a mistake to believe that there will be some clear terminal date at which one can say from now on the assessment is completed. But I believe that on the whole the decision -- the final decisions -- will not be made until President FORD has had an opportunity to meet with the leaders of the countries principally concerned. But the conclusion to which we have come is certainly to continue a major American effort to produce progress towards peace in the Middle East and not to permit a long period of stagnation.

Conference On Nuclear Materials

CHANCELLOR: The United States and the Soviet Union today called for international measures to stop nuclear materials from being stolen by criminals and terrorists. Delegates from both countries spoke at an international conference in Geneva.

Senate Committee Arms Cuts

CHANCELLOR: The Senate Armed Services Committee today cut $222 million from the B-1 bomber program. The committee voted about half a billion dollars for research and testing on the B-1. And the House Armed Services Committee tabled an amendment to let women into the military academies and go into combat.

CBS EVENING NEWS CBS TV
7:00 PM MAY 6

Vietnamese Refugees; Thailand

ROGER MUDD: Good evening. President FORD let it be known today he is disturbed by the public backlash against his plan to resettle thousands of Vietnamese refugees in the United States. The President's feelings were passed on by Republican congressional leaders after they met with him at the White House. We have reports from Bob Schieffer and Lesley Stahl.

BOB SCHIEFFER: During the meeting the President tried to counter fears that bringing the refugees into this country would only make the unemployment situation worse. He said only 35,000 of the 130,000 refugees expected here could be classified as head of households. Sixty percent of the group coming here will be children, he said, who will not be looking for jobs. Republican leader Hugh SCOTT said the President was dismayed at the anti-refugee sentiment being expressed in some quarters. Pressed later for the President's personal reaction, SCOTT described it this way.

SENATOR HUGH SCOTT: He -- I've forgotten the word he used -- but he expressed something that -- well yea I'll get around to that John -- he said something about it was shocking or he was

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amazed that there would be hesitancy shown and that criticism would erupt. And he said, in fact, in makes me damned mad -- I guess that is a reaction.

SCHIEFFER: White House mail is running three-to-one against resettling the refugees in this country, but so far only 322 letters on the subject have been received. Mr. FORD is expected to say more about the public's reaction at tonight's news conference. Bob Schieffer CBS News, at the White House.

LESLEY STAHL: On Capitol Hill the mail is overwhelmingly hostile to the refugees, displaying little of the sense of moral obligation the White House is advocating. Some of the objections are racist. One letter from Nebraska reads: They bring only disease, corruption and apathy.' There's great anger because the refugees, the letters say, wouldn't stand up and fight the Communists. But most of the letters are about the economy.

SENATOR BYRD: The United States gave $150 billion and 56,000 lives and 306,000 casualties to help the South Vietnamese to have an opportunity to survive. (rest of statement same as Mackin report on NBC.)

STAHL: But most labor and political leaders disagree with the congressional mail.

MAN: There's no way I can see that we can turn our backs on the 100,000 there who chose freedom and that chose to escape from the tyranny. And we didn't do that with the Hungarian refugees and we didn't do that with the Cuban refugees and we can't do that now.

SENATOR GOLDWATER: We are a nation of immigrants. And to turn our backs on people who are fleeing from oppression, fleeing for their lives, and say to them that we're going to dump them in the sea. This to me is about as contrary to American tradition as anything that I ever heard of.

STAHL: The State Department says it has had to hire Kelly girls to take all the calls coming in offering to help the refugees. And the administration's refugee task force chief Dean BROWN held a press conference to respond to the criticism.

MAN: Well how do you respond to some people who feel, rightly or wrongly, that the government is ramming people down their throats?

DEAN BROWN: Well frankly, I don't respond to it, because I don't think the government is ramming anybody down anybody's throat. Because it's being taken on on a voluntary basis by the people that want to have them in their house.

STAHL: Lesley Stahl, CBS News, Washington.

MUDD: The United States today yielded to the Thai government and stopped removing American warplanes that fleeing South Vietnames had flown into Thailand. Both the U.S. and Saigon claimed the planes, about 120 of them and worth $330 million, and Thailand got caught in the middle of that dispute. The U.S. did not agree to the Thai request, however, until it reportedly recovered the 50 most expensive planes.

***(Commercials)

MUDD: The last U.S. Navy ship used in the evacuation of Saigon reached Subic Bay in the Philippines with 177 refugees. After processing they will be transferred to Guam, where Bruce Dunning reports on the recent refugee arrivals.

BRUCE DUNNING: The people on this ship were just the beginning of the largest group of refugees yet to arrive. In the next week to ten days about 80,000 refugees are expected here by ship, a number almost equal to the entire population of Guam. Many of these people had fled from South Vietnam in small boats hoping to be picked up by ships out at sea. How many more set out to sea but were never picked up no one will ever know.

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As the first arrivals continue their processing others waited for hours to debark from the ship. It took all night to unload the ship, and at dawn another ship entered the harbor with 6,000 more refugees. And there are more ships behind them arriving in a few days as the total of refugees continues to grow to well over 100,000. Bruce Dunning, CBS News, Guam.

MUDD: From Guam the refugees will be transferred to one of three military bases in the U.S.***

ABC EVENING NEWS ABC TV
7:00 PM MAY 6

Vietnam Refugees; Thailand

HARRY REASONER: The last U.S. Navy ship to leave the waters off Vietnam arrived at Subic Bay in the Philippines with 177 refugees today. And the captain of a freighter that brought 5,000 refugees to Guam today said at least 50,000 Vietnamese were left behind in boats in the waters off Saigon. Among the new Vietnamese arrivals in Camp Pendleton, Calif.

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is former South Vietnamese premier and vice president Nguyen Cao KY. Flamboyant as ever, KY quickly made his presence known.***

HOWARD K. SMITH: When the end came in South Vietnam last week South Vietnamese pilots flew 129 of their American made warplanes to Thailand. The Thai government said it would return those planes to the Communist regime in Saigon. But the U.S. had begun ferrying them out on the aircraft carrier Midway. Well today the Thai government demanded the U.S. stop removing those aircraft. The U.S. agreed, but it appeared that by then more than half the planes, the most valuable ones, were already moved out.

The Communist Vietcong flag was hoisted today over the South Vietnamese legation building in Paris. It was reported however, that France has not yet decided when an exchange of ambassadors with the new Saigon regime will take place. Australia meanwhile has announced it has officially recognized the new Communist government in South Vietnam but is also willing to accept Vietnamese refugees.

Armed Service Committee Cuts

REASONER: In a major setback for the Pentagon weapons program the Senate Armed Services Committee today cut $222 million from funds requested for development of the Air Force B-1 strategic bomber program. And the House Armed Services Committee approved a $26 billion weapons bill, three and a half billion less than President FORD requested. The House committee tabled an amendment to the bill to let women enter military academies and go into combat.

Weapons, U.S. and the Mid-East

REASONER: There are reports today of a new U.S. weapons committment to Jordan. But the administration says this does not indicate any change in Middle East policy. With President FORD scheduled to meet with leaders of both Egypt and Israel in the coming weeks, ABC diplomatic correspondent Ted Koppel puts the latest developments in perspective.

TED KOPPEL: The administration continues to insist that its reassessment of America's policies in the Middle East has not been completed. And yet when Jordan's King HUSSEIN wrapped up his talks here in Washington the other day he left with a committment that the United States will provide Jordan with an air defense system made up of Red Eye missiles, Hawk missiles and conventional anti-aircraft equipment. Israeli officials are furious. In the past, they point out, Jordan's excuse for staying largely on the sidelines of Arab-Israeli confrontations has been precisely its lack of a viable air defense system. Now, say the Israelis, one of the first necessary steps in the event of a new Middle East war would have to be the safeguarding of Israel's eastern front, a polite way of describing the forceful elimination of that Jordanian air defense system. What troubles the Israelis equally is that Egypt and Syria are receiving generous infusions of Soviet military equipment. In the meantime any discussion of selling the Israelis the sophisticated American F-15 aircraft or the Lance missile is being deferred until after the reassessment of America's Middle East policy is concluded. On the surface then the reassessment appears to be weighted rather unevenly against the Israelis. But what is emerging is not so much a new American policy as a new atmosphere in which to negotiate an Israeli-Egyptian agreement. Israeli officials are now letting it be known that they are willing to discuss a pullback from almost half of the Sinai to a line stretching from Bir El Mazar (?) in the north, along the heights of Gebel Yelich (?) to a point east of the Abu Rudeis oil fields. Their terms, the same as a couple of months ago, a formal Egyptian declaration of non-belligerency. Presumably when Israeli Prime Minister RABIN comes here to Washington on June 15th, President FORD will have given the Israelis a new gesture of support, the availability for example of those Lance missiles and F-15 jets. Israel, in other words, can be responding to American support rather than American pressure. By then Mr. FORD will also have met with Egypt's President SADAT at a time when America looks more even handed in its Middle East policy than ever before. On Capitol Hill today Secretary KISSINGER rejected any suggestion, however, that America is tilting towards the Arabs.***

America's reassessment in the Middle East appears to be less a change in direction than a change in tactics. This is Ted Koppel, ABC News, Washington.

CBS MORNING NEWS CBS TV
7:00 AM MAY 6

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U.S. Withdrawals From Thailand

BRUCE MORTON: The U.S. is going ahead with plans to pull troops out of Thailand. Ike Pappas reports.

IKE PAPPAS: Sources say the Pentagon plans to shut down one of the four air-bases the United States maintains in Thailand to coincide with the withdrawal of 7,500 Air Force personnel by the end of June. The United States maintains 350 aircraft in Thailand, an undisclosed number will also be removed. The Air Force operates four bases in Thailand, Udorn, Korat (?), Nakhon Phanom, and Utaphao. Pentagon sources would not reveal which base would be closed, they said only that the big American airfield at Utaphao, an airlift supply center during the Cambodian war, would remain in U.S. hands at least for the time being. Despite public demands by the Thais that the United States withdraw all military personnel by next year, it is still hoped by top Pentagon analysts that the Thais will agree to allow a small U.S. force to remain. They point out that Thailand and the United States are still members of SEATO. Most of the Thailand's military equipment is U.S. made, if the Thais insist on a total U.S. pullout, spare parts for that equipment may be hard to come by. The Thais might need that equipment to put down the threat of a Communist insurgency in their country. Negotiations will continue with Thailand on future American military withdrawals. On another matter the Thais last week said they intended to return to Communist officials in Saigon some 120 South Vietnamese Air Force planes and helicopters that were flown into Thailand during the evacuation. Defense Secretary SCHLESINGER protested this, saying that the United States holds title to that equipment since the aircraft are part of U.S. military aid. Yesterday the aircraft carrier Midway, in the Thai port of Sattahip, began loading smaller former South Vietnamese aircraft onto her flight deck for the trip to the United States. Larger planes, such as C-130s, will be flown out to U.S. bases. The value of the abandoned aircraft is put at $330 million. Ike Pappas, CBS News, Washington.

Report on Cambodia

MORTON: The administration has intercepted radio transmissions from Cambodia which indicate the Khmer Rouge have killed some Lon Nol government officers and their wives. State Department spokesman Robert Anderson.

ROBERT ANDERSON: Our information on what may be transpiring in Cambodia is fragmentary, but I can say that it is evident to us on the basis of reliable information that orders have been issued by the Khmer Rouge to their outlying commands to kill top military and political leaders at local levels. In addition in one outlying area this order has been carried out, resulting in the death of at least 80 Khmer leaders and their wives.

MORTON: White House press secretary Ron Nessen said the President was deeply bothered by that report.

TODAY SHOW NBC TV
7:00 AM MAY 6

Interview With Kissinger

JIM HARTZ: Now part two of Barbara Walters filmed interview with Secretary of State Henry KISSINGER, the first comprehensive interview he's granted since the fall of South Vietnam. Today Secretary KISSINGER talks about the domino theory and detente with the Soviet Union, among other things.

BARBARA WALTERS: We talk of detente with the Soviet Union, but how do we reconcile detente with a country that aids the collapse of an ally we're committed to defend?

SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER: We have to understand what detente represents. The Soviet Union is a country that we recognize as ideologically hostile. The Soviet Union is a great power that is in many parts of the world operating competitively with us. The Soviet Union is also a country that possesses an enormous nuclear arsenal and with which we have certain interests in common; such as the prevention of general nuclear war, such as limiting conflict in areas where both of us could get directly involved. And in those areas detente has worked reasonably well. What we cannot ask the Soviet Union to do is to keep itself from taking advantage of situations in which for whatever reasons we do not do what is required to maintain the balance. It is true that Soviet arms made the conquest of South Vietnam possible. It is also true that the refusal of American arms made the conquest of South Vietnam

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inevitable. And therefore, while the Soviet Union does have a heavy responsibility we cannot expect the Soviet Union to police the world for us, and we have to be mature enough to recognize that we have to coexist even in a competitive world and perhaps hopefully be able to moderate over a period of years the competition in peripheral areas. Now eventually the Soviet Union must realize that it is responsible for the consequences of its actions, even in peripheral areas. But as a basic relationship detente has never meant the absence of competition.

WALTERS: Where does China stand now as a result of the fall of Saigon?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Well China now has 40 million Vietnamese on its frontiers that do not exactly suffer from a lack of confidence in themselves. I think China will look at the international situation from the point of view of the overall balance of power, from the point of view of its own national interests, and I think it will conclude that the policy that led it to undertake normalization of relations with the United States remain the best course for it. Just as we believe that the normalization of relations with the Peoples Republic of China is an important objective of American policy which will be maintained.

WALTERS: Mr. Secretary, Thailand's foreign minister has said all American soldiers will be totally gone from that country within one year. What does this mean to us?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Basically, as we assess our policy around the world it is important to understand that the United States does not do favors to other countries by being in an alliance with them, nor do other countries do us a favor by being our ally. If other countries want us to withdraw our troops we will of course withdraw them. Our security can be protected in many ways. What it means, however, is that for the Thai leaders the last few months have been a traumatic experience. Thailand supported our efforts in Vietnam and in Indochina because it believed its own security was intimately connected with it. And it is well known that we use Thai bases for many of the operations of the Indochina war. So naturally the Thai leaders are concerned about what this means -- what our withdrawal from Cambodia and Vietnam means -- about our general attitude in foreign policy.

***(Complete transcript available)

PANORAMA WTTG TV
12:30 PM MAY 6

Interview With John Lofton, et al

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JOHN LOFTON: ***But I think you (Gloria EMMERSON) ought to be congratulated for your candor because there are many people like yourself who have postured as advocates of peace in Vietnam when what you desired all along was in fact a Communist victory.***

But anyway that's not central to the point. You said that -- talking about North Vietnam -- you said it's more of a country with more spirit and there's more purpose -- which certainly could have been said of Nazi Germany too. But I think the South is a nightmare and nothing works there now. What interested me was what is it that you think works in North Vietnam?

GLORIA EMMERSON: Well let me just tell you what doesn't work. After all those preposterous years of mythology about how ARVN was doing well, we've seen the performance of a disgraced and decomposing army. Nothing works in the villages, nothing worked in the districts because military officers were running them. Nothing worked at any human level of the society. Money was the only thing that got you anything in South Vietnam at all.

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LOFTON: In order to fight you must have not only will but bullets. And in the 19 day war in the Mid-East, 1973, the United States government gave Israel $700 million in military aid a week. And had that aid been withdrawn from Israel, Israel would have collapsed and been overrun also.

***(complete transcript available)

PLEASE NOTE: Complete transcripts of the following are available:

Evening Edition EE TV April 25, 1975 Interview Sen. Percy.

Evening Edition EE TV April 24, 1975 Interview Ambassadors of Korea and the Philippines.

Walter Cronkite CBS Radio May 2, 1975 Commentary by Dan Rather on Vietnam.

News WTOP Radio May 3, 1975. Report from Vienna on Atomic Nonproliferation treaty.

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CURRENT NEWS
SPECIAL EDITION

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6 MAY 1975 No. 4

COMMENTARY MAY 1975

Vietnam: The Final Reckoning

Robert W. Tucker

AT LAST, the final reckoning in Vietnam is at hand. Barring some unforeseen and unexpected reversal, the last act in what has seemed a never-ending drama has begun. How should we behave in the concluding phase of a conflict whose outcome we have for so long sought to influence? How should we act toward those we chose to support and whose destiny we presumed to guide? However one answers these questions, their importance is apparent. For what we ultimately learn, if anything, from this our first defeat in war will depend in large measure upon our collective memory of Vietnam. In turn, this memory will surely be affected by how we behave in the moment of defeat.

It may be argued that these are questions which should have been asked long ago, that at the very least they should have been asked in January 1973 when American military forces withdrew from Vietnam in accordance with the cease-fire agreements. In fact, they were only seldom raised. To be sure, many have asked how the war, and continued American support of South Vietnam, might be ended. But few have permitted themselves the assumption that these questions would one day have to be raised and answered in the circumstances we now face. The unwelcome truth is that most of us have been loath to confront the issues we have now been forced to confront. The sudden and dramatic turn in the course of the war has brought us to the full accounting we have so long sought to avoid making and one we have been encouraged to avoid making by those bearing official responsibility for American policy. If there is a pervasive air of unease over Vietnam today, it must be largely attributed to the realization that this dreaded accounting can no longer be put off.

At the same time, it is necessary to stress that this accounting is of a special sort and, as such, not to be equated simply, or perhaps even primarily, with conventional diplomatic-strategic calculations. It is not President Ford's falling dominoes and the presumably vital American security interests thereby jeopardized that have given rise to the unease. Nor is it Secretary Kissinger's strictures on the indivisibility of peace and the effects on American global interests in abandoning an ally (South Vietnam) in its moment of extremity. These arguments, invoked from the outset of the American involvement in Vietnam, are still not without *some* effect. But the effect appears rather minimal, and this quite apart from whatever intrinsic merit the arguments might have. Indeed, it may well be that the world of the middle 1970's gives a considerably greater plausibility to such arguments than did the world of the early-to-middle 1960's. Certainly, the American position in the world today is not one that will bear favorable comparison with the American position of a decade ago. These considerations apart, the point remains that the altogether familiar arguments of the administration in response to the recent events in Vietnam are markedly less persuasive than they were in earlier years, and even in the earlier years of American involvement in the war their persuasiveness was limited. The currents of public opinion, and of a substantial portion of elite opinion as well, are running in directions other than those set out by the President and his Secretary of State in defining American security interests both in, and affected by, Indochina.

Nor does it seem plausible that the unease over the impending dénouement in Vietnam is a response to expected recriminations—already surfaced by leading administration figures—over "who lost Vietnam." If anything, these recriminations are likely to still much of the unease that does clearly exist by submerging it in domestic political considerations. There is little the Ford administration can reasonably expect to gain by assigning the loss of Vietnam to the Democratically-controlled Congress accused of having been niggardly in the amount of support it was prepared to give South Vietnam, though there is a good deal the administration could quite possibly lose. This is so if only for the reason that the administration must contend with something approaching the status of a law of politics: re-

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ROBERT W. TUCKER, whose article, "Oil: The Issue of American Intervention," in our January issue has provoked worldwide discussion, is professor of international relations at John Hopkins and the author of several books on world affairs and American foreign policy. He wishes to thank his colleague, Professor Piero Gleijeses, for invaluable help in preparing this article.

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sponsibility for what happens at a given time falls upon those who currently hold power. To escape the operation of this law, however cruel and unjust it may in practice occasionally prove, the present power holders must make a persuasive demonstration that Vietnam might—even would—have been saved had it not been for a recalcitrant and penurious Congress. Given the difficulties of such demonstration, the prospects that it might succeed cannot be rated very bright. Clearly, it will take a good deal more in the way of "proof" than merely to argue that Vietnam would have been saved had Congress only complied with whatsoever requests for aid were made by the executive.

More generally, the circumstances of 1975 simply do not favor in the case of Vietnam even a mini-repetition of the earlier Republican "loss-of-China" gambit. It is not only that in the present case a Republican administration will have presided over the "loss," but that it will have done so in a period when détente with the Soviet Union (and, in lesser degree, with China) has been the great desideratum of policy. How is one to explain simply and persuasively to the great public that those who have been so instrumental in bringing about the loss by presumably being more generous with their ally than we have been with ours, are nevertheless the states with which we must continue to seek closer and more understanding relationships? The initiated may find little trouble in grasping these subtleties of statecraft, though in the case of the Soviet Union even many of the initiated are evidently beginning to experience some difficulty. It seems doubtful, though, that the public will be able to follow this logic.

Yet the charge against Congress of "losing Vietnam" may still elicit a strong public response simply by virtue of the blood and treasure the American people have sacrificed in Vietnam. To invoke this particular logic, to tell the people that its sacrifice has been in vain because in the end this sacrifice was willfully betrayed by those who refused to comply with the administration's requests, would be reckless and irresponsible in the extreme. It would recall a dark and shameful chapter in our history and, in doing so, it would put an even more miserable end to an involvement that has been marked throughout by little else than misery. Despite the occasional intimation that charges reminiscent of McCarthyism may yet be raised, it is difficult to believe we have in recent recriminations more than misguided, though understandable, efforts to prod a Congress no longer willing passively to accept either the judgments or the requests of the executive branch on Indochina—and, for that matter, on foreign policy generally.

II

The question persists: Why the unease in watching the dénouement in Vietnam?* Why do I feel uneasy in observing a tragedy the last act of which can come as no surprise? Clearly, it is not because of any regret over a position of opposition taken and held for more than a decade. In retrospect, there is no apparent reason for altering that position today. I remain persuaded that the American involvement in Vietnam represented, more than anything else, the triumph of an expansionist and imperial interest which, by the 1960's, had submerged the narrower and more conventional security interest the policy of containment initially expressed. Without question, the involvement in Vietnam was also a legacy of the classic cold war, of the momentum generated by the cold war, and of the habits of thought and action the years of intense conflict had encouraged. Yet the greatest legacy of the classic cold war was the gradual submission of the narrower interest that containment initially expressed in the larger interest of maintaining under American leadership a stable and congenial global order. Vietnam was perceived as a threat to this larger interest, and it was the preservation of this larger interest—an imperial interest—that must ultimately explain Vietnam. In the purpose of maintaining a particular vision of world order, in the equation of this order with American security, in the hubris of those who led the nation into war, and in the reluctance to withdraw from a conflict that could not be "won" without resort to odious measures, Vietnam affords a classic case of an imperial war.

Thus the United States involvement in Vietnam was not primarily due to intellectual error, as the prevailing liberal orthodoxy on the war would have it. Nor can it be adequately explained either in terms of an ideological obsession pursued for its own sake or, with more plausibility, in terms of the domestic constraints of anti-Communism. These and similar explanations of the policy that led to Vietnam give to this policy a quality of disinterestedness it did not possess and a quality of innocence it did not have. That policy was not the work of incompetent ideologues who were blind to political realities and oblivious to age-old considerations of interest. It was the work of men who, though they obviously made mistakes, wished to preserve America's global preponderance, and who not unreasonably saw in Vietnam a threat to the nation's preeminent position. In the manner of all imperial visions, the vision of a preponderant America was solidly rooted in the will to exercise dominion over others, however benign the intent of those who entertained the vision. That this will was commonly cloaked in such disarming terms as "liberal internationalism" does not alter the reality. The policy of intervention—of liberal intervention—that culminated in Vietnam was the expected response of an imperial power with a vital interest in maintaining an order that, quite apart from the material benefits it conferred, had become synonymous with the nation's vision of its role in history.

Yet even for one who opposed this vision and the results to which it finally led in Vietnam, there is something awesome and disquieting in the swiftness with which so many have apparently abandoned it in the conviction that we have entered a new period of world history. It may of

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* It is perhaps well to emphasize that "unease" is used here in a sense to be distinguished from the unease that arises simply from witnessing death and destruction (and, in this instance, the sense of shame among many South Vietnamese that an ordeal many bore with so much courage and dignity has been mocked by the behavior of an army in defeat). We all feel uneasy in the face of the suffering of others, quite apart from whether or not we have had any role in, or relationship to, that suffering. In the case of Vietnam, however, the particular unease experienced today stems in large part from the role we have played in the war and the nagging doubts almost all must feel about that role. Then, too, unease might in part stem from the self-deceptions that have been entertained almost to the very end.

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course be argued that the vision has not in fact been abandoned, only the methods by which it was formerly sustained. But given the world in which foreign policy must still be conducted, the abandonment of these methods is very likely to leave the vision little more than an empty shell. Indeed, the abandonment of these methods may well result in jeopardizing narrower and more traditional security interests. In any event, it is in the excess of Vietnam that we may find a root cause—perhaps *the* root cause—of an outlook today that promises to be as indiscriminate in its anti-interventionism as was the interventionism of only yesterday. If some of the now visible consequences of this sudden change are to be deplored, this consideration cannot alter the judgment rendered on our involvement in Vietnam. On the contrary, it can only strengthen the judgment made on the intrinsic folly of that involvement.

III

We come closer to answering the question of why the sense of unease over Vietnam once it is acknowledged that we never honestly faced the issue of how we were to disengage entirely from an enterprise—and this regardless of the consequences—which, even though we should never have undertaken it, we nevertheless did undertake. To have faced up to this issue necessarily meant facing up to its probable consequences—indeed, to its almost certain consequences—and this we could not bring ourselves to do. At least, this is true for almost all of those who, however opposed to American involvement in Vietnam, have not been sympathetic to the cause of the other side in the conflict. A very small minority apart, then, the rest of us have sought, whether consciously or unconsciously, varying ways to escape from confronting the issue we now find we can no longer avoid.

Although few were ever seriously persuaded that Vietnamization would really work, many nevertheless managed to find comfort in the promise that it might do so. Even so, the seductive promise of Vietnamization itself necessarily implied the indefinite continuance of American aid to South Vietnam, both economic and military, or at least so long as the war continued and the North continued to receive help from its allies. To agree to the one—Vietnamization—while denying the other—aid for an indefinite period—was either obtuse or insincere, provided that the South Vietnamese government and army made reasonably effective use of such aid. Moreover, experience had amply demonstrated that "reasonably effective use" in the South Vietnamese context could only be realistically interpreted with some looseness, unless it too was to prove no more than a deceptive—or self-deceptive—formula.

The premise underlying Vietnamization, and thus the implicit obligation to continue aid support, was not the representative character of the South Vietnamese government. On this all-important point, there has been, and remains even today, much confusion. It is true that, during the years Vietnamization was pushed as a way to disengage from direct participation in the conflict, many argued that such assistance as we might later provide would never be effectively used in the absence of a more representative government. Whether subsequent events have confirmed this long-held view must at least remain unclear in one respect, since we have no way of knowing whether a more representative government would in fact have made better use of the aid South Vietnam was given in the period following the American withdrawal. The contrary position is not self-evident, despite the tendency of its proponents to assume that it is. There have been governments before which, while broadly representative, have nevertheless shown themselves incompetent to conduct a war effectively. Moreover, in the case of South Vietnam a government more representative than the Thieu government—though a government that excluded the Vietcong—would still be one that represented disparate political factions which have always been largely devoid of any real popular support. After so many years of discussion and debate, we still do not have a plausible, let alone a persuasive, picture of the kind of government that would have elicited such support in South Vietnam. It is, after all, quite possible that none would have done so.

At any rate, this much at least is clear: if the strategy of disengaging from direct involvement in the war did not mean the abandonment of the South, it implied the commitment in principle to continued economic and military aid after disengagement was completed. It is disingenuous to argue today, though many do, that this strategy implied no commitment of aid, certainly no commitment of military aid, and that if such commitment was undertaken it was done in secret. The argument is disingenuous because the strategy of disengagement was largely based upon just such a commitment, and this was generally understood and accepted at the time. Nor is it relevant, in contending the contrary, to point to the instrument that completed and formalized American disengagement, the January 1973 Vietnam cease-fire agreement.* For that instrument did not have as its purpose the specification of commitments undertaken by the United States toward its ally, and it is captious to pretend otherwise.

It is for these reasons that it is difficult to gainsay the position of the Secretary of State in urging a review of the "public debate during the period that these [1973] agreements were negotiated to see what the imperatives were of the administration in negotiating these settlements" (although it is rather startling to find the Secretary making so ardent an appeal to a process he discouraged at the time). "There was never any proposition," Mr. Kissinger went on to insist at his March 26 news conference, "that the United States would withdraw and cut off aid, and these agreements were negotiated on the assumption that the United States would continue economic and military aid to South Vietnam."

The record broadly supports these assertions. Although in the press conferences and other public statements made at the time by Nixon administration officials in explaining the agreements the military aid question was played down, it was nevertheless answered in a manner that was clear enough given the circumstances. Thus Kissinger himself declared in a news conference immedi-

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* The "Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam" was concluded in Paris on January 23, 1973, the parties to it being the United States, North Vietnam, South Vietnam, and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (PRG). It was attended by various protocols, thus giving rise to such varying descriptions as the cease-fire agreement(s), the Paris accords, etc., and subsequently transmitted to Congress in the form of an executive agreement.

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ately following the conclusion of the Paris accords that the United States would continue to provide South Vietnam with "that military aid which is permitted by the agreement" (that is, to replace used-up equipment on a one-for-one basis with identical equipment) and went on to state: "The United States is prepared to gear that military aid to the action of other countries and not to treat it as an end in itself. . . ." Similar statements were made in subsequent official explanations of the cease-fire agreement. When Thieu visited President Nixon in early April 1973, the joint communiqué issued at the end of the talks reaffirmed, though in guarded terms, what was by then a well-understood position. And in considering the administration's aid requests for Vietnam in the spring of 1973, Congress not only proved quite uncritical in its examination of the requests but appeared to take for granted a continuing commitment to military aid.

It is necessary to review these events, since memories are often quite short, even over issues that once aroused deep passions. The view that the American government, with the knowledge of Congress and the public, undertook no commitment to the government of South Vietnam in the course of disengaging from active participation in the war, may be true in the narrow legalistic sense, but it is only in this sense that it is true. The commitment the American government did evidently undertake was not unconditional. Few, if any, such commitments between states are. It was conditioned on the performance of the South Vietnamese and, of course, on the behavior of the North. But a commitment there was, and it is not only misleading but somehow demeaning to attempt to deny this today.

IV

IN SOME MEASURE, the argument that has gone on over whether we have had a commitment to aid South Vietnam may be seen as one manifestation of the temptation to believe that we were deceived throughout the course of the war by whichever administration was in power—though above all by the Nixon administration. And where we were not deceived, it is tempting to believe that our will, however inarticulately it might have been expressed, was simply ignored by those who bore official responsibility for conducting Vietnam policy. It is tempting to believe this—indeed, the temptation verges on a compulsion—since it relieves us of a responsibility that, for good reason, we do not wish to bear. In fact, the deception of the public and the ignoring of its will do not contrast so markedly with a number of other chapters in post-World War II foreign policy. Moreover, it is often forgotten how frequently in the course of the war deceptions were exposed and secret undertakings uncovered. This is true even of the Nixon years when secrecy and deception, particularly with respect to Vietnam, were carried to yet new extremes. Prior to Watergate, however, they did not represent a political liability for Mr. Nixon. Quite the contrary: if anything, the Nixon Vietnam policy, despite its manner of execution, ultimately turned out to be a factor contributing to his 1972 victory.

Nor is this all. The public will—one uses that shadowy concept with diffidence, though use it we must—was not subverted in the case of Vietnam, not even by Richard Nixon. It may fairly be charged that Nixon exploited this will for his own purposes. But if he did so successfully, it was because this will remained profoundly ambivalent toward the war. Though clearly desiring to get out of the conflict from 1968 on, the public never accepted the stark prospect of defeat. Nor, for that matter, did a majority of the foreign-policy elites, and this despite their opposition to the war. Nixon instinctively recognized this ambivalence, and it dictated his Vietnamese strategy throughout. By changing the costs of the war to the nation,* while effectively exploiting public unwillingness to accept undisguised defeat, the President was able to marshal broad domestic support in 1972 for measures that carried the war as never before to North Vietnam. The relative absence of opposition to the war in the last six months of direct American involvement indicated that public—and also, in substantial measure, elite—disaffection with the war had been largely a function of costs (and, of course, the absence of definitive results). This may be a depressing conclusion to reach, but it is one that is difficult to avoid.

The 1973 cease-fire agreement preserved virtually intact the belief that if we had not won the war, we also had not lost it, that we had not been defeated. This being achieved, the public could readily endorse, and was only too willing to endorse, Nixon's "peace with honor." The President and his principal national-security assistant, for their part, were almost as eager as the public to achieve American disengagement. In addition to its role as the most troublesome of domestic issues, continued American involvement in the war was seen as a constant threat to further progress in détente with the great Communist powers. The Paris accords, particularly coming in the aftermath of the last and greatest display of American air power, satisfied Nixon's and Kissinger's dual requirement that American withdrawal not be seen by the public as a defeat, thereby not jeopardizing the domestic support needed for "larger policies," and by allies and adversaries as an erosion of the nation's prestige and credibility.

IT MAY BE no more than poetic justice that the man who negotiated the Paris cease-fire accords has recently suffered so much criticism for efforts that were almost universally acclaimed at the time. But if Henry Kissinger merits condemnation for what is rapidly becoming in the eyes of growing legions of critics a veritable catalogue of sins, it is difficult to see why the Paris accords should be counted among these sins. Admittedly, the Nobel Peace Prize appeared at the time, and appears even more so today, a rather excessive appraisal of the Kissinger handiwork. But the present condemnation of that handiwork seems only slightly less excessive. For even if it is true, and it is true, that the Paris accords amounted to a delayed and ultimately miserable death sentence for South Vietnam, this condemns the Kissinger efforts only if it is plausible to argue

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* To *this* nation, and not to the Vietnamese, South or North. The key was the reduction of American casualties and the build-up of American firepower. In 1972, the virtual disappearance of what had once been a strong anti-war movement testified to the effectiveness of the Nixon strategy. Elite groups were almost as vulnerable to the strategy as the general public, though they indignantly denied being so. Yet the record is clear that it was American casualties—and, of course, the draft—which above all supported the anti-war movement.

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that the results could have been otherwise and *better*.

No doubt, the results could have been otherwise and better had more favorable terms for the South been extracted from Hanoi. But more favorable terms could only have meant, in the main, the complete withdrawal from the South of the North's forces (together with some mechanism for enforcing the withdrawal), and on this critical issue Hanoi had remained intractable for years. There is no evidence we have that Hanoi might have been induced to alter its position on this issue, short of an American threat literally to destroy the North. Save for a handful of unreconstructed hawks on the war, nearly everyone else drew back in horror at the very suggestion. Indeed, the terms that Kissinger did finally get, though legitimizing the North's presence in the South, *might* (no more is claimed) still have given the South an indefinite lease on life had they been accompanied by the meaningful prospect that the American bombers would return should the North again initiate large-scale military action. Kissinger evidently wanted to retain that option—he strongly hinted so publicly at the time—but he was effectively deprived of it only months later by a President in decline and a Congress that forbade American military forces from engaging in hostile acts in or over Indochina. Once it was made clear that the bombers would not return, there remained no effective means of protecting the South, whether from its own misdeeds or from its endemic vulnerability to large-scale attacks by Hanoi's forces, and it is difficult to fault Kissinger's plaintive comment to this effect in his March 26 news conference.

It has been argued that better terms for South Vietnam might have been gained had the United States agreed to Hanoi's longstanding demand for an unconditional American withdrawal and Thieu's removal. But these terms would have been tantamount to American acknowledgment of an undisguised defeat and, for this reason alone, were out of the question. Even so, it obviously does not follow that if these demands had been accepted, Hanoi would then have been willing to withdraw its forces from South Vietnam. At least, this does not follow in the absence of a government in Saigon that at the least included, if it was not dominated by, the Vietcong. With or without Thieu, Hanoi gave every indication that its forces were in the South to stay.

There remains the view that even given the terms of the Paris accords the results for South Vietnam could have been otherwise and better had Saigon and the United States made a sincere attempt to abide by the terms of the cease-fire. Moreover, this argument runs, had the provisions of the cease-fire agreement been carried out by Saigon and this government, there would have been no need to send additional military aid—or, alternatively, even if the need still had arisen, it might well have been kept to very modest proportions.

Clearly, what is implied here is an overall judgment on the nature of the Paris accords, and it is a judgment to the effect that the accords provided a reasonable chance for achieving a tolerable peace between the South and North. Those who take this view do not deny that, in the best of circumstances, difficulties would have remained in implementing the accords, given the suspicion and hatred that persisted and the many imprecisions and deliberate ambiguities that characterized many provisions of the accords. Even so, it is contended that whatever hope there was for a tolerable peace was dashed by our behavior and the behavior of our ally.

The detailing of this behavior has been made on innumerable occasions and requires only the barest summary. Saigon, with our encouragement, hardly waited until the ink of the agreement was dry before initiating what amounted to offensive actions. Thieu almost immediately reneged on his pledge to release political prisoners, as he did with respect to the obligations entailed in setting up a National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord. The mechanism for broadening political activity in the South was thus subverted while the provisions for organizing free elections under international supervision were simply ignored. On the American side, a series of commitments, some public though others secret, presumably went unfulfilled. Among the latter are included the promise to withdraw all American civilians in the South who were engaged in the support of Saigon's armed forces and the undertaking to cease American air reconnaissance over North Vietnam.*

One might counter this indictment with the numerous violations of the Paris accords charged to the North Vietnamese and Vietcong, violations also alleged to have begun in the months immediately following conclusion of the accords. Would any useful purpose be served by doing so, and by entering into a detailed examination of the order and magnitude of the violations undertaken by the two sides in order to assess relative responsibility for the breakdown of the cease-fire agreement? It would not seem so. Even a casual rereading of the Paris accords only serves to reinforce the conclusion, apparent at the time they were negotiated, that their almost incredible ambiguities meant either that their successful implementation required maximum efforts toward mutual understanding and good will, or that their purpose was simply to provide the means for America's military disengagement while leaving the situation otherwise essentially unchanged. Since the former interpretation is either merely tendentious or absurd, or perhaps both, we are left with the latter interpretation. This being so, it is a largely useless exercise to ask who undermined the agreement. The agreement was made to be undermined; its provisions seemed almost designed to invite evasion and subversion.

The American negotiators may still be judged adversely for having concluded the cease-fire agreement. But fairness requires recognition that the alternatives were either roughly the kind of agreement that was concluded or no agreement at all. Whereas the former alternative permitted military disengagement and the return of American war prisoners, the latter alternative promised —at best—military disengagement. There was of course a third alternative that would have obtained military disengagement and the return of the prisoners of war. This was the acknowledgment of defeat and, as a consequence of such admission, the abandonment of an ally. It was not only the Nixon administration that was completely unwilling to contemplate this third alternative.

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* These and other secret commitments are discussed by Tad Szulc, "Beyond the Vietnam Cease-Fire Agreement," *Foreign Policy* (Summer 1974), pp. 21-69.

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VIETNAM: THE FINAL RECKONING...Continued

So was the nation, though in lesser degree. In light of what we now know, it is easy and fashionable to say that the third alternative would have represented the course of wisdom. For it is only by the barest of subterfuges that we may now continue to pretend that we were not defeated in Vietnam. Pride often counts for more than wisdom, however, and particularly in the case of powerful nations. And even were it not for pride, there was always the question of what to do with those whose destiny we sought to determine, however misguidedly, and whom, though their destiny is no longer within our reach (if, indeed, it ever really was), we cannot with honor simply cast aside.

V

THERE is an almost instinctively negative reaction to once again raising the matter of honor in relation to Vietnam. The reaction is surely understandable, even if misplaced. Abused and perverted on so many occasions during the past decade in relation to the war, the American involvement in Vietnam has almost succeeded in giving honor a bad name. Are we to conclude from this experience, however, that there is no such thing as honor or that honor can have no relevance to the manner in which as a nation we behave toward others? Apparently not, for it is the most extreme opponents of the war who have themselves been most insistent on seeing Vietnam as raising above all a moral issue and therefore, by implication, a matter of honor. Whether morality, and honor, occupy so exalted a position in the affairs of nations is a question that need not be entered into here. It is sufficient to insist that honor does enter into such affairs and that nations may dishonor, and have dishonored, themselves.

There can be no objection, then, to raising the matter of honor at this late date and to ask what remaining obligations, if any, we have that have grown out of our role in the Vietnamese conflict. It is no criticism of the Secretary of State that he has seen fit to ask this question and to answer it. Mr. Kissinger believes that in the "moment of extremity" of an ally the test of our character as a people is whether we are willing to stand by a commitment earlier made and to continue aid to that ally. This is, to him, "an elementary question of what kind of a people we are . . . a fundamental question of how we are viewed by all other people, and it has nothing to do with the question of whether we should ever have gotten involved there [Indochina] in the first place." To desert one's ally even when the latter's cause has become extreme is to dishonor oneself. And so it is, provided the commitment itself was an honorable one and the recipient has fulfilled the conditions implied by the commitment. To argue that even a dishonorable commitment, once made, can only be abandoned at the cost of honor itself is simply perverse. To insist that the recipient of a commitment deserves one's continued loyalty even if he has failed to fulfill the conditions of the commitment is unreasonable.

Whether the commitment made to South Vietnam is judged more than a mistake is a question that need not be argued here. What is of relevance is whether the South Vietnamese government made reasonably effective use of such aid as was given it. For if it did not do so, the further question whether it was given "adequate" aid need not even be considered. Did our ally fulfill the elementary condition implied by the commitment? There is very little evidence to support the view that it did, and a great deal of evidence to support the view that it did not. By almost any reasonable standard of effectiveness of performance, and even assuming for the sake of argument the existence of certain shortages due to the alleged penury of the aid-giver, the indispensable condition of continued moral obligation simply was not met. What follows from this is not that one may view with indifference the plight of those remnants of an armed force which do remain willing and able to fight. There is, in fact, no generally satisfactory answer that can be given in such extreme and agonizing situations, save to say —and it is concededly not much—that such answer must be determined by practical as well as humanitarian criteria. On the major issue, however, the response seems quite clear: there remains no obligation to be violated.

These considerations have taken administration arguments, particularly those of Mr. Kissinger, at face value. But this surely cannot be the end of the matter. We are entitled to ask, why the extraordinary sensitivity shown, not merely over keeping commitments—this is altogether expected—but over the moral necessity of doing so? While the Secretary may not be altogether insensitive to moral issues in statecraft, as his critics so regularly depict him as being, no one can accuse him of ever having been obsessed with such issues. Clearly, he is obsessed with issues of credibility and prestige, and while the importance of these issues may be granted, they are not synonymous with moral issues. The suspicion accordingly must arise that the Secretary has sought to use the moral on behalf of the strategic, that he has been looking at strategic interests and presenting them in moral terms.

IF THERE is nothing heinous in this, it is also not particularly admirable; above all in the present agony of South Vietnam. Moral sensitivity, one would have thought, might well have been directed in other and rather obvious directions, while strategic interests were being displayed for what they are. One such direction moral sensitivity can take is toward those South Vietnamese whose lives may be placed in jeopardy under a Communist, or Communist-dominated, regime if only because of past associations with the Americans. No one knows how many such persons may fall into this, and still other, categories, but it would be rash to assume the number is small.

Those who have for so long pressed the specter of a "blood bath" cannot in good conscience remain silent today toward the one measure that could remove their fear. The responsibility for granting asylum must be seen as a kind of litmus-paper test of the sense of obligation we feel, if not toward all those who will be placed in danger for whatever reason in a new regime, then at least toward those who have compromised themselves through past association with us. If the question of numbers is raised, it is well to recall that we took in 600,000 refugees from Cuba during the years following Castro's accession to power. Yet in the majority of cases, there was no physical danger posed to the Cuban emigrés and little obligation on our part by virtue of our own actions, as there

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is in Vietnam.

Nor is it only a matter of simple moral obligation that is involved in the case of Vietnam; it is also a test of the racism with which we have been taxed by others, and particularly in our attitudes and actions toward Asians. A refusal to make every effort to take in those Vietnamese who wish to leave and whose position has been compromised by us will confirm, as perhaps nothing else could, the charge we have so indignantly denied throughout the war.

Beyond this, if we are so concerned with our image of ourselves in defeat, as well we should be, we cannot avoid facing the issue of American economic aid to a South Vietnam we no longer influence. It is now known that in March 1973, the United States and North Vietnam came close to an agreement on American aid to the North for reconstruction. The agreement proved abortive because of the Nixon administration's ire over Communist truce violations and public indignation, reflected in Congress, over Hanoi's treatment of American prisoners of war, then being released. If aid for reconstruction was nevertheless justified in principle in the case of the North in 1973, then there is surely as strong a case to be made today for aiding the South, or, for that matter, the whole of Vietnam. To be militarily frustrated, and eventually defeated, by so small a state is humiliating, and nothing we say can deny this. Even so, generosity in defeat is not demeaning and certainly not for a great power. There is no reason why we cannot be as generous in defeat today as we have been in victory in the past.

VI

THESE observations are not intended to convey the impression that the final reckoning in Vietnam must be seen only in moral terms. Although the moral dimension of any accounting we are to make is important, the strategic dimension obviously cannot be neglected. What I have objected to is a view that misreads, if it does not pervert, the nature of the moral obligation that emerged from our commitment to South Vietnam, and that does so out of concern for strategic interests. Moreover, considering the immediate area to which this view has been applied, one must amend the preceding sentence to read that a mistaken strategic interest is equated with a spurious moral obligation. Applied elsewhere, to areas of real interest and to conditions altogether different from those that prevailed in Vietnam, the effects of this argument could prove to be devastating.

It is the tone as much as the substance of administration reactions to what has happened in Vietnam that are disturbing. While many have in retrospect unfairly criticized the 1973 Paris accords, the principal architect of those accords also insists upon finding a meaning in them they did not have. The apparent intent is to relieve himself of any responsibility for recent events in Vietnam. Yet there is the more ominous suggestion in the Kissinger reaction that what might now happen elsewhere (the Middle East?) must be seen as a result of the nation's failure to have appreciated its interests in and to have stood by its commitments to South Vietnam. One can only trust that this is little more than a passing mood, a short-lived reaction to a failure that can no longer be obscured. If it is more than that, if it is indicative of a more persistent attitude that finds increasing expression in American policy, then the prospect beckons of a determination by our policy-makers to create their own dominoes.

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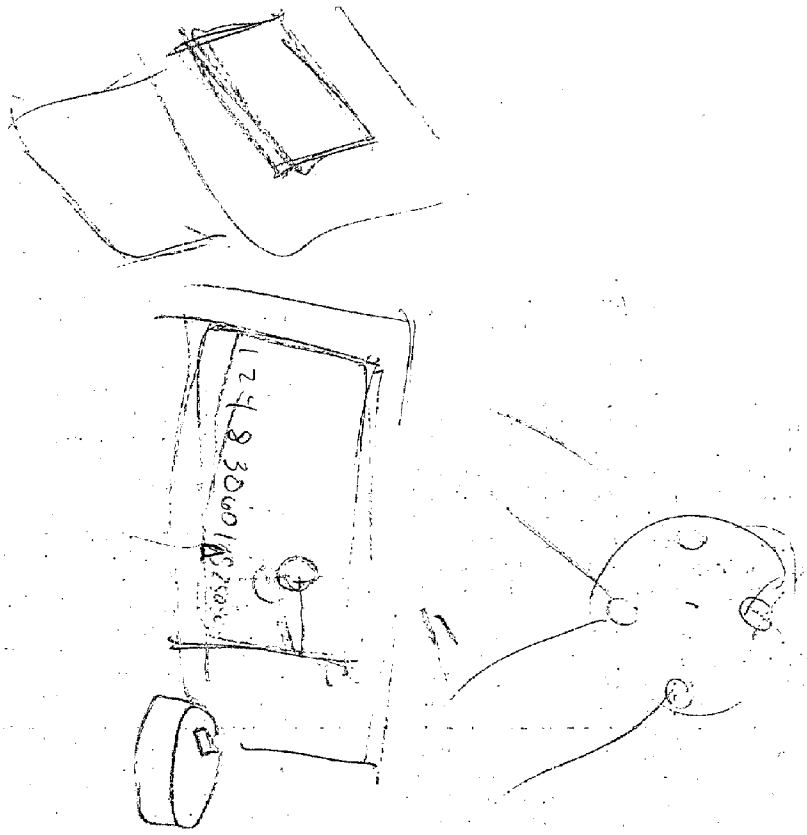

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CURRENT NEWS

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TUESDAY, MAY 6, 1975

NEW YORK TIMES
6 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

MOVE FOR BIG CUTS IN DEFENSE WANES

By LESLIE H. GELB
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 5—Congressional liberals and moderates, having held their ground against the Ford Administration on the issue of aid to Indochina, are backing away from their earlier intention of challenging the Administration anew with attempts to make record cuts in defense spending and to reduce overseas forces.

Interviews with more than two dozen Democratic legislators and staff aides have made it clear that most of the legislators want to avoid signaling other nations that the United States is entering an isolationist period and to avoid being tagged by the Ford Administration as isolationists themselves.

At a private meeting of about 30 liberal members of the staffs of the Senate and House of Representatives last Friday, some of those present said it was implicitly agreed to seek a cut of about 7 per cent in the Pentagon's $104.7-billion budget. Before the unraveling of the American position in Indochina many of these aides and their bosses were talking of at least 10 per cent.

The Senate majority leader, Mike Mansfield of Montana, is reliably reported to be unlikely to offer his amendment, as he has done since 1966, to withdraw the bulk of American forces in Europe.

These are but two of many examples of tactical maneuvering among Capital Hill Democrats as they try to evaluate domestic and foreign reaction to the fall of the Saigon and Phnom Penh governments.

The cautionary note was particularly pronounced among those who have fueled foreign-policy confrontations with Republican Administrations in recent years. An aide to a prom-

(See CUTS, Pg. 2)

WASHINGTON POST 6 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Thailand to Return Planes To U.S., Pentagon Says

From News Dispatches

Despite warnings from Saigon and Hanoi, Thailand is returning to the United States the 120 U.S.-made aircraft flown there by fleeing South Vietnamese airmen, the Pentagon announced yesterday.

A Pentagon spokesman said that most of the warplanes, including C-119 and C-47 cargo planes and F-5 and A-37 fighters, were being dismantled and returned to the United States by ship, but that C-130 transports were being flown directly to Clark Air Base in the Philippines.

The planes had been assigned to the defeated South Vietnamese government under military aid agreements, but the new Communist government in Saigon, the Provisional Revolutionary Government, claimed that the planes belonged to it.

Hanoi pressured Bangkok to return the U.S.-made planes to Saigon, but Thai Foreign Minister Chatichai Choonhaven had earlier said his government would keep the planes.

(See PLANES, Pg. 2)

GENERAL NEWS SUMMARY
FROM THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
MAY 6, 1975
World-Wide

INDOCHINA REFUGEE AID of $507 million was asked by President Ford.

The resettlement money, for 125,000 to 150,000 refugees expected to come to the U.S., would supplement $98 million already available from a fund for postwar Vietnam reconstruction. Four days ago the House rejected a $327 million aid bill, partly because it included authority for use of U.S. troops in an evacuation. The $507 million Mr. Ford wants would be spent from now through Sept. 30, 1977, for medical care, education, transportation and food.

Seeking to overcome public opposition to accepting the refugees, the administration promised it wouldn't resettle any in economically depressed areas. Up to 10% of the refugees may go to other countries.

(See NEWS SUMMARY, Pg. 8)

NEW YORK TIMES 6 MAY 1975 Pg. 3

U.S Will Provide Jordan With Defensive Missiles

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 5—The United States has reached final agreement with Jordan on the sale of a modern HAWK air defense system, a State Department official said today.

The accord, which will outfit the Jordanians with sophisticated surface-to-air missiles, was made final while King Hussein was in Washington last week for talks with President Ford, Secretary of State Kissinger and other officials.

The official refused to disclose how many batteries of missiles the Jordanians would receive or how much they would cost, but another official estimated the cost to be at least $100-million, over a period of years.

The disclosure of the sale of the missiles, long sought by King Hussein to modernize his air defenses, came on the same day that the White House announced that President Ford would follow up his meeting with President Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt next month in Europe by conferring in Washington on June 11 and 12 with Premier Yitzhak Rabin of Israel.

The meeting with Mr. Rabin was set up in recent days after Mr. Ford had decided to meet with President Sadat in Salzburg, Austria, on June 1 and 2 while on an extended European trip.

Officials Chagrined

State Department officials were somewhat chagrined by the disclosure of the HAWK sale, since at the regular news conference this afternoon, Robert Anderson, the department spokesman, had said that no new military commitments were being made to any Middle East country while the American policy reassessment was going

(See MISSILES, Pg.2)

NEW YORK TIMES
6 MAY 1975 Pg. 14

Pentagon Hit For Strategy On A-War

United Press International

The Pentagon is planning a strategy that "puts a hair trigger on nuclear war," Sen. Thomas J. McIntyre (D-N.H.) said yesterday.

McIntyre said the Pentagon's chief ally in the effort is Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.), a contender for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination.

McIntyre said Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger is seeking nuclear weapons that would not just destroy an enemy but would be so accurate they could destroy Soviet missiles before they are fired.

A debate on the subject is expected today in the Senate Armed Services Committee meeting. Both McIntyre and Jackson chair Armed Services subcommittees.

"If you threaten your adversary's missiles, even if you are only preparing for a limited nuclear war, he may reasonably fear that you are preparing to take his deterrent away with a pre-emptive first strike. In a period of crisis, this fear is a motive to strike you first," McIntyre said.

"It means your own missiles are more attractive targets and it consequently puts a hair trigger on nuclear war."

JAMES KILLINGBECK, CHIEF, CURRENT NEWS BRANCH, OX 78765 HELEN YOUNG, ASSISTANT CHIEF

FOR SPECIAL RESEARCH SERVICES OR DISTRIBUTION CALL HARRY ZUBKOFF, CHIEF, EXECUTIVE AGENCY SERVICE, OX 52884

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MISSILES ... CONT'D

on.

The United States has already held up delivery of the Lance surface-to-surface missile to Israel and told an evaluation team to delay its arrival here for testing the F-15 fighter.

But the department said late today that the agreement to sell the HAWK system to Jordan was reached "in principle" when Mr. Kissinger was in Jordan last November. A Pentagon survey team went to Jordan in February to make specific recommendations, the official said. Thus, in the department view, those was not a new commitment to Jordan. It said a decision would be made on the Israeli Lance in due course.

King Hussein, in a speech today at Florida State University that will in essence be given again tomorrow at the Citadel, in Charleston, S. C., said that Jordan, Egypt and Syria were ready to make peace with Israel if Israel withdrew from all territory occupied in the June, 1967, war, and recognized the "legitimate rights of the Palestinian people."

The Israelis, however, have refused to give up all occupied territory, insisting that at least some of it would have to be retained for security reasons.

Meetings Called Crucial

Administration officials have described Mr. Ford's coming meetings with Mr. Sadat and Mr. Rabin as crucial to the American decision on how to proceed toward keeping momentum alive for a Middle East settlement.

The Administration believes another Geneva conference seems inevitable, but it would like to see whether either Egypt or Israel, or both, are willing to make the concessions to revive the possibility of a step-by-step agreement.

The diplomatic effort was set back in March when Mr. Kissinger failed to bring about a new Egyptian-Israeli limited agreement in Sinai. Since then the Ford Administration has been conducting a widely publicized reassessment of its Mideast policies.

Mr. Kissinger, in an interview taped last Saturday and being shown in segments on the Today show of NBC, said in tomorrow's installment that the United States did not have a plan it would present to Egypt and Israeli now.

Risk Is Cited

"But we do have the conviction that a prolonged stalemate in the Middle East involves a high risk of another Middle East war with major consequences for the possibilities of a conflict with the Soviet Union and with a major impact on the economies of all of the industrialized nations, including us," he said.

Mr. Kissinger said that after the Sadat and Rabin meetings, "we will formulate a precise American policy."

He said there was no "terminal date" for the reassessment, and that the final decisions would not be made until Mr. Ford had conferred with key leaders. Mr. Kissinger also said that the United States would "stand by our existing commitments" to Israel.

The American commitment to Israel was forcefully stated by Senator Edward M. Kennedy in a speech to a leadership meeting of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, which met here for two days.

The Massachusetts Demoerat, after making a strong plea for the Ford Administration to make the issue of stepped-up Jewish emigration a priority matter with Soviet leaders, said "our commitment to Israel's independent future will persist."

The conference, which is an umbrella organization for American Jewish groups interested in improving the treatment and emigration of Soviet Jews, also heard from Senator Henry M. Jackson, Democrat of Washington, who argued strongly against any Administration effort to change the current law that keeps trade benefits from the Soviet Union and other Communist countries unless they give assurances of liberalized emigration procedures.

In a statement issued at the end of the conference, the leadership group "condemned" what it called a "continuing anti-Semitic propaganda campaign,, in the Soviet Union. It also called upon Mr. Ford to take strong steps on behalf of Soviet Jews.

CUTS ... CONTINUED

inent northeastern Democraticis Senator said: "He does not want to rock a boat that's already rocking. But this is a transitory situation. The idea is to maintain the status quo until he can figure out where to go next."

An important Senate committee aide, relating conversations with several committee members, commented, "Look, what they're in effect saying is that we took the heat over Vietnam and we don't want to take the responsibility if anything goes wrong anywhere else."

Other Signs of Pattern

There were other indications of what almost all of those interviewed depicted as a short-term pattern, along these lines:

¶Senator Sam Nunn, Democrat of Georgia, a member of the Armed Services committee, who went to South Korea several months ago, then drafted a proposal to phase down the 42,000-man American force tiere. He has now shelved it.

¶The House Democratic leader, Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. of Massachusetts, was a principal co-sponsor of a move last year to reduce American forces overseas by 100,000. This year is said, he is against associating himself with it.

¶Two liberal Democratic Representatives, Les Aspin of Wisconsin and James W. Symington of Missouri, are circulating a resolution reaffirming United States treaty commitments. They have 51 co-sponsors, many of whom have been arguing that American power s overextended.

Proposals Rejected

The maneuvering among Democrats on the Pentagon budget for the fiscal year beginning in July started last month. The new Senate Budget Committee rejected proposals by two Democrats, Joseph R. Biden Jr of Delaware and James Abourezk of South Dakota, that would have made major reductions in spending for national security. Edmund S. Muskie of Maine and Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota, both leading liberal Democrats, voted in the negative.

Mr. Mondale said in a telephone interview: "The Vietnam situation does paitn a different picture for us. It's very important not to signal the Russians and others that we're giving up, the Congress decided against the war in Vietnam. We did not vote to become an isolationist country."

Last year Mr. Mondale voted for the Mansfield moves to cut American forces in Europe and to withdraw and deactivate 76,000 troops overseas. This year, Mr. Mondale said, he would not vote for such measures.

A number of Mr. Mondale's colleagues made similar remarks in interviews, but they would not permit their names to be used.

Focus on New Request

The staff meeting on the defense budget Friday was organized by Senators Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts and Alan Cranston of California. According to several of those present, the discussion focused on the Pentagon's new request for $28.5-billion for procurement of weapons and for research and development.

"Everyone more or less assumed that a $4-to-$5-billion cut was all that was possible or wise given the current climate," a participant said.

Another related: "What we agreed on was to get a debate started on questioning the assumptions that underlie the Pentagon request. We were not aiming so much at the authonization bills that will be coming up for a vote soon but for the vote on appropriations which will come several months from now and for next year."

Representative Aspin said he was trying to get hi5ecolleagues to "draw a distinction between troop-cut amendments and proposals to cut unnecessary weapons systems." He added: "Our desire to reaffirm commitments should not blind us to cutting other defense programs.

Avoiding a Meat Ax

Mr. Mondale, who also said he wanted to reduce specific weapons systems but not attack the budget with a meat ax, explained: "The course of detente with Moscow has proved more difficult than the Administration stated and than I anticipated two years ago."

Many of those interviewed said their thinking had been affected by as-yet unpublished studies by the Brookings Institution. The maxiumimum cut in defense procurement advanced by the Brookings experts this year was $1.9-billion, the figures much larger in previous years.

In the Senate many interviewed also indicated a desire to find some way of lifting the prohibition on military aid to Turkey. Congress voted last year to stop further aid after Turkey invaded Cyprus. "If we could vote in secret session with no press leaks," a senator said, "we'd reverse ourselves on this issue by a large majority."

A sampling of sentiment in the House still showed a majority in favor of maintaining the ban until progress we was made in the Cyprus negotiations.

PLANES ... CONTINUED

Liberation Radio from Saigon broadcast a condemnation of Thailand and said, "It is time for Thailand to reconcile its policy toward Vietnam or Vietnam will reciprocate accordingly." Hanoi Radio had said that returning the planes to Saigon "would be an important contribution to normalization of relations . . . and peace in the region."

In Bangkok, meanwhile, a Thai government communique announcing the reduction of U.S. military personnel by 7,500 "places" by the end of next month made no mention of closing any of the four remaining American bases or of any reduction in the 350 American aircraft now in the country.

The current level of U.S. military strength in Thailand is reportedly 25,000 servicemen.

The new civilian Thai government declared upon taking office in March that all American forces would have to leave Thailand within 12 months, but few observers think this is likely. The governing coalition is shaky and unlikely to be in office within a year, and there is considerable opposition to the withdrawals from the rightist Thai armed forces.

"The military do not want this to happen" because they feel that without the continued presence of American bases "they would be unable to get as much U.S. military assistance as they presently get," said a Foreign Ministry source. "They consider this equipment vital to combat the insurgency."

Within the past few weeks, a spate of well-publicized Thai Communist insurgent attacks in northern and northeastern Thailand have provided useful ammunition for the military, he said.

Elements of the Foreign Ministry and the civilian government, however, see the continuing U.S. military presence here as preventing any attempt at rapprochement with North Vietnam. Hanoi has already said that it will not talk with the Thai government until all foreign troops are withdrawn from the country.

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TUESDAY MORNING, 6 MAY 1975

BALTIMORE SUN
6 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

U.S. cuts forces in Thailand

By CHARLES W. CORDDRY
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—The United States and Thailand announced yesterday a new reduction of more than 25 per cent in American military manpower and an unspecified cut in the number of U.S. aircraft still stationed on Thai air bases.

At the same time, the Defense Department disclosed that, despite Thai objections, it is removing from Thailand about 120 American-built planes and 48 helicopters in which South Vietnamese Air Force personnel and other South Vietnamese had fled as Saigon's fall became imminent.

Thailand, seeking to improve relations with Hanoi, had tried to impound the aircraft, it was reported, while it considered demands that they be returned to Vietnam. Their retrieval apparently constitutes the largest success the United States has had in regaining any of the more than $5 billion worth of U.S.-supplied materiel in South Vietnam as North Vietnamese forces swarmed over the country.

The Washington-Bangkok announcement on cuts in American Air Force personnel and aircraft left unanswered the question of the future of an American military presence in Thailand. The Thais want the Americans out by next March.

The Pentagon said yesterday the new reduction is a continuation of decreases that have been going on since late 1973 and negotiations about the future are in progress.

Though Bangkok, now adjusting its policy toward North Vietnam, could capitalize on yesterday's announcement, it was not clear here whether further reductions than those already planned—but unannounced—now will take place by the new June 30 deadline.

It is known, for example, that there were 345 American aircraft of all types on four Thai bases at the start of this month and that plans already called for withdrawing a total of 108 F-111 and F-4 jet combat planes by June 30. The 36 F-111's are to return to their base in Nevada while the 72 F-4's are slated for distribution to units on Okinawa.

Among the additional planes that now may be put on the list, some military observers thought, are 17 B-52 bombers still stationed at Thailand's Utapao base.

The official announcement said only that "authorized" manpower strength would be cut back by June 30 from 27,000 to a new ceiling of 19,500 and that specific units to go would be determined later. The actual strength is about 25,000.

When withdrawals began in September, 1973, the United States had about 43,000 military men and 720 aircraft in Thailand. Thai bases housed forces used in the bombing of North Vietnam. Thai soldiers fought the Communists in South Vietnam.

Now Thailand, experiencing increased insurgency in its northern areas, is revamping policies and Hanoi had said one way to do so would be to return the American-built aircraft in which South Vietnamese fled.

The United States, which claimed title to the planes, thwarted any such outcome when it flew some to the Philippines and loaded others on the aircraft carrier Midway, which pulled up to the Thai port of Sattahip at the start of the weekend.

The Midway, it was reported here, had 27 A-37 attack bombers lifted aboard by helicopters and 24 F-5 jet fighters brought out by barge. It also took on 48 helicopters. A range of larger planes, including 8 C-130 transports, flew out of Utapao.

The retrieval of South Vietnamese Air Force aircraft left possibly 900 planes, including perhaps 200 combat types, in South Vietnam in unknown condition. The total would be about half the strength of the South Vietnamese Air Force at the start of Hanoi's offensive.

A Defense Department official, Erich F. Von Marbod, was in Saigon just before the country fell, trying to assess the extent of losses in American-supplied equipment. He is expected here soon with a report.

The best estimate officials have, meanwhile, is that there was more than $5 billion worth, but a large portion of it unusable.

NEW YORK TIMES - 6 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

U.S. Gets From Thailand Planes Flown by Refugees

By JOHN W. FINNEY
Special to The New York Times

WASINGTON, May 5 — The Defense Department disclosed today that the United States had started removing from Thailand many of the 120 planes flown there by fleeing South Vietnamese pilots last week before the Communists took control in Saigon.

Both North Vietnam and the new Saigon Revolutionary Government demanded that Thailand turn over the planes, but Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger said at a Pentagon news conference last Thursday that the United States still retained title to the aircraft, which it supplied to the former South Vietnamese Government under the military aid program.

The United States also announced jointly with the Thai Government today that the 25,000-man American military force in Thailand would be reduced by about 25 per cent in the next two months.

The Thai Foreign Ministry in Bangkok described the reduction as part of a program to phase out an American military presence in Thailand by next March in accordance with a policy announced when the current Government took office this March.

United States officials, however, were much less emphatic on this point.

The troop reduction is part of a gradual withdrawal of United States troops that was under way before the surrender of Saigon to the Communists. In the wake of the Communist take-over, however, a question is now arising whether Thailand will permit a residual American force to remain.

Both the removal of the American-built aircraft, begun after initial Thai objectives, and the scheduled troop reductions underscored the uncertainties and strains that have grown in relations between the United States and Thailand—which are allies in the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization—with the fall of the American-supported Government in South Vietnam.

Thailand's Premier, Kukrit Pramoj, said after the surrender of Saigon that his Government would enter into negotiations with the Vietnamese Communists concerning return of the planes. But after the American position was enunciated, Thai officials said they would have to re-examine the issue.

Over the weekend, the aircraft carrier Midway anchored off the Thai port of Sattahip and, according to Pentagon officials, began loading 54 F-5 fighter planes and A-37 light attack bombers. Some C-130 transport planes were being flown from Thaillan to Clark Air Base in the Philippines.

Some Unite to Be Withdrawn

A joint American-Thai announcement on troops said the authorized strength of United States forces in Thailand would be reduced from the present approved level of 27,000 to 19,500 by the end of June. The actual strength now is 25,000 men, most of them in the Air Force.

Along with the troop reduction, the United States is due to withdraw some of the Air Force squadrons now stationed in Thailand. The Air Force has about 350 planes in Thailand, including about 200 fighter-bombers and 12 B-52 strategic bombers.

Ron Nessen, the Presidential press secretary, predicted today that there would be further reductions in the United States force in Thailand and said that if the Thai Government wanted all the Americans withdrawn, "then, of course, they will be withdrawn."

In the view of State and Defense Department officials, however, the Thai Government is still divided on whether all American forces should be removed.

One element in the Thai Government, apparently led by Foreign Minister Chatichai Choonhavan, is demanding that American servicemen be removed as quickly as possible. But according to United States officials, there is another strong element that is inclined to permit a continuing American military presence in Thailand, at least until Bangkok can reassess its policy in the new situation in Southeast Asia.

"They are obviously searching for a new policy," one official said, "and for the moment are uncertain what to do about an American military presence."

WASHINGTON POST
6 MAY 1975 Pg. 2

2 Top Officers Of Marines Ask to Retire

Associated Press

Rebuffed by civilian leaders, the two top officers of the Marine Corps have asked for early retirements, Pentagon sources said yesterday.

Gen. Robert E. Cushman Jr., Marine commandant, and Gen. Earl D. Anderson, assistant commandant, have submitted letters asking for retirment July 1, the sources said.

Secretary of the Navy J. William Middendorf II is expected to approve.

The two generals acted less than a week after President Ford followed the recommendation of Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger and Middendorf and nominated Lt. Gen. Louis Wilson, a Medal of Honor winner, to succeed Cushman.

Cushman, whose four-year term normally would end Dec. 31, supported Anderson to follow him as chief of the 196,000-member Marine Corps. Rarely has a Marine commandant given up his post before finishing his full term.

Cushman has told newsmen that he would lose about $300 a month in retirement pay if he stayed on beyond September because of a technical quirk in the law. Anderson also would stand to lose the same amount, sources said.

The sources said it would be incorrect to say that Cushman and Anderson were fired.

But one official said that, while Cushman and Anderson made their own decisions on retirement, there was "encouragement" from senior civilian officials.

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The Washington Merry-Go-Round

THE WASHINGTON POST Tuesday, May 6, 1975 B13

Detente Draining U.S. Technology

By Jack Anderson and Les Whitten

The diplomatic cables have brought reassurances from Moscow that detente is not dead.

The Politburo has dropped hard-liner Alexander Shelepin and has reaffirmed its support of party chairman Leonid Brezhnev's accommodation with the West. In deference to detente, the Kremlin has even refrained from crowing over the U.S. setback in Southeast Asia.

But while detente has brought a welcome relaxation of tensions, the United States has paid a price that the American people haven't been told about. Detente also has produced a technology drain from the United States to the Soviet Union that has cost the United States millions of dollars, thousands of jobs and some valuable scientific secrets.

Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) has become so concerned about the economic consequences and potential danger to national security that he has ordered a Senate investigation.

Here are the details:

The Soviet-American scientific cooperation has been largely one-way. Soviet technology lags years behind ours in most important fields, including agriculture, deep-sea exploration, computers, aircraft development, and space science.

The Russians have little to offer and much to gain, therefore, from the technological exchange. With the active encouragement of the State and Commerce departments, American firms have exported, or are planning to export, millions of dollars worth of technological information and products.

This has upset U.S. intelligence analysts who believe the Soviets are trying to exploit American technology primarily for military purposes.

Finished products are sold to the Soviets, who often put them to military use. Several American firms are bargaining to sell advanced computers and airplanes to the Soviet Union. These models are far more sophisticated than anything the Soviets have produced.

U.S. firms also sell licenses that permit the Soviets to build the products. In such instances, the Soviets buy everything, including blueprints.

Valuable information is released even before contracts are signed. The Soviets dangle lucrative contracts in front of U.S. companies, and while negotiations are in progress, the Soviets seek detailed technical information and send engineering teams to inspect U.S. plants. By the time they leave, one source said, "They have stolen the candy store."

U.S. companies also have offered to build and operate plants for the Soviets. Several proposals are under consideration to build huge, sophisticated airplane manufacturing complexes in the Soviet Union.

Scientists, students and technicians also are exchanged. Under one recent program, 38 Russian students came to the United States to study science, engineering, business, and computers. In exchange, 38 American students went to the Soviet Union and studied history, political science, sociology, and literature.

Experts estimate that at least half the Russians who come to the United States under the exchange programs report back to the KGB, the Soviet security police. The FBI has asked for additional agents to watch them while they are in the United States.

On the other hand, virtually every American male who goes to Moscow for more than two weeks finds himself with a Russian girl friend who wants to "practice her English," intelligence sources told us. Most of the girls are believed to be KGB agents, who are fluent in English.

As an illustration of the technology drain, the Soviets are taking advantage of detente to catch up with the United States in computer science, the key to America's overall technological superiority.

The Soviets are at least 10 years behind in computer development. They have produced one computer of significant capacity, and it would take about 32 of them to equal one top-line U.S. computer.

The Soviets would be further behind if the West had not sold them some advanced computers. One U.S. firm, Control Data Corp., has signed preliminary agreements to help the Soviets build plants to manufacture computers and peripheral equipment.

The Soviets have made sure they will receive considerable technology in the bargain. One agreement, signed Oct. 19, 1973, calls for the "exchange of scientific and technical information; organization of lectures, symposium and demonstrations of the production samples; (and) joint research, development and testing, exchange of research results and experience."

The Soviets also are eager to catch the United States in production of wide-bodied jets. They have one on the drawing board that will come off the production line in 1980. Even then, it will be inferior to current U.S. models.

Holding out possible contracts, the Soviets have obtained detailed plans for wide-bodied jets from Boeing, Lockheed and McDonnell Douglas. A team of about 40 Soviet specialists has visited plants of each company.

Detente may well be Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's crowning achievement, but it has been a headache for the FBI and the Central Intelligence Agency.

1975, United Feature Syndicate

WASHINGTON POST - 6 MAY 1975 Pg. 10

Lon Nol Officers, Wives Reportedly Are Killed

United Press International

The White House yesterday said intercepted Cambodian radio transmissions indicated that 80 or 90 Cambodian military officers and their wives have been killed by the Khmer Rouge since the fall of Phnom Penh.

Press secretary Ron Nessen said President Ford was "deeply bothered" by the reports and particularly the killing of the wives.

Nessen said the intercepted report also indicated that executions, mostly against military officers of the Lon Nol government, were continuing.

Nessen said that despite censorship in neighboring South Vietnam "some reports" have filtered out of executions of policemen and others in the Communist-held areas of South Vietnam. So such executions had been reported in Saigon, Nessen said.

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, apparently referring to the reported Cambodia Killings, said yesterday in a televisied interview," . . We know that in Cambodia very tragic and inhuman and barbarous things are going on." Kissinger cited this as the reason why the United States has not immediately recognized the new Cambodian regime.

Both Time and Newsweek magazines, in this week's editions, report executions of army and government officials in Cambodia.

Time said Mr. Ford revealed the killing of high-ranking officers to republican congressmen last week.

"They killed the wives, too," time quoted Mr. Ford as saying. "They said the wives were just the same as their husbands. This is a horrible thing to report to you, but we are certain that our sources are accurate."

Newsweek quoted a U.S. official as saying "thousands have already been executed," and the figure could rise to "tens of thousands of Cambodians loyal to the Lon Nol regime."

WASHINGTON POST - 6 MAY 1975 Pg. 3

Vietnamese Arms Asked for Rhodesia

Agence France-Presse

KINGSTON, May 5—The Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, Rhodesidan black nationalist leader, has appealed for the arms used by the Vietnamese to be diverted to "freedom fighters" in his country.

The Rev. Sithole, president of the Zimbabwe African National Union and member of an African National Council delegation in Jamaica, said that if blacks in Rhodesia fighting against white-minority rule could get the arms used by similar fighters in Vietnam, "We would get our liberation in the twinkling of an eye."

Speaking at a public meeting last night, he also announced that the Tanzanian government had made available a base camp for military training in that country previously used by Mozambique Liberation Front Fighters.

NEW YORK TIMES - 6 MAY 1975 Pg. 14

U.S. Protests to Denmark, After Premier's Policy Attack

Special to The New York Times

COPENHAGEN, May 5 — A United States Embassy official said here today that a "sharp protest" had been made to the Danish Government over its criticism of American policies in Vietnam.

The protest, made on Friday by Ambassador Philip K. Crowe, was "necessary to clear the air," the embassy spokesman said. "We just wanted to remind the Danes that there is another side of the story in Vietnam."

The protest followed a comment by Premier Anker Jorgensen of Denmark that United States policies were "far too narrow and too conservative." Mr. Jorgensen said: "The United States has completely misjudged the situation in Vietnam and has based its action on a mistaken ideological basis."

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NEW YORK TIMES 6 MAY 1975, Pg 20

'Will Korea Be Next?'

Both North and South Appear to Expect Country to Be New Asian Trouble Spot

By RICHARD HALLORAN
Special to The New York Times

SEOUL, South Korea, May 2—With the fall of anti-Communist governments in South Vietnam and Cambodia, the question that has already raced through the capitals of Northeast Asia, and most notably this one, is: Will South Korea be next? President Park Chung Hee clearly thinks ttha South Korea may be the next trouble spot. In a speech just before Saigon fell, he said: "I have repeatedly emphasized that the Communists in North Korea appear to have set 1975 as the year of aggression against the South."

News Analysis

President Kim Il Sung of North Korea equally clearly would like it to be. He has never wavered from his stated objective of reuniting Korea under his rule. Only his tactics have changed and he has recently resumed a belligerent posture.

The major powers involved in this region—the United States, the Soviet Union, China and Japan—seem to hope not. They want to avoid upsetting the delicate balance of power that serves the national interests of each.

U.S. Security Treaty

That is especially true of the United States, which has just finished one land war in Asia and appears to have little taste for another. But it is already involved, having a security treaty that commits American forces to help defend South Korea and being the only foreign nation with troops—about 38,000 of them — on the Korean peninsula.

Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger told newsmen in Washington Thursday that he "would not anticipate that anyone would challenge the U.S. presence" in Korea. But it has been challenged verbally by the North Koreans almost daily and neither the Americans nor anyone else may be able to control the situation.

The influence of the big powers on the Korean peninsula is tenuous. President Park and President Kim are not susceptible to outside persuasion these days. The South Koreans only on their own terms. The North Koreans have shown consummate skill in retaining their independence of their Chinese and Russian allies by playing one against the other.

South Korean and Western analysts of North Korea point to three temptations for Marshal Kim. One is obviously the Communist successes in Cambodia and Vietnam that must fan his own desire to achieve a similar victory.

A second is the deepening trend toward isolationism in the United States. A recent poll indicated that 65 per cent of Americans would oppose United States intervention in a new Korean war and only 14 per cent would approve.

Moreover, the United States is preoccupied with the aftermath of the Vietnam war, the crisis in the Middle East, international economic disruptions and a variety of domestic problems. President Kim has a record of provocation when American attention is elsewhere.

The third, and most important, temptation is the continuing and spreading unrest in South Korea caused by President Park's repressive politics. There has been a steady erosion of popular support for Mr. Park's Government similar to that leading, in the eyes of many observers in Asia, to the downfall of the South Vietnamese regime.

South Koreans of all political persuasions and Western diplomats agree that there is almost no evidence of pro-Communist or pro-North Korean sympathy among the South Koreans. But the disillusion with President Park may be weakening their will to resist North Korean subversion.

The temptations on President Park's side appear less substantial but not absent. He may see merit in a pre-emptive strike to stop the North Koreans before they get started. Mr. Park seemed to lean toward that in his speech last week, when he said: "If the North Korean Communists provoke another war, we must immediately deter it and give them a decisive counterattack at the initial place of aggression. We should thus destroy their vain dream of allegedly revolutionizing the South."

President Park may also be tempted to strike north if he becomes desperate as his political backing at home continues to erode.

Status Quo Preferred

In any event, the dangers of a rapid escalation from low level are recognized by south Korean and Western analysts here. For that reason, they say, none of the major powers favors a conflict and all prefer things as they are.

The Chinese do not want to jeoparsize the detente with the United States that helps them fend off their major adversaries, the Russians. They do not want to send troops to help Worth Korea since that would weaken their defenses against the Soviet Union. That seemed clear from public statements made during President Kim's recent trip to Peking.

(See KOREA, Pg 6)

WASHINGTON POST 6 MAY 1975 Pg. 13

S. Korea Confident Of U.S. Backing

By Ian MacKenzie
Reuter

SEOUL—South Korea's leaders have reacted with outward calm to the Communist takeover in Cambodia and South Vietnam, but they warn of the dangers of a North Korean attack on the south through "miscalculation."

"We are quite confident now that the U.S. government commitment to defend South Korea) would be dutifully abided by," Foreign Minister Kim Dong-Jo said in an interview.

He said the presence of American troops in South Korea—there are about 38,000 U.S. servicemen now in the country—was a very strong factor to discourage a northern invasion of the South.

"It is quite true, however, the (North Korean President) Kim Il-Sung may miscalculate the real intentions of the U.S. Government," he added.

"He may attack South Korea in view of the developments in Phnom Penh and Saigon. He may miscalculate."

North Korea meanwhile accused the Unites States of plotting to "move the center of the military strategy for Asian aggression to South Korea" after American setbacks in Indochina.

The accusation came in a North Korean News Agency commentary on statements by Defense Secretary James Schlesinger at a press conference in Washington Thursday in which he said he did not anticipate any challenge to the U.S. presence in Korea.

In a nationally televised broadcast 24 hours before the Saigon government capitulated, South Korean President Park Chung-Hee warned: "I believe the danger of the North Korean Communist clique playing with fire is greater this year than ever before."

But in an apparent attempt to allay apprehension among the people here, he added: "Should the North Korean Communist clique provoke a war, we shall inflict a decisive and fatal blow on them in an initial stage and crush their fantasy of taking over the South."

Western diplomatic and military sources in Seoul discount the likelihood of a Communist invasion of the South, although none of them deny that the possibility does exist.

Foreign Minister Kim said in his interview that the lesson to be learned from Indochina was that nations should be strong and self-reliant.

"We could see in Phnom Penh, in Saigon, that without having any strength there are no negotiations, no compromise, only surrender," he said.

The collapse of South Vietnam has undoubtedly had some psychological effect on South Korea in that 50,800 Koreans at a time served there for several years, a force second only to that of the United States in size.

But a more important factor in arousing speculation here about North Korean intentions was the recent hurriedly arranged visit by President Kim Il-sung to Peking as the South Vietnamese military crumbled before the advance of the North Vietnamese and Vietcong.

The Foreign Ministry in Seoul condemned the joint communique at the end of the visit as encouraging North Korea to make further provocations against the South and said it "intends no contribution either to easing tension or establishing peace on the Korean Peninsula.

The ministry took particular exception to a speech by the North Korean leader at a welcoming banquet in Peking in which it quoted him as saying: "If a war breaks out or a revolution occurs in South Korea, we will not look on with our arms folded . . . and we have already made every possible preparation for the revolutionary events.

"With the dawn of the outbreaks of revolution in South Korea, we will positively support the South Korean people."

However, diplomatic sources said the tone of the North Korean's speeches and the Southern response were very much in line with previous statements.

Diplomats in Seoul note that the North Koreans have to conduct a delicate balancing act between China and the Soviet Union and Kim now is expected to make a trip to Moscow in the near future to maintain the balance.

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LOS ANGELES TIMES 5 MAY 1975 (6) Pg. 10

Turkey May Go to Libya for Arms, Official States

Foreign Minister Denounces American Embargo on Weapons as 'Inconceivable and Unacceptable'

BY JOE ALEX MORRIS JR.
Times Staff Writer

ANKARA—Turkey will look elsewhere, possibly to one of Israel's most implacable enemies, for its defense needs if the U.S. Congress does not lift its arms embargo on sales to this nation, Foreign Minister Ihsan Sabri Caglayangil said.

"Libya has given us a carte blanche," Caglayangil said in a weekend interview.

Any such move would threaten the delicate balance of power in the eastern Mediterranean by strengthening Turkey's ties to one of the most outspoken foes of the Jewish state. Turkey's relations with Israel have been traditionally friendly. But this largely Moslem country is currently seeking to improve its ties to its oil-rich Arab neighbors.

Caglayangil did not elaborate, but Foreign Ministry sources said the Libyans, in recent contacts, had promised to "cover our needs." The two countries recently exchanged ambassadors for the first time.

The foreign minister denounced the U.S. arms embargo, which went into effect Feb. 5, as "inconceivable and unacceptable." It was passed by Congress in an effort to force Turkey into a more conciliatory stance on the deadlocked Cyprus issue.

Turkey gets well over 90% of its military equipment from the United States but American diplomats here agree with the Turks that the congressional move backfired and merely stiffened Turkish resistance. There have been threats to close U.S. defense installations here, starting with secret listening posts monitoring the Soviet Union which operate directly under U.S. military supervision and have no direct connection to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which Turkey has no intention of leaving.

As Caglayangil put it: "If the embargo is not lifted, Turkey will feel herself free to react accordingly. This will inevitably have its effects on the common defense installations in Turkey."

The senior Turkish diplomat said the Vietnam debacle had increased Turkey's sense of insecurity about being overly dependent on the United States in its military ties. "The situation in Vietnam brings questions to mind about the future," he said.

"I wouldn't say I've lost my confidence in the United States, but I can't say I've maintained it either."

At the same time, he expressed confidence that Congress would see the light and lift the embargo. "It's obvious Congress was at fault. I don't think it will continue," he added.

Turkish officials made it clear they would seek additional military aid from their NATO allies should the embargo continue. The West German government has already decided to resume its military assistance, and Italy is said here to be receptive to the idea.

But neither is prepared to step in and fill the gap created by the U.S. cutoff of military assistance and arms sales to Turkey.

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NEW YORK TIMES 6 MAY 1975, Pg 1

VICTORS EMPTYING CAMBODIAN CITIES, WASHINGTON TOLD

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 5—State Department officials said today that they believed that the Cambodian Communists had forcibly evacuated virtually the entire population of Phnom Penh soon after they took power in the capital early last month.

At least two other cities—Kompong Chhang and Siem Reap—were reported all but emptied, the officials added.

A State Department spokesman said today that on the basis of "reliable information," Washington had learned that "orders were issued by the Khmer Rouge to their outlying commands to kill top political and military leaders around the country" who had been in the old American-backed Government.

Both the White House and the State Department said that there was solid intelligence information that in at least one outlying area, 80 to 90 Cambodian military officers and their wives had been killed.

From Intercepted Messages

The Cambodian Communists, who have always been something of a mystery to Washington, are generally believed to be determined to reconstruct the Cambodian society without outside intervention or assistance. American officials report no requests from the new Government for any kind of aid.

The information from Cambodia comes from intercepted communications within the country as well as from the fragmentary reports that the French government was able to receive from its mission in Phnom Penh, the only foreign embassy that went on operating after the fall of the American-supported Government. The journalists who arrived in Thailand from Cambodia on Saturday have agreed among themselves on a news embargo to insure the safety of the foreigners remaining in the country.

One Washington official said that it did not seem that the Communists were carrying out large-scale massacres or bloodbaths, but rather were following a policy of "pretty brutal repression," particularly in scattering the population.

Vietnam Executions Reported

Secretary of State Kissinger said in an interview televised today that "very tragic and inhuman and barbarous things" had been going on in Cambodia since the Communist-backed insurgents captured Phnom Penh.

Mr. Kissinger did not go into detail in the interview, which was taped Saturday and shown on the NBC "Today" show, but Ron Nessen, the White House press secretary, said today that "there is enough evidence of executions and repression to know there are reprisals going on."

He also said that there were unverified reports from South Vietnam that in some areas, such as Da Nang, there had been executions of policemen or other officials.

NEW YORK TIMES
6 MAY 1975, Pg 45

Co. Mary E. Clarke was nominated yesterday to be director of the Women's Army Corps and the fifth woman general in Army history. If confirmed she will succeed **Brig. Gen. Mildred Bailey,** who is retiring.

KOREA -- CONTINUED

In addition, a North Korean victory leading to a totally Communist Korea might alarm the Japanese into a major armament program. Conversely, a South Korean victory would put the armies of an American ally on Chinese borders.

The Russians, for similar reasons, do not want to clash directly with the United States. They do not want to weaken their defenses against China. They would not want a North Korean victory to lead to a heavily armed Japan. Nor would they want victorious South Koreans a few miles from their huge naval base in Vladivostok. The Japanese, who have little influence on the Korean peninsula, fear being dragged into a war by the United Stated, which has major bases in Japan to support troops in Korea. They also like a divided Korea as a buffer between Japan and China and the Soviet Union.

The Chinese have some political influence over President Kim as he was once a member of the Chinese Communist party and has ideological, racial and cultural identities with China. They can restrain him slightly by reducing their arms supply and economic aid.

Peking Commitment Seen

But South Korean analysts contend that the Chinese, as the advocates of wars of national liberation, must give President Kim tacit political endorsement. His allies must back him so long as he refrains from all-out war that might involve them and undertakese subversion and guerrilla warfare under the guise of a South Korean revolution.

The Russians, who put Marshal Kim into power in 1945, have even less influence today. They could cut off weapons and logistic support but the North Koreans have been stockpiling for years.

President Kim has been reported to be planning a trip to Moscow soon to continue his maneuvering between the Russians and Chinese. Most analysts here believe that the Russians cannot afford to give him less than the Chinese.

American influence on the South Koreans appears equally weak. President Park has ignored admonitions from President Ford and other American officials that he must lift his repression or see a cut in American support.

Technically, South Korean troops are under American command as they are part jof the United Nations forces here, a residue from the Korean war. Those forces are commanded by an American general, but that is regarded here as little more than a piece of paper.

The major American restraint over South Korea is air power. The South Korean Air Force is less potent than that of North Korean, and Seoul is thus dependent on American air cover.

WASHINGTON POST
6 MAY 1975, Pg 5

Pentagon Budget

The House Armed Services Committee tentatively agreed to cut at least $3.6 billion from the Pentagon's requested budget for the fiscal year beginning July 1, congressional sources said.

The committee, which is scheduled to vote on the entire defense authorization today, agreed to eliminate entirely the $1.3 billion sought for military aid to South Vietnam. Another $2.3 billion reduction was tentatively made in the Pentagon's procurement and research and development accounts. Sources said no major programs were killed but several were ordered reduced in scope.

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NEW YORK TIMES
6 MAY 1975

Congress's 'Inaction' On War

By Thomas F. Eagleton

This unfortunate decision raises grave questions about the willingness of Congress to fulfill its constitutional responsibilities. The President obviously had no authority to use the United States forces to rescue foreign nationals in Vietnam. Yet our forces evacuated thousands of Vietnamese. Asked to explain, President Ford tried to justify his action on "moral" rather than legal grounds. Yet Congress let the precedent stand. Future Presidents might now conclude that the Commander in Chief had an inherent right to do what Mr. Ford did.

The failure of the war-powers resolution to specify those emergency situations wherein the President may unilaterally commit United States forces to battle has left the war powers of Congress and the President as vague as ever.

Lacking such a statutory definition, power accrues to the branch that invokes it. And, once again, in rescuing foreign nationals from Vietnam the President has invoked powers the Founders did not grant the Presidency.

The President can move all too quickly to usurp Congressional powers. He has only to order troops into battle. Congress, on the other hand, can only impose its will through the legislative process.

That is the tragedy of the House's recent action. On the verge of reimposing itself in the decision-making process, Congress rejected the opportunity to legislate.

From the beginning the debate over the President's request for "clarification" was marked by distrust of the executive branch, fear of military reinvolvement in Vietnam, and a conspicuous lack of confidence that a law, however tightly drafted, would be faithfully executed. In the end, liberals, long disenchanted by the imperial Presidency they helped create, unintentionally threw their considerable weight in the direction of Presidential omnipotence.

To avoid the remotest of possibilities—that President Ford would send forces back into Vietnam despite his written promise not to—Congress chose to leave a precedent for unilateral and unrestricted Presidential rescue authority.

White House references to "moral" justification and the pleasure Congress seems to derive in abrogating its constitutional responsibilities should alarm those who see the rule of law as America's primary source of strength.

Congress has again failed to act in a forthright and timely manner to proscribe a Presidential war-making initiative. By its inaction, and by its refusal even to provide expost facto authorization for the Vietnam evacuation, Congress has once again shirked its constitutional duty.

Thomas F. Eagleton, junior Democratic Senator From Missouri, is author of "War and Presidential Power: A Chronicle of Congressional Surrender."

NEW YORK TIMES - 6 MAY 1975

U.S. Trustworthiness

By Robert Kleiman

LONDON—The post-Vietnam questioning in Europe on whether American security assurances can still be trusted is scheduled to produce a ringing reaffirmation of confidence on May 29-30 at the NATO summit conference in Brussels. But that is unlikely to end the questioning.

A subtle but important change has occurred in the character of this unusual meeting of chiefs of government—only the third in the 26 years of the West's grand alliance—since it was proposed by British Foreign Secretary James Callaghan. The proposal first was made to Secretary Kissinger during his brief London stopover March 23 en route from his Mideast failure to a Washington divided over the impending defeat in Indochina.

British correspondents and diplomats in Washington were reporting rising pressure for the resignation of the Republican Secretary of State, whom Britain's socialist Foreign Secretary regarded as the main point of strength in the Ford Administration and the chief hope of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

"We must save Henry," Mr. Callaghan reportedly told his closest associates; he evidently also foresaw an American trauma dangerous to Western solidarity that might be eased if the European allies rallied around. But in the weeks that since have passed, the primary concern has shifted from Kissinger's fate to Europe's.

Most Europeans are less troubled by American disengagement from Indochina, which they favored years before most Americans, than by the way it was done.

The key NATO governments have noted that Congress for six months withheld all major replacement equipment and half or more of the fuel, ammunition, spare parts and maintenance aid needed by the South Vietnamese armed forces; triggering the retreat order that led to rout.

They see an isolationist trend in American opinion with only 39 per cent in a national Harris poll prepared to defend West Europe, 34 per cent Berlin and half that number such Asian areas as Taiwan and South Korea.

Finally, the impotence of the post-Watergate Administration in the face of these challenges has raised questions about the solidity of America's commitments everywhere.

"After the first betrayal of a lover, the second is much easier," said a former Belgian cabinet minister. "I've experienced that."

In separate London conversations, a Labor Cabinet minister and a leading member of the former Conservative Government said, "Europe is not Vietnam," adding that vital American interests were involved in West Europe. But within minutes each independently recalled the long, tortuous effort of Franklin D. Roosevelt to come to Europe's support in World War II and, had it not been for Pearl Harbor, the likelihood that American intervention would have been delayed much longer.

"Europe is not Vietnam." One hears the same supposedly reassuring phrase in Paris, Brussels, Bonn. Unlike the Nixon-Thieu letters, the NATO alliance is based on a binding treaty, ratified by Congress, open and above board. Right? Wrong. On American insistence, the treaty binds no one to anything. It obligates each of its 15 members in the event of an attack only to take "such action as it deems necessary" through its "constitutional processes." That means Congress will decide.

NATO theology has it that West Europe's security is assured by the presence of American troops, which would trigger American tactical and strategic nuclear forces if threatened with defeat. But Congressional visitors in recent weeks have told Europeans they strongly favor American troop reductions.

As for American strategic forces, not since John F. Kennedy in 1963 has an American President said to Europeans, "The United States will risk its cities to defend your freedom." After many years of denials, official American doctrine now acknowledges the declining credibility of the nuclear guarantee in an era of strategic parity. Vietnam has carried that decline further.

There is renewed talk in Brussels, Paris and Bonn of a European defense community, presumably including a European nuclear force based on the French and British deterrents. Some of President Giscard d'Estaing's advisers want to start by putting France's new tactical nuclear weapons at the disposal of West German forces under a system of joint control.

Neutralism looks more attractive to others. The left wing of West Germany's Socialist party argues for withdrawal of American troops as untrustworthy and no longer needed anyway because of détente. Neutralist tendencies are growing in Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece and Turkey.

Just as Thailand and the Philippines are moving toward neutralism and South Korea is attempting to acquire nuclear know-how, Vietnam has given many West Europeans the feeling that they must move toward the neutralization or nuclearization of Europe—or both. It's a trend that, after Vietnam, will not be halted by lip-service at a NATO summit meeting to the steadiness of the American commitment and Europe's confidence in it.

Robert Kleiman is a member of the Editorial Board of The Times.

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WASHINGTON POST
6 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Kissinger: No Role in CIA Spying

By William Greider
Washington Post Staff Writer

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger denied yesterday that he had anything to do with the Central Intelligence Agency's controversial domestic spying operations during the Nixon administration.

Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger added later that the CIA did get direction for the activities from other unnamed "senior officials" in the Nixon White House.

The two Cabinet officers appeared separately yesterday for private testimony before the Rockefeller commission which is investigating alleged violations by the CIA of its charter prohibiting domestic intelligence collection.

Former CIA Director Richard Helms has insisted that any "domestic" operations launched by the CIA were in response to the expressed concern of two Presidents—Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard M. Nixon.

As the President's national security adviser, Kissinger is responsible for affairs of the National Security Council, which is supposed to direct the CIA.

But Kissinger told reporters that neither he nor the NSC ever got into domestic spying, suggesting that if the CIA got such orders, it received them directly from the President or from other White House aides.

"Since I have been in Washington," Kissinger said, 'the NSC or the NSC staff or the assistant to the President for national security affairs did not concern themselves with domestic intelligence or were not informed about domestic intelligence."

When Kissinger was asked about Helms' statement attributing the surveillance operations to presidential concern, Kissinger replied: "No such presidential concern was transmitted through me or through the NSC."

Schlesinger, a former director of the CIA, added another dimension when he appeared later before reporters following his private testimony. Based on his own investigation, Schlesinger supported the accounts of both Kissinger and Helms.

"My recollection, the whole tone of the agency would suggest that, indeed, there were expressions of interest on the part of senior officials of the government," Schlesinger said.

He would not elaborate on who those officials were, but he cited, by way of example, the pre-Watergate episode involving the CIA and the White House "plumbers" when presidential assistant John D. Ehrlichman contacted the intelligence agency for help.

Schlesinger made a general denial that the CIA used assassination as a "tool" but he would not discuss the allegations that the CIA was involved in plots aimed at several foreign leaders.

He did denounce as "simply preposterous" the various popular theories that link the CIA to the slaying of President John F. Kennedy.

When Kissinger entered the press room for his statements, he made a joking reference to a harsh attack which former CIA Director Helms made last week on CBS correspondent Daniel Schorr. Helms called Schorr a string of names, including a sexual epithet.

Kissinger quipped: "Where's Dan Schorr? I have a new word for him."

That matter, he noted "had come through channels other than the NSC channels from senior White House officials."

Both Cabinet officers also apparently dealt in private testimony with the allegations of CIA involvement in foreign assassination attempts, though neither would say much about the subject to reporters.

When a reporter asked Kissinger if his testimony touched on the issue of assassinations, the Secretary chuckled.

"I have said that I will not go into any further details," Kissinger replied. "At any event, none of these allegations occurred, pertained to any period in which I have personal knowledge."

NEWS SUMMARY -- CONTINUED

South Vietnam's new rulers said they had begun freeing political prisoners from Con Son island off the Mekong delta.

Cambodia's Khmer Rouge government has executed 80 or 90 top officers of the Lon Nol army and their wives, and the killings apparently are continuing, the White House said it had learned through intercepted Khmer Rouge communications.

U.S. troops in Thailand will be reduced to 18,500 from 27,000 by June as part of what Thailand said was a program to end the American military presence there by next March.

* * *

No-fault car insurance legislation setting federal standards is still opposed by the Ford administration, which prefers that states adopt the concept piecemeal, Transportation Secretary William Coleman told Congress. Two Cabinet officers, apparently including Coleman, had urged Ford to back federal standards.

* * *

Social Security trustees announced a sharp increase in the system's projected deficit over the extremely long term, as expected, but the deficit won't require a big rise in payroll levies until later. The combined employer and employe payroll tax need only climb about one percentage point for the short term, although it eventually will have to go up 5.3 points to keep the program solvent, the Ford administration said.

* * *

A compromise strip-mining bill won speedy Senate approval and was sent to the House, where a vote was expected tomorrow. The bill, designed to limit damage to the environment from surface mining of coal, is similar to legislation vetoed in 1974.

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An extra $385 million for the federal food-stamp program for this fiscal year was asked by President Ford.

* * *

Eighteen antiwar protesters lost a $1-million damage suit against H. R. Haldeman, Charlotte, N.C., policemen and others who the plaintiffs contended had unconstitutionally barred them from a 1971 rally at which Nixon spoke.

* * *

Rep. Wilbur Mills returned to Congress after a five-month absence for treatment of alcoholism. The Arkansas Democrat, who lost his Ways and Means Committee chairmanship because of his alcoholism and involvement with a stripper, said he feels fine.

* * *

Ford's Interior Secretary nominee, Stanley Hathaway, conceded to a Senate committee that a report defending his environmental record as Wyoming governor was incomplete. Environmentalists have criticized the report as misleading and Hathaway's efforts as weak.

* * *

Secretary of State Kissinger denied any involvement in alleged CIA domestic spying or assassination plots. He testified before the Rockefeller commission on intelligence, along with Defense Secretary Schlesinger and former CIA director John McCone, both of whom also denied that the agency plotted any killings.

* * *

The U.S. agreed to sell Jordan Hawk antiaircraft missiles, the Associated Press said. The reported promise was made to King Hussein when he visited Washington last week.

Israeli Premier Yitzhak Rabin will meet June 11-12 with President Ford in Washington, 10 days after Ford returns from a conference with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat in Salzburg, Austria.

* * *

Two top Marine Corps officers have asked for early retirement less than a week after President Ford nominated Lt. Gen. Louis Wilson as commandant, the Associated Press said. They are Gen. Robert E. Cushman Jr., whose term as commandant expires Dec. 31, and Gen. Earl E. Anderson, assistant commandant; who was backed by Cushman for the top post.

* * *

A Pulitzer Prize for public service was given to the Boston Globe for coverage of that city's school-desegregation crisis. The award for national reporting went to a team from the Philadelphia Inquirer for stories on inequities in federal taxation, and two Chicago Tribune reporters won the international coverage prize for a series on African and Indian famines. The Xenia, Ohio, Gazette was honored for coverage of a tornado.

The Pulitzer Prize for biography went to Robert Caro for "The Power Broker—Robert Moses and the Fall of New York." Edward Albee won the drama award for "Seascape," the history prize was given to Dumas Malone for five volumes on Jefferson and Michael Shaara won the fiction award for "The Killer Angels."

* * *

The nuclear nonproliferation treaty, signed in 1969, came up for its first review with nonnuclear nations accusing the U.S. and Russia of accelerating the arms race.

* * *

Died: Kenneth Keating, 74, ambassador to Israel, former New York GOP congressman and senator and ex-ambassador to India, in New York, of a heart attack; **Bernard Ridder,** 92, chairman emeritus of Ridder Publishing Inc., in West Palm Beach, Fla. **Services for Samuel Colt,** 82, former chairman and president of Bankers Trust, will be held today in Westhampton Beach, N.Y., where he died Friday.

APB072
(BANGKOK) -- A BANGKOK GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN SAID TODAY THAT THAILAND HAS DECIDED TO HOLD ONTO ALL VIETNAMESE AIRCRAFT BROUGHT IN BY FLEEING PILOTS. THE THAI GOVERNMENT REPORTEDLY HAS URGED THE U-S NOT TO REMOVE ANY OF THE AIRCRAFT FROM THAI SOIL. THE DECISION CAME AFTER THE UNITED STATES REPORTEDLY REMOVED AT LEAST 25 SOUTH VIETNAMESE WARPLANES THAT ARE THE CENTER OF CONTROVERY BETWEEN THAILAND, THE U-S AND VIETNAM.
WITNESSES REPORT A BIG U-S JOLLY GREEN GIANT HELICOPTER PLUCKED SOUTH VIETNAMESE JETS FROM THE AIR BASE AT UTAPAO (OO'-TUH-POW) SUNDAY AND YESTERDAY AND CARRIED THEM OFF TO AN UNKNOWN DESTINATION.
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CURRENT NEWS

PART II - MAIN EDITION - 1130

THIS SUPPLEMENTS PART I-EARLY BIRD EDITION

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MONDAY, MAY 5, 1975

WASHINGTON POST 3 May 1975 Pg. 9 (5)

Shah Wants U.S. Navy Out

By Gavin Young
London Observer

TEHRAN, May 2—The shah of Iran wants any permanent American military presence removed from the Persian Gulf area, including the American naval base in Bahrain.

At the same time, Shah Mohamed Reza Pahlavi said in an interview this week, he expects Iraq to agree to a similar exclusion of Soviet bases in the Gulf.

In his hillside palace outside Tehran, the shah said: "We both want to keep third parties out." He went on to say that he would favor some sort of council or conference of Gulf states to cope with local problems of whatever kind.

"But," he added, "I would rather the suggestion came from someone else." It will probably come from Saddam Hussein, who is vice president and the effective leader of Iraq.

Monarchial Iran and socialist Iraq have been bitter rivals for years and have regularly feuded over their borders. But in March, they suddenly resolved their differences and settled their border dispute.

The new friendship of the two main military powers in the world's principal oil producing area was signified this week as Iraq's strongman, Saddam Hussein, came to Teheran and stood shoulder-to-shoulder with the shah.

The only American base in the immediate area, at Bahrain, is small. It normally serves a mere three ships — a 13,000-ton flagship and two destroyers.

Its commander has said: "We are just here to show the flag to the emergent nations out here." Neither Iran nor Iraq feels it needs to be shown any outsider's flag.

The Soviets claim to have no foreign bases. But they make frequent and regular use of Umm al Qasr, Iraq's Persian Gulf port, as well as installations in South Yemen and Somalia, U.S. officials have said.

The Soviet navy keeps one to two dozen ships on station

See SHAH...Pg. 3

BALTIMORE SUN
5 May 1975 Pg. 1

Security force put in Saigon

By EDWARD K. WU
Hong Kong Bureau of The Sun

Hong Kong—A military control commission for the Saigon area, chaired by Col. Gen. Tran Van Tra, who engineered the devastating 1968 Tet offensive, has been formed, Hanoi's Vietnam News Agency reported yesterday.

The broadcast monitored here said the new administrative body was aimed at "quickly restoring public security and order in the city, building a new revolutionary order, consolidating and developing the right of the masses to be masters of their city and rapidly nomalizing the life of the population of all strata in the city."

In a separate broadcast, the Viet Cong Giai Phong (liberation) press agency was quoted as reporting that thousands of officers and men of the former South Vietnamese armed forces had reported themselves to the new "People's Liberation Army," in the last few days.

Among them were said to be 6 colonels, 6 lieutenant colonels and 1,491 other officers. Many ships anchored at offshore islands flew white flags and gave themselves up while the officers aboard two ships sailed from Poulo Condor Islands and handed them over to the new Navy, the news agency said.

All those who brought their ships "back to the revolution" were treated by the Revolutionary Government according to its announced policies of leniency and reward, the broadcast added.

(Radio reports from South

See SAIGON...Pg. 2

NEW YORK TIMES (5)
3 May 1975 Pg. 27

CONGRESS DEFIED BY NAVY ON PLANE

By JOHN W. FINNEY
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 2—The Navy, in defiance of a Congressional injunction for interservice cooperation, has decided to build a fighter plane different from the Air Force's.

It announced today that as a "low cost" fighter for the nineteen-eighties, it had selected a twin-engine plane developed by the McDonnell Douglas Corporation and the Northrop Corporation. The Air Force had previously selected a single-engine plane made by the General Dynamics Corporation.

If the Navy's selection is approved by the Department of Defense and Congress, it plans to build 800 of the planes at a total cost of $7-billion. The plane, which would enter the fleet in 1981, would replace the F-4 as the principal fighter-bomber of the carrier fleet.

It was far from certain, however, that Congress would approve the Navy's decision. In an attempt to develop some similarity in the weapons used by the services, a House-Senate conference committee specified in this year's appropriations bill that for its future fighter, the Navy was to produce a "derivative" of the air combat fighter selected by the Air Force.

ffficial Explains Stand

The Air Force earlier this year selected the F-16 developed by General Dynamics as its "low cost" fighter of the future. In refusing to go along with that selection, the Navy chose a version of Northrop's F-17 that had been rejected by the Air Force.

David S. Potter, Under Secretary of the Navy, said that a version of the F-17 had been selected because it was "more suitable" for carrier operations —in terms of landing speed, visibility and fuselage strength —than the F-16 was. In addition, for safety reasons, the

See NAVY...Pg. 2

NEW YORK TIMES
4 May 1975 Pg. 1 (5)

PRESIDENT VOWS NATION WILL KEEP PLEDGES ABROAD

By RICHARD L. MADDEN
Special to The New York Times

NORFOLK, Va., May 3—Four days after the evacuation of the remaining Americans from South Vietnam, President Ford pledged today that the United States would keep its commitments abroad and would remain militarily strong.

Speaking at piersidé ceremonies at the commissioning of the nuclear aircraft carrier U.S.S. Nimitz, the world's largest warship, Mr. Ford told an applauding crowd of more more than 10,000 that jammed Pier 12 under sunny skies:

"We are strong, we will continue to be strong. We will keep our commitments, and we will remain a great country."

Symbol of 'Determination'

Without directly mentioning the concerns of some allies about the recent collapse of United States-supported governments in Cambodia and South Vietnam, Mr. Ford said that the Nimitz was joining the fleet "at an auspicious moment, when our determination to strengthen our ties with allies across both great oceans and to work for peace and stability around the world requires clear demonstration."

He said that the Nimitz, the nation's second nuclear-powered carrier, along with other American forces worldwide, would make "critically important contributions toward world peace.

With the carrier at his back Mr. Ford said he saw the Nimitz "as a symbol of the vast

See PRESIDENT...Pg. 2

JAMES KILLINGBECK, CHIEF, CURRENT NEWS BRANCH, OX 78765 HELEN YOUNG, ASSISTANT CHIEF

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SAIGON...
Continued

Vietnam said former Navy men were being urged to bring in their warships from off the coast and not "run after the Americans," the Associated Press said.

["To run after the Americans is to run into a dead-end, without your family and without your country," the broadcast was quoted as saying. "What a disaster to be away from your children, your wife and your country when your nation is unified."

[Meanwhile, Reuter said the North Vietnamese Army newspaper *Quan Doi Nhan* reported that Gen. Duong Van (Big) Minh, the last South Vietnamese president who served only two days before surrendering, has been released. The report in the North Vietnamese paper said General Minh and other members of his short-lived administration are in Saigon and have not been asked to leave the country.

[The AP reported that Saigon radio broadcasts monitored in Thailand indicated that General Minh, might have a role in the new order, but it did not say what it might be. One broadcast said that after General Minh and his aides surrendered they were given a briefing on the new policies and told not to worry.

[Other broadcasts said the Revolutionary Government, which took over after Saigon's surrender last Wednesday, directed South Vietnamese diplomats to turn over money and embassy property to the new regime. They also announced that it wants South Vietnam's place at the United Nations, the AP reported. South Vietnam has had observer status at the world body.

[In Paris, government officials said 38 French journalists and photographers who had stayed in Saigon were being well treated and the new authorities were acting "in a reassuring fashion."]

The newly formed military commission will include five vice chairmen and five other members, among the several public figures well known to the people of Saigon, such as Dr. Nguyen Van Thu, as well as the Revolutionary Government's vice minister of economy, Vuong Ky Hiep.

The commission, the Vietnam News Agency said, has called on the "People's Liberation Forces" (Viet Cong) in and around Saigon to stand combat ready, maintain public order and security, defend the city and implement the policies of the Revolutionary Government.

The radio announcement about General Tra said the 11-man commission he heads is assigned to protect Saigon and adjacent Gia Dinh province. General Tra also was the chief Viet Cong delegate to the Joint Military Commission set up in 1973 under the so-called Paris peace accords.

Another broadcast by the Giai Phong press agency said the Revolutionary Government's Foreign Ministry yesterday served formal notes to the governments of Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia and Singapore pressing for the return of South Vietnamese planes and warships, which members of the former government and armed forces took with them when they fled the country.

It reiterated its earlier statement that the Revolutionary Government, having replaced the Saigon regime, is the legal owner of these planes and ships.

The Philippines, Malaysia and Singapore have not made known their position on the planes and ships. Thailand has impounded the aircraft and vessels with its prime minister hinting that they might be returned to Saigon, but the defense minister, contradicting the prime minister, said subsequently he thought they should go to the United States.

[The Soviet new agency Tass said, according to the AP, that thousands of servicemen turned over to authorities their arms, machinery and equipment, registered themselves and then were permitted to go to their homes.

[Earlier Saigon broadcasts said soldiers of the defeated forces had to register by Wednesday or face punishment. A reward was promised for compliance, but there was no indication what it would be.]

PRESIDENT...
Continued

power, productive skill and economic strength of America and so would others around the world.

'Readiness and Flexibility'

He added: "To all, this great ship is visible evidence of our commitment to friends and allies and our capability to maintain those commitments."

He said the evacuation of Americans and South Vietnamese from Saigon last Tuesday demonstrated the "readiness and flexibility" of aircraft carriers "in the successful execution of national policy."

Without the five carriers that operated off South Vietnam and the Marine and Air Force helicopters that flew from their flight decks, he said, "we could not have rescued all the remaining American citizens and thousands of endangered Vietnamese from Saigon within 20 hours."

The crowd interrupted the President with applause as he congratulated the evacuation force for "the work that was done."

Mr. Ford stood at attention on an elevator of the huge carrier as the orders to "Take the first watch" and "Break the commission pennant" were given, officially marking the Nimitz as a ship of the United States Navy.

The President noted that he had served as "a lowly lieutenant" on the aircraft carrier Monterey under Admiral of the Fleet Chester W. Nimitz in the Pacific during World War II. That carrier, he noted, would probably fit on the hangar deck of the Nimitz.

U.S. Strength Emphasized

Both Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger, who introduced the President, and Mr. Ford used the occasion to reaffirm that the United States would remain strong.

Mr. Schlesinger said that Mr. Ford had declared with "unmistakable clarity" that the United States "will maintain a military balance around the world."

Mr. Ford said the ship was a "double symbol for today's challenges." He said the Nimitz was a symbol of the United States's resources, skill, energy "and of our massive but controlled military strength." He added:

"Whether her mission is one of defense, diplomacy or humanity, the Nimitz will command awe and admiration from some, caution and circumspection from others, and respect from all."

He praised Admiral Nimitz who died in 1966 at the age of 80, as a man who "learned by his mistakes and was tolerant of others—but always in command."

Admiral Nimitz, he said, had "turned defeat into victory and made the broad Pacific again worthy of its name."

"It is my determination to keep it that way, the way all the oceans and continents ought to be," Mr. Ford said. "But Fleet Admiral Nimitz and this fine ship both tell us that controlled strength is the sure guarantor of peace."

Before flying back to Washington in early afternoon, Mr. Ford joined Capt. Bryan W. Compton Jr., the skipper of the Nimitz, on the hangar deck to cut an 1,800-pound commissioning cake—a white layer cake covered with chocolate frosting. The President cut a slice with a sword handed to him by Captain Compton and then ate the slice.

NAVY...
Continued

Navy has traditionally preferred a two-engine plane for carrier use.

At the same time, Mr. Potter acknowledged that the Navy's choice had the "unfortunate quality" that it "clearly does not meet the language" contained in the appropriations bill.

In aerospace circles, suspicions were expressed that the Navy would not be too upset if Congress refused to finance the production of the new plane, which has been designated the F-18.

Only under considerable pressure from the Defense Department and Congress did the Navy consent to study a new fighter plane based on the competing F-16 and F-17. The Navy's preference, according to industry officials, would be to develop its own plane from scratch or expand production of the F-14 fighter built by Grumman Aerospace Corporation on Long Island.

Costs Are Estimated

At this point Congress would presumably be reluctant to go along with production of the F-14, because of its high cost, now planned. But the argument is being made in industry and Navy circles that if more F-14's were produced, instead of the F-18, the price of the plane could be reduced significantly.

Excluding research costs, the F-14 is costing about $12.8-million per plan. Mr. Potter estimated the production cost of the F-18 at $5.8 million (in 1975 dollars), but when research and other expenses are included, the cost would come to $7.8-million per plane.

The cost of the Air Force's F-16 is rising, and some Air Force and industry officials are suggesting that it might be almost as cheap to build more of the F-15, the new complex fighter plane of the Air Force.

A Basic Challenge

Both the Navy and Air Force, therefore, the raising a basic challenge to the "HI-LO" concept advanced by the Defense Department and endorsed by Congress as a way to stem the ever spiraling costs of major weapons. Under this concept, the services would build expensive planes to fight in "high-threat" areas and less expensive planes for "low threat" areas.

The Navy's selection could also complicate the efforts of the Defense Department to prevail upon a European consortium of Denmark, Norway, Belgium and the Neatherlands to buy the F-16 as their future fighter. Until now, most of the European nations had been inclined to go along with the Air Force's selection of the F-16 as the superior plane, but they could have second thoughts now that the Navy has selected a version of the F-17.

The Navy plane would be produced by McDonnell Douglas at St. Louis, Mo., with Northrop, which developed the design, producing parts at its plant in Hawthorne, Calif. The enginees would be produced by General Electric Company at West Lynn, Mass.

NEW YORK NEWS
3 May 1975 Pg. 73 (5)

Scrub Spy Plane Test

Cape Canaveral, May 2 (UPI) —A flight test of a new Air Force robot spy plane was cancelled today because of instrumentation problems. An Air Force spokesman said that the test would probably be rescheduled for Monday. The test flight was scrapped when technicians discovered an altimeter in the YQM-98-A Compass was not reading properly.

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Part II--Main Edition--5 May 1975
WASHINGTON POST 5 May 1975 Pg. 39

Ford Reassures U.S. Allies

By George C. Wilson
Washington Post Staff Writer

NORFOLK, Va., May 3—President Ford said today that the United States will keep its commitments to its friends around the world.

Speaking at commissioning ceremonies for the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier Nimitz, the President said, "We are strong, we will continue to be strong, we well keep our commitments."

Mr. Ford barely mentioned Vietnam in his speech at the Norfolk naval station, a sharp contrast to President Nixon's remarks on the same pier two years ago this month.

"Without the fine aircraft carriers which served as the nucleus of our forces operating off South Vietnam," the President said in his only reference to Indochina, and the "heroic performance" of service personnel involved in the evacuation effort, "we could not have rescued all of the remaining American citizens and thousands of endangered Vietnamese from Saigon within 20 hours."

Referring to the USS Nimitz as a symbol of American power in the world, Mr. Ford said that the attack carrier "joins the fleet at an auspicious moment, when our determination to strengthen our ties with allies across both great oceans, and to work for peace and stability around the world, requires clear demonstration."

"To all, this great ship is visible evidence of our commitment to friends and allies and our capability to maintain those commitments," Mr. Ford said.

Adm. James L. Holloway III, chief of naval operations, called the Nimitz "the most powerful warship in the world." The carrier is named after the late Fleet Adm. Chester W. Nimitz, a World War II naval hero.

The USS Nimitz today became the second nuclear-powered carrier in the Navy fleet. The other, the USS Enterprise, was commissioned 14 years ago.

The last attack carrier commissioned by the Navy was the John F. Kennedy, which went into service in September, 1968. It is powered by conventional fuel as a result of the Navy losing an argument over its propulsion to Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara.

The Navy said today that the Nimitz cost $684 million—not counting the price of the 100 aircraft that go aboard her. The Navy estimated in 1968 that the Nimitz would cost $240 million less—or $544 million. The Nimitz's two nuclear reactors can drive the 1,092-foot ship for 13 years without refueling, according to the Navy, and its top speed is more than 30 knots.

The 95,000-ton ship will have a crew of 6,286, many of whom are needed to operate and repair its elaborate electronics systems for modern warfare. The flight deck is 4½ acres.

The Soviet Union has not built such giant attack carriers, opting for smaller carriers about half the size of the Enterprise and the Nimitz. The Soviet carriers are used for helicopters and planes that can take off on their own from the deck rather than being catapulted, the launching method aboard U.S. Navy carriers.

The U.S. Navy is working on sister ships to the Nimitz. The Eisenhower nuclear-powered attack carrier has been launched and is expected to be finished within two or three years. The keel has been laid on the Vinson, a third big nuclear carrier, slated to be ready in the 1980s.

SHAH...Continued

in the Indian Ocean near the tanker routes exiting the Persian Gulf. The Soviets have been there since 1968. Increasingly, the U.S. Navy is sending bigger ships, including carriers, into the Indian Ocean to counter the Soviet presence.

Last year an American carrier sailed into the Persian Gulf for the first time in a quarter century.

The shah's opposition to the foreign presence does not mean he is turning anti-American. Last year Iran was the largest buyer of American weapons and this month he will visit President Ford.

He is now awaiting delivery of no less than 80 F-14 Tomcat fighters from the U.S., as well as 141 F-5 fighters to add to his 100 Phantoms.

But there is no doubt of the intensity of the Iranian feeling that superpowers from East or West are unwanted. Prime Minister Amir Abbas Hoveyda, in another palace in Tehran, said: "We shouldn't have third parties coming in. We, the Gulf states, can keep the peace in this area."

And the point was stressed yet again in a conversation with another official, Interior Minister Jamshid Amouzegar. "*His Majesty wants all bases* removed," Amouzegar said.

The Shah says he wants to defuse the chances of war in his part of the world. The danger stems from the rapid arms buildup which is a feature of all the newly rich oil states. It also lies in the neat certainty that in another Arab-Israeli war, the Arab oil states will cut fuel supplies to the United States again. The shah has said Iran will not join such a boycott and did not join in 1973.

The Shah is continuing to improve relations with Arab nations. President Anwar Sadat of Egypt has just flown to Tehran. There have long been excellent relations with Jordan; the shah was in Saudi Arabia just before the Iraqi's visit here to consult with King Khalid.

The result of all this cannot yet be forecast. But one thing is certain: Iranians and Arabs are seeking to build their own form of peaceful coexistence—with diminished risk of disruption by the superpowers—in an area where war could spell catastrophe.

BALTIMORE SUN 3 May 1975 Pg. 1 (5)

Defiant Navy opts for F-18

By CHARLES W. CORDDRY
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—The Navy, flying in the face of a congressional order, yesterday chose a new twin-engine aircraft for development as its lightweight fighter of the 1980's instead of adopting the single-engine plane already chosen by the Air Force.

A production run of 800 of the new F-18 jets, the number the Navy wants, would cost about $7 billion, officials said.

The Navy's selection of the F-18 over the Air Force F-16, which was picked in January, not only runs counter to congressional instructions but may complicate negotiations involving jet fighter sales to North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies and other foreign purchasers.

A production team of McDonnell Douglas Corporation of St. Louis and Northrop Corporation of Hawthorne, Calif., won the Navy competition over a team of General Dynamics Corporation of Fort Worth and LTV Aerospace Corporation of Dallas. General Dynamics will build the Air Force F-16.

The F-16, which the Navy said would be cheaper but not as suitable for carriers, is in competition with a French fighter plane for large sales to a NATO consortium made up of Norway, Denmark, Belgium and the Netherlands.

The European countries have yet to decide, but are said to lean toward the American plane. A new entry, the F-18, may complicate negotiations or, on the other hand, open the door to new sales in the Persian Gulf Area.

When it approved a sum of $20 million last year for starting development of a new Navy plane, a Senate-House conference committee on appropriations said a prerequisite for using the funds must be the "adaptation of the selected Air Force" fighter.

"Future funding," the panel also said, "is to be contingent upon the capability of the Navy to provide a derivative of the selected Air Force" plane.

The Navy now has chosen a derivative, not of the F-16, but of the Northrop fighter that lost the Air Force competition.

Asked about this at a press conference yesterday, the under secretary of the Navy, David S. Potter, replied: "It is perfectly clear this does not meet the language of the congressional report."

He said that was an "unfortunate" aspect of the Navy decision, but the service was "optimistic" about changing congressional minds and winning assent for the big F-18 program now envisioned.

There may be a good basis for the Navy optimism. Unemployment is greater now than when the appropriations panel issued its order, with a view to military economizing. This is especially so in the southern California area where much of the F-18 work would be done and where Northrop lost out on the Air Force contract.

Moreover, the selection of General Dynamics to build the Air Force plane in Texas was hotly opposed by the California and Massachusetts delegations, which lavishly praised the Northrop entry with claims that it was better for both the American services and for foreign sales.

The Californians represent the state where the losing Air Force plane would have been built and where components of the winning Navy plane would be built for assembly in St Louis. The Navy's engines would be built in Massachusetts, as those for the losing Air Force jet would have been, by General Eelectric Company in West Lynn.

The Navy awarded McDonnell Douglas and Northrop a $44 million engineering contract yesterday, and a $2 million award went to General Electric.

An oddity of the announcement was that James R Schlesinger, the defense secretary, has not yet given his full approval to the Navy enterprise.

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NEW YORK NEWS 5 May 1975 Pg. 39

Congress Eying Fast Viet Aid

Package Would Cover Resettlement Costs

Washington, May 4 (UPI)— With the number of South Vietnamese refugees rising, Congress hopes to take swift action on an aid package to cover their evacuation and resettlement costs.

Rep. Thomas Morgan (D-Pa.) plans to summon administration officials this week to determine the number of refugees that will be absorbed and the cost of resettling them.

An early indication of the cost and the number of refugees to be resettled will come when L. Dean Brown, director of the special intragency task force on Indochina, appears tomorrow before a House refugees subcommittee led by Morgan.

Despite pleas from Morgan and President Ford, the House last week junked a Senate-passed bill that would have provided some money for the refugees.

The House voted, 246 to 162, against a bill authorizing $327 million in humanitarian aid, partly because it also contained authority for Ford to use American troops to evacuate Vietnamese, and partly because some of the aid was earmarked for delivery to South Vietnam.

The bill had been passed by the Senate before the fall of South Vietnam, but was not called up in the House until after Saigon's surrender.

Estimates late last week showed that about 120,000 South Vietnamese had been evacuated or had managed to escape the Communist takeover of South Vietnam.

A State Department official said that when Ford told House Speaker Carl Albert the administration would need at least $400 million, the estimate was based on 70,000 refugees settling in the United States. He said that double the number of refugees would mean double the cost.

Up to now, refugee costs have been paid out of a general fund for Indochina reconstruction. The administration says these funds will run out in a week to 10 days.

NEW YORK TIMES 5 May 1975 Pg. 14

ABANDONED ARMS PILED AROUND HUE

By DANIEL DE LUCE
The Associated Press

HUE, South Vietnam, May 3 — American military ejuipment estimated to be worth $100-million is strewn like a gigantic junkpile along the Hue estuary where Saigon's defeated armored and infantry forces tried to escape by sea in late March.

A spokesman for the new Revolutionary Government said earlier in Da Nang that 103,000 of the enlisted men and noncommissioned officers of the former South Vietnamese Army who had been taken prisoner had already been released to return to their homes.

Some former war prisoners were seen in the areas around Hue working in rice fields.

From the watchtower of the former army base here, one can see about 600 burned-out vehicles in one group of abandoned equipment. Other equipment is scattered for miles along the highway connecting Hue with Tan My harbor, leading to the South China Sea.

Vehicles Made to Run

Former drivers and mechanics of the defeated army's armored regiments are now working under the supervision of army officers of the Revolutionary Government in making tanks, armored cars, trucks and other vehicles run again.

Three mechanics from the old army who were putting a group of diesel forklift trucks in operational order were permitted a pause from work to answer visitors' translated questions.

All said that they were working for the victorious revolutionary army by day and were going home to their families in the neighborhood at night. When Saigon's forces collapsed at Hue, they had not tried to retreat further but reported to the authorities as soon as possible.

Some captured M-48 tanks still have "United States Army" painted in white on them. On the dirt shoulders of the highway are belts of .50-caliber machine-gun ammunition, hand grenades, artillery shells still in the original packing and many other items.

Equipment Almost New

Revolutionary Government forces are salvaging steel pontoons and steel bridging along the estuary. The equipment seems almost new.

A revolutionary army officer at a captured supply base said that of some 3,000 military vehicles left along the estuary, more than 200 had been sunk, most of them self-propelled guns and armored cars. He added that 60 of the M-48 tanks that fell into his army's hands had been cleaned up and sent south with the Communist forces.

He said that six self-propelled 175-mm. long-range artillery pieces were recovered here and that four were now in combat condition and were with the revolutionary forces in the south.

Driving to Hue over Hai Van Pass from Da Nang, this correspondent saw heavy southbound military traffic for most of the 60 miles on Route 1. Along with Soviet-made armor were some tanks from the Saigon army's American supplies.

An Unusual Mixture

In the military truck convoys there was a mixture of Soviet, Chinese and American vehicles.

Along the route thousands of acres of rice were being harvested. Teams of seven or eight young men were cutting rice stalks and tying them in sheaves. The young men were dressed in green military tunics and shorts.

Through an interpreter, the leader of one of these teams said that he and his men had come from a nearby village and that all had served at one time in Saigon's army. Some had served until very recently, he added.

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WASHINGTON POST
4 May 1975 Pg.16(5)

Hanoi Asks Return of S. Viet Jets

North Vietnam formally urged Thailand yesterday to return to the Provisional Revolutionary Government planes and ships that fleeing South Vietnamese took to Thai territory.

"In the interest of relations between the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam and Thailand and peace in the entire region, the North Vietnamese government hopes that the Thai government will respond positively to these (PRG) demands, by restoring immediately to the PRG all planes and ships taken to Thailand illegally during the flight by the Saigon administration and army," a Foreign Ministry statement in Hanoi said.

The PRG has claimed that the planes, numbering almost 130, were "stolen" and that they belong to the new government.

The United States claims that the planes are U S. property under a military aid agreement.

Thai Foreign Minister Chatichai Choonhavan said earlier yesterday that the planes have been "temporarily impounded" and that the Thai government has not yet decided what to do about them.

The PRG has formally requested Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines, as well as Thailand, to return planes and ships taken by fleeing South Vietnamese. In a diplomatic note, the PRG said it has exercised governmental control in South Vietnam since April 30 and under international law the equipment should be returned.

WASHINGTON POST
5 May 1975 Pg.16

26,000 Reach Philippines On 11 Ships

From News Dispatches

More than 26,000 refugees from South Vietnam arrived at Subic Bay in the Philippines yesterday aboard 11 ships of the American evacuation fleet. Among them was the last American ambassador to the defeated Saigon government, Graham Martin.

Martin, described as "crusty as usual" by one embassy official, flew by helicopter to the U.S. embassy in Manila. Former South Vietnamese Premier Nguyen Cao Ky, who arrived with Martin, flew directly to Guam, as did most of the others who arrived yesterday.

U. S. officials on Guam said that they now are expecting upward of 80,000 people to go through their evacuation center, an increase of 17,000 from previous official estimates.

In Hong Kong, about 4,500 refugees who had been rescued from a sinking South Vietnamese ship, arrived aboard the Danish freighter that rescued them.

A Defense Ministry spokesman in Singapore said that more than 3,700 refugees are aboard some 25 vessels anchored in waters off Singapore and Malaysia. The spokesman said the refugees have requested fresh supplies and have asked diplomats for permission to continue their voyages to Guam, the Philippines and other countries.

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EDITORIALS

NEW YORK TIMES - 5 MAY 1975

Ford-Brezhnev Summit

Postponement of the Ford-Brezhnev summit conference until the autumn is due primarily to technical difficulties in completing the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II) outlined in Vladivostok last November. The technical obstacles themselves can only be overcome by political compromises at the highest level, and these compromises have become difficult to tackle when détente and the broader Soviet-American relationship are under increasing strain.

Since the Vladivostok summit, the Soviet Union has repudiated the trade-emigration compromise laboriously worked out by Secretary of State Kissinger. Leonid Brezhnev has been seriously ill, and a struggle for the Kremlin succession may be under way. American mediation to achieve a second disengagement agreement by Israel and Egypt has broken down. Moscow now is maneuvering for a major Middle East role, as advocate of a united Arab position at a renewed Geneva Conference. Soviet arms in Indochina and Syria, Soviet diplomacy in the Middle East and Soviet-oriented Communist parties in Portugal and Italy have all contributed to a gradual destabilization of the world situation, from Saigon to Jerusalem. The NATO-Warsaw Pact talks in Vienna on mutual force reductions have bogged down, as have the Soviet-American negotiations to limit underground nuclear tests. The collapse of Cambodia and South Vietnam have turned tension into trauma, at least for the United States.

In these circumstances it is difficult to conceive of positive results emerging from a Brezhnev-Ford meeting before more progress has been made on the specific problems confronting the SALT negotiators. These involve means of verification and identification of sophisticated missiles on each side. The fact remains that Moscow and Washington have one overwhelming common interest, with priority over all other disputes: the nuclear arms race must be curbed.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
5 MAY 1975

A communist Saigon

Saigon's new revolutionary regime has lost no time in taking the kind of steps that explain why many Vietnamese did not want to live under communism — and why many Americans over the years were prepared to support their anticommunist struggle. If the first, sketchy reports can be trusted, the communists moved swiftly to shut down the press, control the labor movement, and nationalize agriculture, business, and industry. "Revolutionary committees" have been formed, purportedly to protect government property, and it is as easy to predict ensuing years of repression as it was to anticipate the kind of drastic measures already announced.

Surely the freedom-loving world must deplore the revolutionary government's onslaughts on liberty as much as those perpetrated by Thieu, to the dismay of Americans whose taxes supported him.

On the positive side is the apparent absence so far of the bloodbath some had expected. And such reforms as the closing down of the brothels are welcome steps away from the demoralizing legacy of the war years.

Certainly the massive task of restoring the war's destruction and building a viable economy require both strong leadership and national efforts. There has to be understanding of the Vietnamese people as they go about their task — more understanding than the American Government has displayed in the past. But this does not mean blindness to the enormous cost imposed on human individuality by the system now becoming rooted in Saigon.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE - 5 MAY 1975

Containing the A-bomb

Fourteen years of disarmament conferences have not conditioned us to look upon yet another one with much optimism, and the nonproliferation talks that open in Geneva Monday come at an especially delicate time. But the very inauspiciousness of the timing may in fact prove to be a boon —for several reasons.

For one thing, the remaining loopholes in the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty of 1968 have aroused growing concern. Altho the more than 80 nations which originally signed it have complied with its terms, India—a nonsigner —has tested a nuclear device. The atomic bomb has spread despite the treaty. Can this kind of loophole be closed?

For another thing, the nuclear disarmament which really should accompany nonproliferation has not progressed as welwl as hoped. The SALT II understanding which President Ford and Chairman Brezhnev reached last year at Vladivostok permits fearful arsenals to remain in the hands of the two superpowers. This is a state of affairs that satisfies no one.

For a third thing, the United States is going thru a post-Viet Nam reappraisal of its foreign policy, and no one knows precisely what changes will emerge. Yet the nonproliferation treaty relies largely on the confidence which nations not possessing nuclear warheads place in their alliances with nations which do have the bomb. Canada, West Germany, and Japan are conspicuous examples of countries which easily could produce nuclear weapons but do not. All are allied with the U.S. and logically may wonder now what those alliances really mean.

Finally, there is evidence that the U.S. and the Soviet Union have independently developed a laser technique which vastly simplifies the task of extracting explosive Uranium 235 from Uranium 238. The cost of the operation is drastically reduced, say its developers, perhaps placing the creation of nuclear weapons within the reach of the poorest nations or even terriorist gangs. Few people can view this prospect with comfort.

Dr. Fred C. Ikle, director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and a practical man accustomed to looking harsh reality in the face, is mildly optimistic.

He has spoken of "several imaginative solutions" to the problem of nations ramming their way into the nuclear weapons club. While he did not elaborate, he called them feasible. Two legislative steps which he does stress are export controls and financial support for international safeguards.

In Dr. Ikle's mind the big question is whether nonnuclear countries will agree [and mean it] not to acquire nuclear weapons. And he says: "The answer is this: A nation will agree if, in its judgment, its security is served by doing so."

This means, clearly, that we must have a world in which superpowers make sincere efforts to achieve nuclear disarmament, in which they maintain dependable alliances with nonnuclear nations, and in which the peaceful blessings of nuclear power are made available to all men.

That is a simple formula, easy to understand, but difficult to attain. The most powerful argument for it is necessity. Unless the atomic bomb "haves" and "have nots" can agree on some such formula, life will be increasingly risky for all of us.

Looked at in those stark terms, the Geneva meeting seems critically important indeed.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR - 5 MAY 1975

On winning refugee-aid support

We share President Ford's disappointment with the attitudes reflected in the debate over and defeat of the South Vietnamese refugee-aid bill. Mr. Ford said of the one-sided (246-to-162) vote in the House: "This action does not reflect the values we cherish as a nation of immigrants."

But the White House will hardly persuade Congress to a different point of view by attempting to shame it. A new Gallup poll on the issue of permitting South Vietnamese evacuees to live in the U.S. showed the congressmen not far off the mark of public sentiment. By a margin of 54 percent to 37 percent, citizens opposed such relocation.

As a first step, the White House will have to come up with a new piece of legislation. The $327 million refugee-aid bill rejected by the House had a serious defect. It contained the clause giving the President authority to use troops for evacuating citizens. New legislation, such as that being readied by Senators Javits and Pell, can now deal strictly with the humanitarian aspects of the problem.

As a second step, the White House should address the attitude of the public, which, as Mr. Ford said of Congress, "reflects fear and misunderstanding rather than charity and compassion." The White House cannot ignore the pervasive feeling that America's own underemployed and overtaxed merit attention. It need not go so far as Gov. Edmund Brown Jr. of California, who had his state's million unemployed in mind when he called for a Vietnamese aid bill that would provide "jobs for Americans first." But it would help Mr. Ford's effort to secure refugee aid financing if he would show more regard for his country's native jobless.

At base, the exact price of resettling the Vietnamese refugees is not the issue — whether it takes the $327 million the House rejected or the $500 million the White House says is needed. Nor is the issue the sharing of jobs or communities. The issue is whether America's conclusion of the Vietnamese adventure is to be humane and generous, or self-seeking and mean.

The refugee aid is needed. It should be voted.

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NEW YORK NEWS - 4 MAY 1975 (5)

THE LINGERING QUESTIONS

There is a desire on the part of many Americans to banish from their minds all thought of the long U.S. involvement in Indochina and the ignominious end to which it came.

President Ford

The yearning for blissful forgetfulness is understandable. No nation or people likes to dwell on its failures or defeats.

But if we are to approach sensibly the business of working out what President Gerald R. Ford has called "an agenda for the future" in world affairs, we cannot dismiss Vietnam as though it never happened.

Above all, we cannot afford to regard that 14-year-ordeal as an irrational aberration, an erratic lunge off an established course.

The decision to commit American arms and manpower to Vietnam was, in fact, the logical extension of the policy of containment—opposing the spread of communism. It began with the Truman Doctrine and was continued through the Marshall Plan, the Korean war, the Atlantic Alliance, and a whole series of regional and bilateral defense pacts.

Leading statesmen in both parties had a hand in fashioning that policy, and it met with overwhelming popular approval.

The experience in Vietnam calls for the most searching and sober reassessment of our global objectives, how we are to pursue them, and the means available to carry them out. It is a matter of—

THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE

—that Americans set about this task coolly and calmly—but with full awareness that there is an urgent need for clear-cut answers. There are scores of nations throughout the world who ranged themselves at our side on the basis of U.S. assurances of aid and protection, and now are wondering how valid those pledges are.

To arrive at an intelligent and realistic plan for the conduct of our foreign relations, it is necessary to accept some basic truths.

The first of these is that communism remains a potent threat to world peace and our national security. Leadership and tactics may change in the Kremlin and Peking. But their appetite for expansion—by subversion or aggression—remains as keen as ever.

Such being the case, it follows that however weary Americans may be of bearing the burden of Free World leadership, we cannot lay it down now. No other nation or combination of nations is capable of providing the balancing power needed to check Communist ambitions.

And to fulfill that role, it is essential that we have not only a clear-sighted foreign policy, but also the strength to back it up. Without credible military might to deter a potential aggressor, even the most clever, adroit diplomacy is helpless.

It is vital that all Americans, not just our officials in the White House and on Capitol Hill, recognize these facts. For, in a democracy, all depends on—

THE UNITY OF PURPOSE

—and the firmness of will with which the people support the efforts and programs of their leaders.

It should be clear to every citizen that what we face is not a choice between difficult and easy alternatives—any course will be hard.

The idea of withdrawal and abdication, of turning our back upon responsibility, may appeal to the faint of heart and those selfish souls who believe that we could insure our own safety by throwing our allies to the wolves.

But a weak America, or one withdrawn into the shell of isolationism, would create a dangerous state of instability, and with it a direct threat to our security and our very existence.

The Vietnam episode has shaken the nation's confidence in itself. But we have survived other crises, and we can surmount this one, if we here and now resolve to meet it with the same determination and vigor that brought the U.S. to greatness.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR - 5 MAY 1975

Mr. Ford's opportunity

As the dust settles in Indo-China, President Ford is wasting no time taking the diplomatic initiative. Later this month he will attend a meeting of NATO, meet with President Sadat, and make a swing to Italy and Spain.

This will be Mr. Ford's first trip to Europe and he apparently thinks it an auspicious time to show the American flag. He seeks to project an image of vigorous U.S. foreign policy, reassert Washington's determination to meet its commitments, and reexamine with allies and friends the problems that lie ahead.

Most significantly, perhaps, the trip will expose Mr. Ford personally to such leaders as President Sadat and enhance his education in foreign policy. In recent weeks the President has been stressing that he, not Henry Kissinger, is making the decisions. And while the Secretary of State will continue to play a dominant role, it should help lift the sense of personal responsibility he has shouldered as well as clear the air of criticism of him if the President takes more of the limelight.

This he must do now with wise leadership. There has been all too much self-conscious talk about the loss of America's prestige and strength. It will be U.S. actions now not merely words that will demonstrate its resolve to remain vigorously — but intelligently — involved. The past few months have seen some sharp reverses of U.S. policy but the scoreboard is not unrelievedly gloomy.

• On the Middle East front everyone is talking about going back to Geneva but, curiously, no one is yet fixing a date. The way still is left open to a resumption of negotiations on an Israeli-Egyptian accord, although it is certain Dr. Kissinger would not return to the region unless he could count on a successful outcome.

• The West's relations with the Soviet Union are in a state of suspension. The SALT talks are stalled, several issues still hold up a European security conference, and Brezhnev's visit to Washington has been postponed. But it is significant that the Russians have not unduly exploited the American defeat in Vietnam. They reportedly were even helpful in securing a communist lull in the fighting around Saigon in the last days, all of which suggests that they want to keep detente going.

• All across Europe of course are clouds of political and economic uncertainty. The crisis on Cyprus remains unresolved and U.S.-Turkish ties are still strained. The events in Portugal, where the Communists recently were dealt a setback, nonetheless pose crucial questions for NATO and have implications for neighboring Spain and Italy.

The agenda for Mr. Ford is thus full. We doubt America's allies think the U.S. is headed down the road of isolationism and retreating from world responsibilities. They in fact are probably relieved that it no longer has Indo-China to absorb its energies. But they clearly are concerned about the direction now of American foreign policy, and the President will have the opportunity to set a sensible course.

WASHINGTON STAR
4 MAY 1975 (5)

Bloodbath Reported in Cambodia

NEW YORK (UPI) — A massive bloodbath has begun in Cambodia and thousands have already been executed according to a U.S. official, Newsweek magazine reports.

Newsweek said the reports came from intercepts of Khmer Rouge radio communications picked up by U.S. intelligence. The intercepts were said to indicate that the first victims were to be all officers of the Cambodian army down to the rank of second lieutenant and their wives.

Newsweek said sources told it that intercepts of the official Khmer Rouge radio transmissions gave the orders for the executions and that field radio reports indicated they were being carried out. They quoted the sources as saying the killings were not isolated cases but part of a full-fledged campaign.

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NEW YORK TIMES - 4 MAY 1975 (5)

After Vietnam

The American role in Vietnam ended as it had begun —in a muddle of misconceptions. Initially, a handful of American advisers were expected to shape and sustain an independent South Vietnam; in the end, one more consignment of American arms was expected to save a regime that never took root. In the intervening fifteen years, an anticolonial nationalism had evolved into an anti-American tide.

Past errors must not now be compounded by a misreading of their meaning for the future. This country's failure in Indochina is, as President Ford has so succinctly stated, neither the end of the world nor the end of America's role in the world. Contrary to the view reiterated by Defense Secretary Schlesinger last week, disengagement from a civil war in which the United States should never have become engaged need not shake this country's position in the world.

Only the most simplistic assessment of a major power's international role could portray the end of the American involvement in Vietnam and Cambodia as tantamount to a retreat into isolationism. The recognition that its power has limits does not render the United States powerless. A new consciousness that power must be used wisely, without exaggerated faith in its military application alone, is a far cry from isolationism.

This country's tragic misadventure in Indochina in no way diminishes the need to keep and make international commitments. The painful lesson of Vietnam, however—especially in its later phases—*is a compelling message to* future Presidents that they cannot make foreign commitments without the full knowledge and approval of Congress and the American people.

* * *

To view the War Powers Act as an indication that Congress has turned isolationist is to ignore the lesson of the Pentagon Papers, the Tonkin Gulf resolution, the clandestine war in Cambodia and the secret commitments contained in correspondence between former Presidents Nixon and Thieu.

In 1969, before he became Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Henry Kissinger wrote that while "a new international order is inconceivable without a significant American contribution," the complexities of a changing world made it impossible "to impose an American design" or to "bring about domestic transformations in 'emerging countries'."

It surely was not the mark of isolationism when, with a prescience that was to fall victim to events in Vietnam, Mr. Kissinger then inveighed eloquently against "an undifferentiated globalism." Nothing that happened in Vietnam can be construed as an argument against future American commitments to aid friendly nations whose people stand ready to defend their own independence and in whose support the United States has a national interest.

Speaking at Princeton University in 1954, George F. Kennan warned: "If there is any great lesson we Americans need to learn . . . it is that we must be gardeners and not mechanics in our approach to world affairs." As long as the United States is on the side of men's aspirations, Mr. Kennan suggested, "we can afford to be patient, and even occasionally suffer reverses, placing our confidence in the longer and deeper workings of history."

There is an unbreakable link between the successful implementation of American principles at home and the nation's capacity to exert leadership abroad. An instant, small but significant test of this understanding will be in the manner of the American people's welcome to Vietnamese refugees. For the long term, we as Americans need to regain enough confidence in ourselves to spurn both isolationism and the temptation to improve the world by forcing it into the American image.

BALTIMORE SUN - 3 MAY 1975(5)

Sailing Out of Greece

The agreement between Greece and the United States to end home port rights for elements of the Sixth Fleet near Athens is a constructive step toward re-establishing decent relations with Greece. America's military departure from Greece will go beyond this agreement, with the effect of weakening American power in the Eastern Mediterranean and possibly weakening Greece's defenses, though the final extent is not established. American involvement in Greece goes back to the early postwar years. The home port arrangement was negotiated only in 1972-73. *That momentary* expansion of base rights jeopardized the longer-term relationship.

In his prime ministry from 1955 to 1963, Constantine Caramanlis worked for a close Graeco-American relationship. Now in his return to power he is reducing it and has withdrawn Greece from the NATO command. What went wrong was that after the tyranny of the colonels descended on Greece in 1967, the United States converted its alliance with that nation into an alliance with its despotic rulers, or seemed to in Greek eyes. The home port deal symbolized the perversion of the relationship. The overthrow of the military dictatorship made the resulting anti-Americanism as inevitable as it was unnecessary. A greater distance from the hated regime of 1967-'74 would have insured a firmer friendship and more durable base rights. Short-sighted advantage is not realism. The very presence of American servicemen and dependents became a disturbing factor.

The six destroyers that have called Athens home can operate out of Norfolk. In their absence, the damage to relationships can undergo repair. There is little hope of full Greek return to NATO activities, however, until after achievement of a Cyprus accord. And whoever ruled in Athens, there would be scant hope of using Greek facilities to help Israel in wartime, because the Greek nationals widely engaged in commerce in the Arab world are hostage to Arab governments' good will toward Athens. The American exodus from Greece looks at first blush like part of a worldwide withdrawal. It turns not on military defeat in Asia, however, but on having backed in Greek internal affairs what turned out to be not only the wrong but also the losing side.

NEW YORK TIMES - 3 MAY 1975 (5)

Silence

Vice President Rockefeller has broken his silence about Governor Rockefeller's silence during the decade of war in Vietnam. He told the National Urban Coalition that the reason he declined to criticize Washington was that it would have diminished the flow of Federal aid to Albany. And he added that, by keeping quiet, he succeeded in increasing the amount of money returned to this state during his administration.

Apart from what his comment says about the White House in the Vietnam years, Mr. Rockefeller's explanation does little credit to the former Governor or to his concept of political leadership at either state or national level. It was the failure to say that the emperors in Washington were often unclothed that contributed to the disaster in Vietnam. Men of stature—Governor Rockefeller as well as Vice President Rockefeller—have a responsibility to speak out on vital issues, and to refuse to be blackmailed into silence. Otherwise, their silence may speak for them all too loudly.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 5 May 1975

WASHINGTON POST - 4 MAY 1975 (5)

'Dear President Thieu'

RELEASE OF THE text of two letters that President Nixon wrote President Thieu removes what few doubts remained about the nature of Mr. Nixon's promises to meet with force any North Vietnamese violations of the Paris Accords. On Nov. 14, 1972, he pledged "swift and severe retaliatory action" and on Jan. 5, 1973, he promised to "respond with full force." Against these words one must set Henry Kissinger's statement on Jan. 25, 1973, the day the accords were signed: "There are no secret understandings." Would we react with force to North Vietnamese violations? he was asked. He replied, "I don't want to speculate on hypothetical situations that we don't expect to arise." With the Nixon letters now published, presumably the Ford administration will stop pretending that nothing was offered secretly that was not explained publicly at the time. *That* argument is over.

But what about Mr. Nixon? Reflect on the nature of the policy that he inherited and that he himself pursued, one of conducting a limited war whose success depended on convincing the enemy that the United States would hang in indefinitely and on convincing an increasingly restive American public that the United States would get out. Concealment and dissimulation were not arbitrary, a mere bureaucratic convenience: they were fundamental to the nature of the policy. At virtually any point in the war, to have informed the public of the costs and risks that officials privately felt lay ahead would have invited the public's refusal to go along, which in turn would have invited a level of dissent that Hanoi could only take as evidence that the United States would *not* hang in. In brief, the policy could not succeed if the people were to be told the full truth about it. Its fundamental flaw, in fact, may well have been its incompatibility with the workings of a free and open society.

So it was from the beginning in Vietnam, throughout the war, and at the end. President Thieu was deeply alarmed—and, as events showed, not without reason—that the Paris Accords let North Vietnam keep troops in the South. But President Nixon was determined to end American involvement in the war and to recover American POWs. And for the latter purpose, if not the former, he required an agreement not only between the United States and Hanoi but between Hanoi and Saigon. To gain Mr. Thieu's support for the necessary accords, Mr. Nixon thus found it necessary to promise "full force." Had he not made that promise, South Vietnam might have balked at the withdrawal of the remaining American troops, denounced Washington and refused to sign the agreements with Hanoi. Had he made the promise public, North Vietnam might have refused to accept the cease-fire terms with the South. This almost certainly would have torpedoed the agreement on the POWs because all of the various two-sided agreements between the various parties—Hanoi, Saigon and Washington—were interlocked and conditioned on each other. Congress and the American public, of course, would have gone up the wall. Mr. Nixon was the prisoner of his own policy.

This certainly does not mean that the principle of lying to one's public is tolerable or that secret commitments to acts of war are acceptable. The appropriate "lesson" is not so much that statesmen should never lie as it is that they should not conceive and conduct policies whose success depends on lying. In Vietnam, it became clear that the necessary foundation of a policy of limited war—a clear impression, conveyed to the enemy, that the United States would stick it out—collapsed. As, little by little, the public's sense of the reality of Vietnam grew, its taste for prosecuting a war there shrank. Unless President Nixon was prepared to change his policy and to declare that the United States would no longer have anything to do with trying to shape the outcome in Vietnam—in which case he might have been able to recover the POWs but might also have had some difficulty extracting the American troops as well as civilians still in South Vietnam — he was caught in the trap from which he tried to escape by his secret assurances to President Thieu.

NEW YORK TIMES - 3 MAY 1975 (5)

Toward a New Life

America's better instincts are on trial. There is simply no way to shed the responsibility, proclaimed throughout our country's history, for providing a haven to those fleeing from persecution and conquest.

Gov. David Pryor of Arkansas set a needed tone of sympathetic welcome yesterday as the first planeload of Vietnamese refugees touched down at Fort Smith. He received the simple and eloquent reply from a Saigon doctor: "We thank you for giving us the chance to make our lives again."

Of all the waves of large-scale immigration which have reached this country's shores, this must be the least expected, most disorganized and least prepared. Misunderstandings and confusion may be inevitable under the tragic and chaotic circumstances under which nearly a hundred thousand people have left their homeland in the past few weeks to make their way to the United States. The brunt of the first inflow is being felt in a few communities across the country, not unnaturally provoking some nervousness among surprised local residents who had been given little or no advance guidance.

However—even if the number of eventual refugees reaches the 150,000 mark, as Administration coordinators now speculate—the fact is that this figure is but a fraction of the number of Cubans who were welcomed here after the Castro regime took power, and it is well below the total flow of immigrants whom the country accepts routinely in an ordinary year.

* * *

Uncertainty about funding is the most immediate limitation to the resettlement effort. The principle is generally accepted that resettlement is a Federal obligation, not the responsibility of any local authorities; it is now up to both Administration and Congress to produce an appropriation bill to fund the immediate costs of transporting, housing and feeding the Vietnamese refugees who are under American protection.

The makeshift measure which the House of Representatives rejected Thursday hardly began to recognize this problem, and further confused the point with other issues of evacuation and humanitarian aid in Indochina, many of which have been overtaken by events.

It is easy to be cynical about the agility with which some of Saigon's political and economic élite may have been able to get themselves and their wealth out of their country; but to focus on a handful of such individuals is to distort the wider reality: the bulk of the immigrants have arrived here penniless, fleeing for their lives in search of freedom. Hard-pressed immigration authorities are nowhere near providing a breakdown of occupations; it is nevertheless evident that among the refugees are many thousands of persons capable of making a genuine contribution to American society, once they find themselves.

As the Bicentennial approaches, the people of this country have an unexpected occasion to reaffirm the principles on which American society was founded. The United States can be proud to give people in need the chance to make their lives again.

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FEATURES COLUMNISTS

WASHINGTON STAR 3 MAY 1975 (5)

U.S. Undecided on Indochina Policy

By Henry S. Bradsher
Washington Star Staff Writer

Analysis

While the silence which enveloped Phnom Penh two weeks ago is now descending on Saigon, broken only by military government decrees, the U.S. government is undecided about what new policy to adopt toward Cambodia and Vietnam.

The old expression from the Communist victory in China 26 years ago about "waiting for the dust to settle" has itself been dusted off and is circulating again.

Officials think it will be a long time before any sort of normal relations with the two new regimes is possible. Even if the United States decides to hold out the hand of diplomatic contact — and such a decision might be a long, controversial way off — it seems doubtful that the new Communist officials in either Indochinese capital would want to take it immediately.

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger said Tuesday the United States "will not recognize an exile government of South Vietnam." Neither is it going to support a Cambodian exile regime, other officials say.

THE POSSIBILITY of American humanitarian aid to either country is uncertain.

Both regimes have announced peaceful policies of nonalignment. The Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) in Saigon has said it is ready to establish relations with all countries, while the Cambodians have been more withdrawn and suspicious of foreigners so far.

In one of the conferences which have been held within the U.S. government in recent days on what new attitude to adopt, one official observed that American relations with countries which have just gone under Communist rule have historically had three initial aspects.

One is to ostracize the new regime, trying to block it out of normal relations with the rest of the world. A second is to freeze its assets within American control and choke down trade. And the third is to help or even to organize armed resistance.

The immediate question being debated in Washington is whether to go for ostracism even though many other nations are declaring recognition of the new regimes in Phnom Penh and Saigon. The debate is a long way from any decision.

LEGAL STEPS have already been taken to control trade with Cambodia under the old laws against selling strategic goods to Communist countries. Similar action against South Vietnam is likely soon.

The more touchy economic ques-

(See POLICY, Pg. 2-F)

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER 4 MAY 1975 (5)

The next challenge may come in Korea

By GEORGE F. WILL

WASHINGTON — The morning after the U. S. presence was plucked off the roof of the Saigon embassy thereby ending U. S. instruction on the theme that aggression does not pay, the Washington Post headlined its editorial: "Deliverance."

Of course we have been delivered from Cambodia and South Vietnam. But these may be just the first choruses of a song with many choruses.

Unless the North Korean government is more obtuse than we can reasonably hope that it is, it has learned a lesson about the perils of aggression in its part of the world. The lesson is: Twenty-five years after the start of the Korean War, the U. S. public and the U. S. Congress which reflects the public, will not abide further use of U. S. force in Asia.

Perhaps it is true that (to paraphrase Neville Chamberlain on Czechoslovakia) South Korea is not worth the bones of a single American soldier. But true or not, when push comes to shove in Korea, there will be, from the start, an intense, substantial and growing minority in Congress convinced that is true.

And all the arguments successfully used against the U. S. involvement on the Indochina peninsula will be dusted off — if there has been time for dust to gather — and used with regard to the Korean peninsula.

South Korea, like South Vietnam, is a long way away; its people are culturally (not to mention — and please do not mention it — racially) different; few American tourists or Fulbright scholars send back postcards and bring back warm memories from there; the South Korean government is imperfect; it is "unnatural" for Korea to be divided; the disappearance of South Korea would not immediately, directly discomfort Louisville; Soviet and Chinese support for a North Korean invasion obviously is consistent with the prevailing theory of detente.

So, if — no, when — North Korea gins up a confrontation along the 39th parallel, Congress will gin up an investigation of press freedom in South Korea. The result will be a report on the moral inadequacies of the South Korean government.

True, U. S. forces already are in place in Korea, in what it pleases us to call a "deterrent posture." But if push comes to shove there, the congressional push will be for an exercise of our imperial capacity for evacuation.

The Washington Post says, correctly, that "foreign policy proceeds a great deal more from the character and outlook of a people than from the specific manipulations of public men." But then the Post goes on to say, soothingly, that the U. S. still has great power "measured in conventional military and economic terms."

This leaves unanswered two related questions about the nature of power and the current character and outlook of the American people.

Is it not the case that power without the will to use it is not power at all? What reason is there to believe that the manipulations of the public men, especially in Congress (where there are never more than a few members willing to stray from the straight and narrow path of subservience to opinion polls), do not faithfully reflect the outlook and character of the American people?

Many nations have based their security plans on the assumption that the U. S. has the will to make its power an actuality. Now these nations may conclude that it is prudent to assume the worst about the willingness of the U. S. to make its power felt.

So South Korea, Japan, Pakistan, and Israel, among others, may find it prudent to develop nuclear weapons, nuclear non-proliferation agreements notwithstanding. All these nations have the capacity to build such weapons, and recent events may have given these nations an incentive to do so.

That is the nature of the world into which we have been delivered from the roof in Saigon.

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POLICY -- CONTINUED

tion is ownership of assets. The United States has asserted its right to planes and ships which it provided to the two one-time allies and were taken abroad when their capitals fell.

This has provoked angry statements. The North Vietnamese foreign ministry accused the United States yesterday of "feverishly carrying out the plan of plundering hundreds of airplanes and dozens of sea-going ships. . . ."

American help for resistance movements, a tradition that goes back to the sending of U.S. troops into Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, is a more complicated problem. Congressional opinion has turned sharply against such Central Intelligence Agency adventures as the "secret war" in Laos during the 1960s.

ONE OF THE most genuinely popular Cambodian leaders, former Premier In Tam, crossed the border into Thailand two weeks ago with 200 armed followers. He was quoted as saying he might try to organize resistance to the Khmer Rouge regime in Phnom Penh. Nothing further had been heard from him since.

Officials here say no decision has been taken on what the United States should do if armed resistance develops in Cambodia. Some observers doubt that resistance could develop without a decision for U.S. aid to it.

President Ford told some members of Congress a few days ago that the Communists in Cambodia have already executed some 80 civilian and military leaders in order to prevent any resistance to their rule.

Other sources say that the executions were on the basis of orders sent out by the Khmer Rouge military command after it captured Phnom Penh April 17. Provincial subcommands were sent lists of persons who, along with their wives and children, should be killed if captured, the official sources said.

IN VIETNAM, some resistance was reported continuing several days after Saigon fell Tuesday. Officials here mentioned the areas inhabited by the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao religious minorities and by the Montagnard tribal groups in the highlands.

It was not clear, however, whether this would be cleaned up by the victorious Communist armies or might develop into the same kind of guerrilla warfare that the Viet Cong long waged.

The PRG's military command has called for an end to all resistance and warned of harsh measures against anyone who fails to accept the new order.

Initial reports indicate that the PRG has taken a far more hospitable attitude toward the foreigners left in Saigon than the Khmer Rouge did toward those who stayed in Phnom Penh. The Vietnamese Communists were also better organized and better disciplined as an army when they took over their capital.

The Khmer Rouge refused to facilitate the evacuation of foreigners who had sought refuge in the French Embassy. It rejected French and U.N. requests to let planes remove them, and finally put them on trucks heading for the Thai border.

THE CAMBODIAN Communists were showing signs of hostility toward those foreign governments which had continued to recognize the Lon Nol regime almost to its end, and this hostility was taken out on diplomats and other foreigners left in Phnom Penh. A report yesterday said the old embassies had been "destroyed," but observers doubted that this meant the buildings had been razed.

In the first few days of PRG military control in Saigon, reports from the Japanese Embassy and others there indicated that foreigners were being protected and allowed to live fairly normally.

The chairman of the PRG's advisory council, Nguyen Huu Tho, said recently that his government wanted normal relations with all. It will also "accept the contributions of all countries, not excluding the United States, in the scientific, technical and economic fields, on the basis of respect of our sovereignty and of mutual interests," he said.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 5 MAY 1975

Washington Letter

Ford's post-Vietnam policy: beyond his control?

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.
Washington

A long-time watcher of United States foreign policy who has a particularly close relationship with the President looked away from a TV chronicling of the last days of U.S. involvement in Vietnam to make this comment:

"The question everyone seems to be asking is 'Where does the President take us from here?' I think that the problem in foreign relations is much more profound than that.

"First, does America really know what it wants to do? And, second, can the President get the country to decide? There is, you know, this growing neoisolationism which might well shape an uncertain U.S. course." He continued soberly, even sadly:

"Have we become an unpredictable world force? That, I think, is the real question. Will other nations no longer know with any certainty what we will do — what commitments we will keep? And how can the President himself be certain? Can the President make the U.S. policy predictable, with opposition in Congress making this course difficult?"

If the President shares any of this uncertainty, he isn't showing it. And he clearly is taking the tack that the United States, now that its involvement in Vietnam is over, will resume its traditional role of leadership in global affairs.

To those nations that might feel uncertain about the U.S. and its will to fulfill commitments both Mr. Ford and his Secretary of State are saying, as Dr. Kissinger said in his press conference on April 29, "No lesson should be drawn by the enemies of our friends from the experiences in Vietnam."

Dr. Kissinger, when asked whether other dominoes might fall to the communists in the wake of Vietnam, said: "There is no question that the outcome in Indo-China will have consequences not only in Asia, but on many other parts of the world. To deny these consequences is to miss the possibility of dealing with them. So I believe there will be consequences. But I am confident that we can deal with them."

Here was a Secretary of State who, right at the moment of one of this country's greatest embarrassments, was talking quite tough — of the United States being able to "deal" with domino-related "consequences."

And the President's whole approach now is one that says, in effect: "We are not retreating from world leadership — we are not moving away from a policy of internationalism which this government embraced after World War II." His speech at Notre Dame University underscored this thesis.

Then the President said at Tulane University: "Today America can regain the sense of pride that existed before Vietnam. . . . I ask that we accept the responsibility of leadership as a good neighbor to all peoples and an enemy of none."

"The 'new' foreign policy agenda," the President told the student audience, "must place a high priority on the need to stop the spread of nuclear weapons and to work for the mutual reduction of strategic arms and control of other weapons." He added: "I must say, parenthetically, the successful negotiations at Vladivostok, in my opinion, are just beginning."

So the President is using almost every forum now to try to dispel any doubts about his and the United States's resolve to stay right in the power center wherever global policy is made. That's what his trip to Brussels and the NATO meeting in late May is all about. And he hopes, too, within months to show that the U.S. is able to be just as influential in summit diplomacy as before the Vietnam disaster. Such a display of clout will be a prime objective in the President's meeting here with Brezhnev this fall and his get-together with leaders in Peking soon thereafter.

When reminded of these presidential efforts to resume America's "business-as-usual" role in world affairs, the veteran observer quoted at the beginning said:

"I hope the President is right. But I think he's going to find that he is bucking a strong tide of resistance right within his own country. Now I am not saying the U.S. won't continue to be a world leader. All I am suggesting is that after Vietnam our influence abroad may be less — that the desire of the American people to be influential abroad may be less. And that we may become a different — less certain — factor in the shaping of world policy. The President may well find that this shift in viewpoint — in Congress and among the American people — will reshape his foreign policy role no matter what he says and does. I think it likely will be beyond his control."

Mr. Sperling is chief of the Washington bureau of The Christian Science Monitor.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 5 May 1975

NEW YORK TIMES 4 MAY 1975 (5)

Hanoi's Military Miracle Was In Its Flexibility

By DREW MIDDLETON

The tanks and infantry of the North Vietnamese Army, streaming down Saigon's boulevards last week, signalled the end of an amazing military achievement. The army of an underdeveloped country had survived for years the onslaught of up to half a million American troops and the world's most advanced air forces and then broken the military power of American-armed South Vietnam.

How were they able to do it? Preliminary Pentagon assessments suggest that the superior motivation and fighting qualities of the northern armies were important factors. But they were not the only ones. The North Vietnamese were not bare-footed ideologues who overcame superior forces by valor and esprit de corps alone. They were well-trained, well-led, and, in the final campaign, equipped with some of the best weapons, particularly artillery, that the Soviet Union could provide.

Directing this strategy was Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap, one of Asia's ablest military leaders, who has led operations against the French, the Americans and the South Vietnamese, each time with notable success.

General Giap in his book "Banner of People's War," outlined his strategy of a dual approach. At the outset when revolutionary forces are weak, he said, "they must tirelessly carry out guerrilla war and partial insurrection" to "maintain their offensive impetus." But he noted that only through "regular" that is conventional, war in which regular troops "fight in a concentrated manner and the armed services are combined," can "the revolutionaries annihilate important forces of the enemy" and "liberate vast areas of land."

Using General Giap's advice, Hanoi over the years fought two differing types of war, shifting from one tactical approach to another as the enemy's position dictated.

For most of their war against the Americans, the North Vietnamese sought to minimize enemy strengths. Hanoi recognized early in the fighting that it would be suicidal in most cases to employ conventional tactics against the American superiority in firepower—heavy bombers, fighter-bombers, artillery and infantry weapons—and in mobility from the lavish use of helicopters.

The wisdom of that approach was emphasized during the one year, 1967, when Hanoi tried a conventional defense against Operations Cedar Falls and Junction City. The two operations were carried out by American forces assisted by troops from one South Vietnamese division and took place in northern Tay Ninh province close to the Cambodian frontier. The northerners were badly mauled.

A 'Vanishing' Defense

Thereafter they avoided encounters with large American forces. When the Americans planned to "sweep" an area, the North Vietnamese regulars, benefiting from consistently accurate intelligence, simply left.

A major exception to these tactics came in 1968 when the North launched the Tet offensive against 36 of Vietnam's 44 provincial capitals. The operation at the time was judged as a military failure and a political success. Objective estimates are that the North Vietnamese and the Southern revolutionary force casualties were 30 per cent of approximately 55,000 troops engaged and American analysts believed that the Communists would thereafter be precluded from attempting a similar offensive. In the light of their victory, that assessment was premature. Politically, the offensive fed antiwar sentiment in the United States, spreading the belief that this was a war the United States could not win, and should not have been involved in in the first place.

Hanoi returned to small unit operations against the Americans and slightly larger attacks on the South Vietnamese and to the systematic extension of influence in rural areas.

By that time the flow of Soviet arms, rifles, machine guns, mines, mortars, rockets and light field pieces, was increasing. These were the right weapons for the type of war the North Vietnamese had in mind. It was a formless war with no coherent fronts, no safe rear areas.

Hanoi's over-all strength increased in the 'seventies and so did the North's tactical options. The Americans were thinning out. A new South Vietnamese Army was taking the field following the "Vietnamization" program.

By 1972, the North judged it was time to try another venture in conventional war. The North Vietnamese offensive registered some gains but could not overcome the new South Vietnamese Army supported by American air power and advised by the United States Army.

By March of this year, the North was prepared for another offensive. There were by Western estimates at least 140,000 regulars in South Vietnam. Soviet heavy equipment, tanks, heavy guns and antiaircraft missiles and guns had brought the army's inventory to a point where it matched and in tanks and artillery surpassed that of South Vietnam.

With one exception, the North fought a conventional war, showing a skillful control of large units, divisions and regiments, which had been absent in 1972. The exception was that the entire offensive was conducted without air power. The North used Soviet 122 mm and 130 mm artillery to soften Southern positions, neutralize airfields and to harass the South Vietnamese forces in retreat. A network of agents, built up in ten years of war, instead of reconnaissance flights, provided intelligence. Mobility rested not on transport aircraft or helicopters but on a combination of Molotova trucks and hard-marching infantry.

Only at Xuan Loc were they halted. There are indications that Hanoi was tempted to draw all of South Vietnam's remaining divisions into that battle and win a set-place victory comparable to that over the French at Dien Bien Phu 21 years earlier.

The high command rejected the temptation, reckoning correctly that the southern forces were near collapse and that the isolation of their troops at Xuan Loc and the neutralization of Saigon's main air base at Bien Hoa would end the campaign and the war.

Alternatively over the years, the North used whatever tactics suited the situation. They were guerrillas when the Americans were present in force, conventional formations when they faced only the South Vietnamese. The result was a 16-year display of tactical flexibility that, despite all setbacks and all apparent odds, achieved victory.

Drew Middleton is military correspondent for The New York Times.

AEROSPACE DAILY 30 APRIL 1975 (5 MAY)

SOVIETS LAUNCH ANOTHER MOLNIYA 1

The Soviet Union launched a Molniya 1 communications satellite yesterday into an orbit of 63 degrees with a 40,848 kilometer apogee in the northern hemisphere and a 468 km perigee in the southern hemisphere. Period was 12 hours, 17 minutes.

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WASHINGTON POST 4 APRIL 1975(5)

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

South Korea as a Nuclear Power

A chilling byproduct of the Vietnam debacle is the possibility of South Korea's developing its own nuclear capability out of fear that the United States can no longer be counted a dependable ally.

Seoul's defense always has been predicated on a combined U.S.-South Korean air force combating an invasion from Communist North Korea. Based on the Vietnam experience, the Koreans now have good reason to fear Congress would rule out any American combat. That would guarantee North Korean air superiority.

To compensate for that, there is active consideration in Seoul for developing a nuclear deterrent—well within its technological means. Ironically, then, determination by the U.S. Congress to keep hands off all Asian wars will encourage nuclear proliferation and might lead to World War III.

Long concerned about Pyongyang's military preparations, the Seoul government became particularly alarmed by the April 18-26 visit to Peking by President Kim Il Sung of North Korea—his first official trip to China in 14 years. Was he there to ask for arms and moral support in a renewed Korean war?

The Republic of Korea army outnumbers the northerners 560,000 to 410,000. But South Korea's air force has only 210 combat aircraft to the North's 598. Nuclear capability would more than make up the difference.

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Stung by published reports that President Ford will not be a presidential candidate next year, top White House aides held their first campaign-planning session last weekend behind closed doors.

With counselor Robert Hartmann, Mr. Ford's long-time confidant, presiding over the Saturday planning session, the small group of aides quickly agreed on this: It is dangerously late to start planning a presidential campaign for a candidate who has never run for national office, whose credibility as President is widely disparaged and who is still not perceived in the public mind as having decided to run.

Thus, the meeting reached these conclusions:

• A planning committee must be named quickly and given three months to draft overall campaign strategy which will be divided into three parts: the preconvention period, the convention itself and the fall campaign.

• The new, crazy-quilt campaign expenditures law must be thoroughly researched. It is filled with potholes and boobytraps that no one in the White House is even close to defining.

• A campaign organization, geared into the Republican National Committee, must be ready to take over from the planning group. Mr. Ford's old friend and congressional crony, Melvin R. Laird, has flatly refused to be full-time campaign chairman. So that spot may go to a former or incumbent governor (possibly ex-Gov. Winfield Dunn of Tennessee) or congressman (possibly Rep. Al Quie of Minnesota).

One likely choice for the top operating job in the still-unformed planning committee is Jack Mills, tobacco industry lobbyist here and a former Republican political operative with close ties to Laird and the President.

Present at last Saturday night's planning session were White House aides: Hartmann's two assistants, Gwen Anderson and Jack Calkins, among others. But one surprise was a Commerce Department bureaucrat (social and economic statistics administrator) named Edward F. Failor.

A former Iowa Republican operative and backroom power in the national Young Republican politics, Failor was a member of the secret "attack group" of President Nixon's 1972 campaign. He has close ties to the Republican Party's right wing, where Mr. Ford is in serious trouble.

● ●

A stiff but unpublicized demarche from the U.S. embassy in Bangkok has dissuaded Thailand's government from turning over to Vietnamese Communists up to 120 U.S.-supplied war planes flown into Thailand by South Vietnamese pilots seeking asylum.

Thai Foreign Minister Chaichai Chunhawan, hell-bent for accommodation with Hanoi, announced the planes would be given to the Communist victors. But the United States informed Bangkok in unequivocal terms that the planes legally belong to the United States, and Bangkok agreed.

What made Chaichai so quixotic is the fact that Hanoi is sending U.S. M16 automatic rifles, abandoned by South Vietnamese soldiers, to Communist guerrillas in Northeast Thailand. Now the United States may give the abandoned planes to Thailand for anti-guerrilla action—if Thailand is willing to risk taking them.

George F. Will WASHINGTON POST 3 MAY 1975(5)

When Power Is Not Power

The morning after the U.S. presence was plucked off the roof of the Saigon embassy, thereby ending U.S. instruction on the theme that aggression does not pay, The Washington Post headlined its editorial: "Deliverance."

The Prayer Book speaks of being compassed about with songs of deliverance, but one must interrupt the current singing to inquire: Deliverance from what, into what?

Of course we have been delivered from Cambodia and South Vietnam. But these may be just the first choruses of a song with many choruses.

Unless the North Korean government is more obtuse than we can reasonably hope it is, it has learned a lesson about the perils of aggression in its part of the world. The lesson is: Twenty-five years after the start of the Korean War, the U.S. public and the U.S. Congress, which reflects the public, will not abide further use of U.S. force in Asia.

Perhaps it is true that (to paraphrase Neville Chamberlain on Czechoslovakia) South Korea is not worth the bones of a single American soldier. But true or not, when push comes to shove in Korea, there will be, from the start, an intense, substantial and growing minority in Congress convinced that is true.

And all the arguments successfully used against the U.S. involvement on the Indochina peninsula will be dusted off—if there has been time for dust to gather—and used with regard to the Korean peninsula.

South Korea, like South Vietnam, is a long way away; its people are culturally (not to mention—and please do not mention it—racially) different; few American tourists or Fulbright scholars send back postcards and bring back warm memories from there; the South Korean government is imperfect; it is "unnatural" for Korea to be divided; the disappearance of South Korea would not immediately, directly discomfort Louisville; Soviet and Chinese support for a North Korean invasion obviously is consistent with the prevailing theory of detente.

So, if—no, when—North Korea gins up a confrontation along the 38th parallel, Congress will gin up an investigation of press freedom in South Korea. The result will be a report on the moral inadequacies of the South Korean government.

True, U.S. forces already are in place in Korea, in what it pleases us to call a "deterrent posture." But if push comes to shove there, the congressional push will be for an exercise of our imperial capacity for evacuation.

The Washington Post says, correctly, that "foreign policy proceeds a great deal more from the character and outlook of a people than from the specific manipulations of public men." But then The Post goes on to say, soothingly, that the U.S. still has great power "measured in conventional military and economic terms."

This leaves unanswered two related questions about the nature of power and the current character and outlook of the American people.

Is it not the case that power without the will to use it is not power at all? What reason is there to believe that the manipulations of the public men, especially in Congress (where there are never more than a few members willing to stray from the straight and narrow path of subservience to opinion polls), do not faithfully reflect the outlook and character of the American people?

Many nations have based their security plans on the assumption that the United States has the will to make its power an actuality. Now these nations may conclude that it is prudent to assume the worst about the willingness of the United States to make its power felt.

So South Korea, Japan, Pakistan and Israel, among others, may find it prudent to develop nuclear weapons, nuclear non-proliferation agreements notwithstanding. All these nations have the capacity to build such weapons, and recent events may have given these nations an incentive to do so.

That is the nature of the world in to which we have been delivered from the roof in Saigon.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 5 May 1975

WALL STREET JOURNAL - 5 MAY 1975

What Follows Vietnam?

By Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

A miserable war has come to a miserable conclusion. Now we must consider what the Indochina episode has done to the position of the United States in the world.

The Ford administration argues, or at least began by arguing, that the downfall of the Saigon government is a grave and fateful defeat for the United States, and that our failure to go the last mile with General Thieu is proof that no ally should trust us in the future. Even though the administration, in its zigzags of the last fortnight, has somewhat backed away from these arresting propositions, they will be heard again, especially (as Vice President Rockefeller has candidly said) during the 1976 campaign. They are entitled to discussion on their merits. But what is initially peculiar is the masochistic relish with which our government for a couple of crucial weeks demanded that the rest of the world look on the United States as a feeble, undependable and perfidious nation.

Thus the President of the United States felt it urgent to proclaim to the planet that the "present tragic situation in South Vietnam would not have occurred" had the United States only carried out "its commitment" to Saigon. The Secretary of State of the United States talked of the deliberate destruction of an ally and wondered whether any foreign state could believe in America again. The Secretary of Defense of the United States condemned our aid to South Vietnam as "niggardly." What a band of patriots! When has any government ever conducted such a strange campaign against its own country? One does not recall Khrushchev, for example, after he took his missiles out of Cuba, explaining to the world that he had betrayed his commitments and deserted an ally; nor de Gaulle when he gave up in Algeria.

Of course, if these things were true, a strong case could be made for saying them. But have we, for example, really proved to the rest of the world that no ally can hereafter trust the United States? If 50,000 American dead, $150 billion, inflation and recession in the domestic economy were not enough in President Ford's eyes to prove our fidelity to alleged commitments to Saigon, one can only conclude that he feels—or felt when he spoke in this vein—that we were committed to guarantee the Saigon regime in perpetuity.

It is hard to believe that our President was "absolutely convinced," as he claimed to the American Society of Newspaper Editors on April 16, that, if Congress only voted $722 million more in military aid, "the South Vietnamese could stabilize the military situation." His protege General Thieu certainly did not believe that. "I have told the Americans," he had said 12 days earlier, "that we need at least $1.5 billion *per year* to defend the entire territory of South Vietnam." President Ford's contention that further military aid to Thieu's army in 1975 could accomplish what half a million American troops on the ground had failed to accomplish in 1968 is surely one of the more prodigious fantasies of the decade. A wiser President might have noted the extraordinary things the United States has done over the last dozen years to preserve South Vietnam from communism and have concluded that, as President Kennedy said in 1963, "In the final analysis, it is *their* war. They are the ones who have to win it or lose it."

Nor is it any more probable that this need be taken as a fateful American defeat —unless, of course, our leaders succeed in convincing the rest of the world that this is the case. Most of the world had long since come to regard our intervention in Vietnam as senseless and mistaken. Does the Ford administration seriously believe that other countries would have respected us more if we had persisted in a foolish and futile policy? The decision to withdraw from an exposed and vulnerable position and to establish ourselves on a defensible line is rather more likely to increase than to reduce the confidence of other governments in our leadership. I do not know anyone who has argued that the Soviet Union destroyed its influence and credibility by pulling its missiles out of Cuba, or France by leaving Algeria.

Fortunately, despite the administration's clamor, most countries will note that our fundamental sources of power, as Henry Brandon of the London Sunday Times recently put it, remain intact. One doubts whether in the long run other states

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will be unduly impressed by President Ford's bizarre exercise in national masochism. Life will go on, even without President Thieu. I remember President Kennedy saying during the Bay of Pigs, "What is prestige? Is it the shadow of power or the substance of power?" He had no doubt that it was the substance of power. The American failure to attain unattainable ends in Indochina will not greatly affect the substance of power. This is surely the point the President, the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense should have been making during the last fortnight instead of insisting to the world that America was an unreliable friend on the road back to isolationism.

This isolationist theory is not only gratuitously damaging to our world position; it is quite false. The idea that, if we decline to go the last mile in Vietnam, we have turned isolationist is ridiculous. The choice is not between fighting everywhere and fighting nowhere. The choice is between a policy of globalism, according to which our interests are omnipresent everywhere on the planet, and a policy of responsible internationalism founded on a realistic view of the national interest. This choice expresses what has been the latent division in the internationalist camp since Pearl Harbor—the division, in essence, between the messianists and the realists.

Vietnam brought that division into the open. Our great champions of realism in foreign affairs—Walter Lippmann, Hans Morgenthau, George Kennan, Reinhold Niebuhr—were entirely consistent in favoring American participation in the Second World War and in opposing the Americanization of the war in Vietnam. In the first case, American vital interests were clearly involved. German victory would have produced a direct threat to the security of the United States. In the second case, American vital interests were clearly not involved. North Vietnamese victory will not produce a direct threat to the security of the United States.

The argument that it would was founded in assumptions derived from another age—from the age of Stalin, when communism was a relatively unitary and coordinated international movement serving as an arm of the Soviet Union. But nationalism has long since undermined the old Stalinist empire. The victory of Hanoi, as we now belatedly understand, will not mean an automatic extension of Soviet power—or, for that matter, of Chinese power. It will simply mean the enlargement of a national Communist state which will continue to respond to national motives and may even want American support to reduce its dependence on Moscow and Peking. The result will unquestionably be tough for the people of South Vietnam. But it is beyond our power to do for the people of South Vietnam what they do not seem inclined to do for themselves. No country can dedicate itself to world salvation without destroying its own integrity and safety.

George Washington long ago called it "a maxim founded on the universal experience of mankind, that no nation is to be trusted farther than it is bound by its interest." Any nation that acts beyond its interest is likely to become a bull elephant in the world, incalculable, destructive, leaving ruin in its path. Any government that makes "commitments" beyond the national interest is a menace not only to the world but to its own citizens.

The great danger now—a real danger considering the highly emotional state of our leaders—is that we will try to throw our weight around somewhere else on the theory that this will show we have not been intimidated by defeat in Vietnam. Again, the shadow of power; not the substance of power. For our real power remains unaltered. We have just as many nuclear weapons, just as strong an army, navy and air force, just as strong (or weak) a national economy. Withdrawal from Vietnam, among other things, will permit us at last to concentrate our concern on really essential allies and interests. A wise national leadership would tell the world that the legacy of Indochina is, not the defeat of the United States and the loss of American credibility, but the rejection of a hopeless policy of indiscriminate, illegitimate and sentimental world-saving and the return to earlier ideas of realistic and responsible internationalism.

This would mean a reexamination of the whole process of commitment and a repudiation of the Ford administration's recent argument that a President can secretly make "moral" commitments that supersede the legal commitments required by the American Constitution. It would mean, I trust, relentless skepticism about any thought on foreign policy emanating from the Pentagon. Richard J. Levine's devastating piece in this newspaper on April 23 began, "Rarely has a Defense Secretary been so probably and consistently wrong as James Schlesinger was in his public statements about the Vietnam war last month." The piece was especially disheartening because the military in 1975 repeated every military misjudgment with which the American people have been drearily familiar since 1961 and before. How many times do we have to be taught this particular lesson?

American foreign policy after Vietnam will not become mindlessly isolationist. It will, however, begin to bear a clear and demonstrable relationship to the primary interests of the United States. Secondary interests certainly exist, but secondary interests call for secondary, not primary, involvement. The Indochina folly, one trusts, will banish forever the dreams of glory, the illusions of American omniscience and omnipotence, the fantasies of universal responsibility and universal control, that have led to such shameful and atrocious results. If we had national leadership with a sense of history, we would now be rejoicing that, having finally freed ourselves from an unnecessary and disastrous obsession, we can start to play a role in the world consistent with our character as a people and our dignity as a democratic republic.

Mr. Schlesinger is Albert Schweitzer Professor of the Humanities at the City University of New York and winner of Pulitzer prizes in history and biography. He is also a member of the Journal's Board of Contributors, five distinguished professors who contribute periodic articles reflecting a broad range of views.

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April 30, 1975 (5 MAY) Aerospace Daily

AF TO GIVE PROXMIRE AWACS DEMONSTRATION COST DATA

Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wis.) has been advised by the Air Force that he will be provided with information on what it cost to stage this week's flight demonstrations of the Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) at Andrews AFB, Md., (DAILY, April 29) and how much manpower was required.

A spokesman for the senator said yesterday an "interim" answer had been received to a request sent last week to Air Force Secretary John L. McLucas, and inserted by Proxmire in the Congressional Record. The response said the request had been received only on Monday but that AF headquarters was assembling data Proxmire wanted--total cost of making the Boeing AWACS aircraft available, broken down by direct and indirect costs, as well as a breakdown of the number of people involved.

In his letter to McLucas, the senator also asked for the secretary's "thinking as to why this apparent public relations effort is being made at this time."

In remarks on the Senate floor last Friday, Proxmire said it would be "amusing" if it did not "involve so much money" that the Air Force decided to bring the AWACS plane to the base near Washington, D.C., and conduct a series of flights for selected members of Congress and the press "at precisely the moment that the House Armed Services Committee is considering how much money to pump into the program."

Proxmire noted that Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton (D-Mo.) "has time and again pointed out the deficiencies of the aircraft," and that "expert testimony from the General Accounting Office (GAO) has shown that it is susceptible to cheap countermeasures of a not so sophisticated origin."

A spokesman for Eagleton said yesterday the Missouri senator was one of those invited to the Andrews demonstration but had not attended. However, Eagleton issued a statement Monday, charging that the Air Force had launched "an expensive Madison Avenue public relations effort to sell AWACS to Congress."

In addition to the Andrews display, he pointed out, the Air Force has been demonstrating AWACS in Europe since April 3, and last week Director of Defense Research & Engineering Dr. Malcolm Currie discussed AWACS at the spring session of the NATO Conference of National Armaments Directors (CNAD). "I understand that Dr. Currie planned to ask the NATO ministers to endorse an AF draft," Eagleton said, "which stated that they would recommend the purchase of AWACS to their respective governments if ...Congress approved AWACS production."

"This is a traditional ploy," he said, in which DOD is "simply trying to use NATO as leverage. Endorsement of (Currie's) statement is a far cry from an agreement to actually purchase the planes--particularly since it is common knowledge that NATO has as many doubts that the system will work as has our own (GAO). I am sure that Congress will be impressed with nothing short of an actual commitment of NATO funds for AWACS.

"This is simply another move--and a costly one at that--in the (AF) game to get AWACS into production before the proper testing has been done to prove once and for all the system will work in a combat situation."

Eagleton said NATO had earlier issued a classified report "critical" of AWACS.

An Eagleton staff aide said he understood that the CNAD meeting did not produce the ministers' statement of recommendation that DOD had sought.

The aide said that there was "no question but that AWACS works in a non-combat area" and "we know it can see targets." The issue, he said, is whether it can see all the targets that might be present in a combat situation.

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CHICAGO TRIBUNE 4 MAY 1975 (5)

Cost of war in lives, dollars

WHEN THE AMERICAN colors were quickly and unceremoniously retired in Viet Nam April 29, the United States ended more than 20 years of involvement in the country's fight for independence.

The war cost Americans $140 billion, nearly 57,000 dead servicemen, another 900 still missing, and 303,669 wounded. More than 250,000 South Vietnamese soldiers were killed and another 783,000 were wounded.

THE JUNGLE fight against communism in the lush, tropical country began long before the first American combat Marines landed at Da Nang in 1965. Every President since Harry S. Truman was involved in the war.

By 1954, the U. S. was supplying almost $3 billion to the French effort to maintain its colonial empire—about 80 per cent of the total French cost.

When President Kennedy was inaugurated in 1961, there were 685 military personnel in South Viet Nam. He sent the first combat troops there that year. By 1968, the time of the major Tet offensive, there were more than a half million.

THE WAR ended officially for the U. S. March 29, 1973, when the last American soldier came home.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 5 May 1975

NEW YORK NEWS - 4 MAY 1975(5)

Domino Theory Faces a Stern Test

By JAMES WIEGHART and FRANK JACKMAN
Of The News Washington Bureau

WITHIN HOURS after the gold-starred red-and-blue flag of the Viet Cong was raised over Saigon last week came the first stirrings of change. After nearly three decades, America was no longer the dominant power in Southeast Asia, and the aftershock was being felt in capitals across the world.

Item: In Bangkok, Thai Foreign Minister Chartchai Choonhavan let it be known that a "substantial" withdrawal of the 25,000-man American force there would start Monday. "The amount will be enormous and will surprise a lot of people," he said. The clear hope was that it would surprise -- and please -- Hanoi.

Item: In Jakarta, Indonesia's foreign minister, Adam Malik, suggested that if Thailand and the Philippines were to take over the U.S. military bases in their respective countries, it would contribute to "greater stability" in Southeast Asia.

'Reassuring' Filipino Bases

Item: In Manila, Philippines President Ferdinand Marcos hinted that perhaps it was time for his country to "reassess" its defense arrangements with the United States. He said he was ready to take over the big U.S. Air Force and Navy bases in the Philippines, including Clark Field and Subic Bay.

Item: In Tokyo, Japanese leaders, while privately assuring American diplomats that they did not subscribe to the "domino theory," were recommending to the Miki government that it might be a good idea to scrap the U.S.-authored anti-militarist policy that has prevailed since Gen. Douglas MacArthur's post-World War II regency, and think about rearming.

Item: In Washington, Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.), long an advocate of bringing American troops home from Western Europe, told reporters that the U.S. might also to "withdraw on a gradual basis" the 32,000 soldiers stationed in South Korea.

Cable traffic between Washington and foreign capitals was heavy as ambassadors conferred with their governments on the new turn of events; some foreign envoys were called home for consultations, and, overseas, U.S. ambassadors were invited in for a little polite grilling by foreign ministers.

The key word -- in Washington and in capitals around the world -- was "reassessment." Foreign leaders wanted to know: Where do we go from here? What does the American defeat in Indochina mean to the rest of the world? And, very privately behind closed doors (because Washington can be very mean when aroused), how can we profit from American disarray?

The general feeling was that American foreign policy -- so solid, so predictable for so many years -- was on the verge of change. And in the relationships of nations, change means the unknown, and the unknown implies peril.

The signals from Washington were as simple and straightforward as the White House and the State Department could make them. Friendly governments were assured over and over that the United States would honor its commitments. Potential adversaries were told, publicly and privately, that it would be wrong to conclude from the U.S. failure to use military force to reverse the tide in Vietnam that the United States would shy away from using force in backing up its premises in other parts of the world.

"Let no potential adversary believe that our difficulties or our debates mean a slackening of our national will," said President Ford. "We will stand by our friends, we will honor our commitments, and we will uphold our country's principles."

Secretary of State Kissinger was equally emphatic. "No lessons should be drawn by the enemies of our friends from the experience in Vietnam," he said.

And yet . . .

Each country must look to its own well-being. No leader can afford to ignore the possible implications of the Vietnam debacle. Kissinger realizes this. While steadfastly refusing -- in public, at least -- to discuss what Vietnam might mean to the nation's foreign policy, he concedes "that the outcome in Indochina will have consequences not only in Asia, but in many other parts of the world."

Foremost in the thinking of American policy makers in the weeks and months ahead will be three key areas of the globe -- Asia and the Pacific; the Middle East; and Western Europe.

Warning signals are already flashing in Southeast Asia as Thailand and Malaysia ponder the new reality -- a Communist Indochina dominated by a united Vietnam.

The Hanoi government has for years been supplying and training insurgents in northwest Thailand, partly in retaliation for Thai support of the U.S. effort in Vietnam -- including agreement to permit B-52s to be stationed at giant bases at Udorn and Utapao for bombing raids over both North and South Vietnam -- and partly because it is the nature of Ho Chi Minh's legacy to support revolution.

Thai's Placate Hanoi

Clearly, Thailand's demands for "substantial" American withdrawal are an effort to accommodate Hanoi, or at least to temper North Vietnam's anger. The Thais are the only people of the Indochinese peninsula who have never been colonized; theirs is a heritage of independence, from the days when a friendly King Mongkut offered Abraham Lincoln elephants to help fight the Civil War down to the present.

During World War II, the Thais managed to make an accommodation with the Japanese for years, only to rise up in revolt practically on the eve of V-J Day to gain belated credit as a U.S. ally.

Whether the Thais, who have retained their strong instinct for self-preservation, can pull another last-minute reversal -- perhaps by seeking an accommodation with China -- remains to be seen. But whatever the outcome, they will probably find themselves in Hanoi's orbit for some time to come.

Malaysia has for years been fighting terrorists -- mostly of Chinese extraction -- along its northern border with Thailand, but it is not believed that Communist victory in Indochina will have any significant impact unless the local insurgents are able to recruit native Malaysian leadership. The Malaysian government may decide to ease over to a more neutralist stance, however, just to be on the safe side.

The one bright spot is Singapore, whose respected pro-Western leader, Lee Kuan Yew, ridicules the domino theory as "cold hash." Under Lee's leadership, Singapore has retained -- even improved -- her position as the crossroads of Asia and a model of dynamic development.

Lee's realistic assessment of the future calls for "a continuing American naval presence and increased economic relations" to help Southeast Asia "adjust less abruptly and to make the task of learning to live with a Communist Indochina less painful."

Indonesia, the most powerful nation in Southeast Asia in terms of population, natural resources and potential wealth, is somewhat protected by the sea from direct pressure from Indochina. The island country's Chinese-oriented Communist Party was virtually wiped out during the bloody army coup that toppled the late President Sukarno in 1965. An estimated 250,000 Indonesians were put to death with great ferocity at that time.

Loose Government Control

But the Indonesian archipelago extends 3,000 miles, and loose control by the central government in Jakarta, plus chronic economic difficulties, could make some of the weaker links in the island chain vulnerable to Communist inroads.

In an apparent effort to head off any Red incursion financed by outsiders, there are indications that the Jakarta government may lead a move toward neutralism by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, which numbers nearly every country of consequence among its membership.

As for the Philippines, President Marcos' threat to take over U.S. bases and ask the 19,000 American servicemen to leave is probably not as serious as it has been made out to be.

Long troubled by Communist-dominated guerrillas on the main island of Luzon, and preoccupied by another struggle with secessionist Moslems on the southern island of Mindanao, Marcos periodically cranks up his "Yankee-go-home" theme to undercut dissident elements in Manila who seek to exploit residual anti-American sentiment for their own ends.

But the Philippines are notoriously corrupt, even by lax Asian standards, and the trail of graft and official thievery extends right up to the President himself. This, plus Marcos' harsh repression of political opponents -- including such extortionate twists as demanding large bribes to free political internees, then welshing on the deal -- could open the door to a popular uprising which the Communists would surely exploit.

With the exception of Japan, South Korea is the strongest bastion of pro-Americanism on the Asian-Pacific rim. There is no sign that President Park Chung Hee -- who ordered out an unbelievable 2 million Koreans to greet the late President Johnson on his trip through Seoul nine years ago -- would favor any reduction in the U.S. troop level in his

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With Saigon's fall

CHICAGO TRIBUNE - 4 MAY 1975(5)

U.S. policy becomes biggest domino

By Jim Squires

WASHINGTON—Being finally ou. of Viet Nam hardly altered the bitter conviction of United States Ambassador Graham Martin that his country had let down the South Vietnamese.

"If we had kept our commitments," grumbled the embattled diplomat aboard the rescue carrier U. S. S. Blue Ridge, "we wouldn't have had to evacuate."

Back home, an almost tearful Henry Kissinger was predictably philosophical in defeat. "One lesson we must learn from this experience," he said, "is that we must be careful of the commitments we make, but that we should scrupulously honor those commitments."

IN THE WAKE of the nation's most disastrous foreign experience, the concern of Kissinger and Martin about U. S. commitments is shared by the world. Specifically, what is the U. S. position and how good it its word?

The most revealing answer to that question is that there is how no answer, nor, in fact, anyone in the U. S. government who can really speak for it.

The administration of President Ford maintains publicly, which it must do, that indeed there is a U S. foreign policy which assures that the U. S. will keep its existing commitments. This policy dictates that U. S. enemies should not take the Viet Nam fiasco to mean it will not keep its word elsewhere—specifically in the more than 40 other nations whose defense the U. S. under writes n one way or another.

This policy, whether articulated by Kissinger, Defense Secretary James Schlesinger, or Ford himself, warns the world that while the U. S. would not rush to the aid of the last remaining pro-American government in Indochina—in Laos—don't try anything in Japan, or South Korea, the Middle East, or Western Europe.

Despite this rather consistent public stance, there is hardly a corner of the world where U. S. policy is not now destined for a "reassessment" of one kind or another.

As Kissinger said after the final American had left Saigon:

"We will have to assess the impact of Indochina on our allies and on other countries in that area and on their perceptions of the U. S.

"We will have to assess also the role the U. S. can responsibly play over an indefinite period of time, because surely another lesson we should draw from the Indochina experience is that foreign policy must be sustained over decades if it is to be effective."

BENEATH ALL the reassessment talk is the clearest lesson of the Viet Nam war—that an administration's foreign policy is meaningless unless the public and the Congress are united behind it.

And, says Sen. (Adlai Stevenson III (D., Ill.) accenting that lack of unity. "We have no foreign policy now."

What, for example, would the U. S. do tomorrow if its mutual defense treaty with another faraway nation faced immediate military challenge? Altho it is not now expected, such a test could come in South Korea where the U. S. has 38 000 American troops and is firmly and legally bound in support of a government with lousy character references.

Contemplating a hypothetical attack by the North, a ranking U. S. official confidently predicted last week that the U. S. would respond accordingly, using its military troops. After all, they have been stationed there for 22 years for that reason.

But how long would such a move be supported by a public and a Congress still reeling from another war that cost 56,000 U. S. lives and $200 billion?

PUBLICLY, most politicians express their support of the American commitment in South Korea, noting that Dean Acheson's declaration that South Korea was outside the U. S. defense perimeter prompted an attack by the North.

But at the same time, none seem sure what the Congress would do if faced with authorizing sustained military action there.

"There are certainly some doubts about Korea," says Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D., Minn.)," especially considering the disillusionment with the Seoul government."

Personally, Humphrey says he would favor honoring the commitment. But like others he was not at all opposed to

See U.S. POLICY, Pg. 9-F

DOMINO THEORY -- CONTINUED

country.

Oddly, the Communist victory in Indochina appears to have stengthened the U.S. position in South Korea—and Park's authoritarian government—because it raised the threat of another invasion from the Communist north, thus drawing closer all elements in fearful Seoul.

On the day Phnom Penh fell to the Khmer Rouge, North Korea's maximum leader, Kim Il Sung, left for Peking, along with the chief of staff of his army and his air force commander. It was Kim's first visit in 14 years, and he reportedly plans to follow it with a trip to Moscow.

The very public visit and Kim's loud celebration of the North Vietnamese success in "reuniting" their homeland—a 30-year goal he has vowed to achieve in Korea—rekindled invasion fears in the south and helped quiet Park's liberal opposition.

Despite American weariness, the Ford administration clearly will have to stand fast in Korea or face total loss of credibility around the world because the U.S. has an ironclad commitment, dating back 22 years, to come to South Korea's defense in the face of aggression.

Genuine high-level American concern over the prospects of another Korean conflict—this one without even token UN support—was eased considerably when the Peking government quietly passed the word to Washington after the Kim visit that they would not sanction any Korean "adventure."

In fact, Chinese hatred and fear of Soviet expansion runs so deep that Peking probably prefers a continued American presence in Asia as a hedge against Russian domination.

The close Japanese-American relationship—keystone of U.S. policy in the Pacific since postwar reconstruction days—is not significantly altered by the fall of Indochina in the view of most analysts. On the contrary, Vietnam's fate seems likely to muffle strident left-wing demands for U.S. military withdrawal from Japan and Okinawa.

But there is a danger that Indochina's fate could awaken long dormant Japanese militarism, and this could, in turn, pose a long-term threat to peace and stability in Asia. There are painful memories in Peking, Manila and other Asian capitals of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere of World War II, and Japan has even more economic power today.

A rearmed Japanese superstate with its insatiable appetite for oil and other resources might well become a formidable U.S. rival, rather than a partner, in the Pacific.

As in Asia, the issue in the Middle East and Europe may be summed up in one word—credibility.

European diplomats in Washington said that for the most part their governments viewed the American withdrawal from Indochina with relief. It was felt that now the U.S. could devote more of its energies and attention to the grave economic and other problems facing its natural allies among the Western industrial nations.

Ford Will Give Assurances

Most NATO governments were pleased by Ford's plan to attend the alliance foreign ministers' meeting in Brussels at the end of May to present his reassurances about U.S. intentions, an indication that there must have been some doubts in Europe, however faint.

Egypt and Israel, both of whom have relied on the U.S. role as "honest broker" in the Middle East, are the two countries in that area most directly reliant on U.S. credibility.

Thus the major chore of the Ford administration in foreign policy is to repair the damage Vietnam has done to America's image and credibility abroad. But the No. 2 job is to start repairing it at home. As House Republican Leader John J. Rhodes (Ariz.) remarked the other day, "When our ambassador leaves Vietnam by an emergency evacuation helicopter with the flag draped over his knees—why, you can't get any lower than that. It has to go up from here."

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 5 May 1975

NEW YORK TIMES - 4 MAY 1975 (5)

Moscow Sees the Chance To Fill a Diplomatic Void

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

MOSCOW—"Détente or not, you can't expect the Russians not to try to pick up the marbles," observed an American diplomat recently. He alluded to the diplomatic opportunities presented by American setbacks from Indochina to the Middle East.

There is little doubt that the Russians recognize their chance to expand both influence and prestige. Their immediate concern has been that in entering the areas where United States diplomacy has been conspicuously unsuccessful, they avoid bumping into the Americans on their way out.

Prime among the Kremlin's current goals is to lessen the risk of nuclear confrontation with the Americans by working out the offensive arms accord outlined at the Vladivostok meeting. Despite the collapse of the trade agreement last January, the Soviets continue to view Soviet-American trade as an essential means of infusing the Soviet economy with needed technology.

Any doubts about accommodation with the West seem to have been dispelled in the vote of confidence that the April Plenum of the Communist party leadership gave party chief Leonid Brezhnev. The Plenum stressed that his policy of détente offered the Soviet Union and its allies "favorable external conditions for further progress along the path of building Socialism and Communism."

The Plenum also noted that "a substantial turn, which is exerting a great influence on the strengthening of universal peace, has taken place in relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.," according to a report in Pravda.

There seems to be some awareness that the climate of accommodation has made Washington eager to avoid a clash with Moscow. Recent events may have persuaded the hardliners in the Kremlin that they can have their détente and profit from it, too.

Options on Indochina

In South Vietnam, Moscow noted the fall of Saigon last week by duly weighing in with congratulations from the Kremlin leadership to "the courageous patriots" of the victorious Communist forces. Yet even at the end, the Russians were cautious not to castigate the Americans directly, though they have otherwise supported Hanoi's policies. Following the fall of Pnom Penh, the Russians had similarly pledged support for the Khmer Rouge, though here it appeared a more patent attempt to catch up with the Chinese.

An evident satisfaction at seeing the Americans out of Indochina has been tempered here by some private concern that in the long run the Chinese may become the ideological victors in Vietnam.

The Soviets had leaned toward a more political settlement that would give them a role as superpower broker for Communist interests.

One non-Communist Asian diplomat here feels such concern may be well-founded, noting that the Russians with their European-oriented outlook may inherit some of the distrust that the French and Americans engendered in Southeast Asia.

Yet it has also been noted here that the history of Indochina is largely resistance to the Chinese. The Russians hope that their patronage may help Hanoi to stake out an independent position, and give the Soviets a solid foothold in the area.

Options on the Mideast

At the same time, the Soviets are likely to take advantage of any anti-American backlash in Asia, including expanding their naval presence in the Indian Ocean. One Western diplomat has suggested that he would not be surprised to see Soviet ships eventually paying port calls to an American ally like the Philippines.

In the Middle East, Moscow has made careful preparations for a reconvening of the Geneva conference that it has advocated for so long. In less than two weeks, ranking official delegations were summoned from Iraq, Egypt and Syria, with a further visit by Yasir Arafat of the Palestinian Liberation Organization last week.

The Kremlin, determined to see the new diplomatic offensive a success, has stressed the need for Arab consensus and cooperation at Geneva. Apparently intending to undercut Israeli objections to pulling out of the occupied Arab lands, Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko has emphasized that the Soviet Union is prepared to help offer "the strictest guarantees" for Israel's existence.

In Portugal, the Soviets have denied complicity in the leftist political swing, though their sympathies have been clear. The relatively poor showing of the Communists in last week's elections was overlooked. The immediate Soviet response was that the Portuguese had still opted for the Socialist course, but Soviet officials seemed relieved that the Portuguese Army remained in control. Moscow seems determined to go slowly on Portugal so as not to alarm other West European nations and upset Soviet hopes for a meeting of heads of state as a windup to the current European security talks.

Despite the Kremlin's expanded number of options, one Western European diplomat has detected some Soviet concern that the United States, in pulling away from Asia, may become more committed to Europe and the interests of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Soviet officials have said that they do not really expect the United States to retreat into isolationism. In seeking to replace the Americans elsewhere, the Russians may find themselves back in a region that touches most directly on Moscow's interests.

Christopher S. Wren is bureau chief of The New York Times in Moscow.

U.S. POLICY -- CONTINUED

another good hard look at where our national interest lies in relation to that part of the world.

Rep. John Anderson [R., Ill.], with the reputation as a good pulsetaker in the House, says that while he would honor the South Korean treaty he could not rule out the possibility of a congressional decision which "concludes it is 10,000 miles away and not a matter of immediate concern."

Obviously, some alliances are more important than others and are not subject to the same "close call" debate in Congress as South Korea. But it is hard to grasp a consensus of opinion on the real U. S. national interests in Japan, Western Europe and even North America.

Should the U. S. withdraw its troops from Thailand but leave them in Philippines? Should it recall American forces from South Korea but leave them in West Germany?

Should it aid a pro-American government anywhere, knowing that at some point it must prop it up with American military air or watch it fall to an ideological adversary?

PRESUMABLY, the reassessment that will follow the Viet Nam defeat will provide the answers. But will they be answers the country can unite behind?

Sen. Charles Percy [R., Ill.], a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, says the reassessment must be a common one carried out by Congress as well as the executive branch. "It is clear that commitments by the President alone are meaningless unless they have advice and consent of Congress," says Percy.

Whether the administration welcomes it or not, the Percys, the Humphreys and the Andersons of Congress are planning an important role in the reshaping of American foreign policy.

The task of putting all those eggs in a single basket may well be a far greater challenge than any so far faced by Kissinger or Ford. But until it is done, no one can really speak for America.

Jim Squires is the chief of The Tribune's Washington bureau

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WASHINGTON STAR
4 MAY 1975(5)

U.S., Soviet On Carpet Over Arms

By Henry S. Bradsher
Washington Star Staff Writer

A conference to review the way a 1968 international treaty against the spread of nuclear weapons' ownership has been working opens tomorrow in Geneva with the United States and the Soviet Union expected to be cast in the role of co-defendants.

The nonproliferation treaty (NPT) was signed by many countries on the understanding that they would not seek nuclear weapons while those already having them, particularly the two superpowers, would restrain their own arms race.

But both Washington and Moscow have continued to improve and expand their nuclear armaments. Advance indications are that a number of countries will complain at the month-long Geneva conference about this.

Some are also expected to demand that the superpowers promise not to use nuclear weapons first in any conflict. Such a promise is considered impossible by U.S. officials because it would undermine the confidence of North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies in American protection.

AMONG THE MANY American critics of U.S. government arms control policy, there is a suspicion that the NPT review is being approached with an attitude simply of trying to limit the damage from propagandistic attacks, rather than with any constructive hopes for furthering the cause of avoiding a dangerously nuclear-armed world.

High administration sources deny this. They talk of emphasizing the need for better controls on present nuclear materials and other steps which might be taken.

The sources cite recent hopeful developments. Six countries have added their adherence to the treaty, and there is greater consciousness of the need for protection against nuclear materials falling into terrorist hands.

The Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons began to be signed on July 1, 1968, and entered into force March 5, 1970. With five new ratifications on Friday, 91 nations have now become parties to it and 17 more have signed but not ratified.

Adherents agree not to transfer nuclear weapons or nuclear explosives to any nation not already having them, and those without them agree not to acquire them. They also agree to observe safeguards preventing the diversion of nuclear material from peaceful to military purposes.

THE TREATY also provides for a conference five years after it entered into force to review its operations.

The U. S. delegation will be headed by Dr. Fred C. Ikle, director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

In a speech last month, Ikle warned that "the news on nuclear proliferation is bad. Several countries, not now nuclear-weapons states, appear to be making determined efforts to acquire a capability that would enable them to build their own atomic bombs...*peaceful* technology provides not only the means but also the cover...."

Ikle has on several occasions listed India, Israel, Brazil and Argentina as countries that have said they will not adhere to the treaty. Outside experts add Pakistan, South Africa, Egypt and possibly other countries to the list of potential nuclear powers.

The treaty permits any adherent to withdraw from its commitment to abjure nuclear weapons if it feels its national interests are jeopardized. Or, Ikle has noted, it "could simply violate the treaty." The treaty lacks the teeth of an enforcing mechanism.

INDIA'S EXPLOSION last May 18 of what it called a peaceful nuclear device gave a sense of urgency to advocates of NPT.

Despite Indian disclaimers, it has been widely assumed that India is developing — or has developed — nuclear weapons. Yet India is already the overwhelmingly dominant power in its immediate region without such weapons, point out observers who refer to the Indian subcontinent without reference to India's border with an antagonistic, nuclear-armed China.

The assumption of weapons theorists had always been that a weaker power would always be the first to seek nuclear weapons in its region as a "quick fix." Israel is often cited in this context.

Now, if a stronger power is going to move ahead to nuclear weaponry, everyone else will be dragged behind it, many observers fear. There is considerable apprehension about South America, for instance, as well as the Middle East and the Indian subcontinent.

The answer from many non-nuclear countries to pleas from the big, already strong nations to abjure nuclear weapons has been that they must have a promise of "no first use" from nuclear powers. China has repeatedly said, since exploding its first nuclear device in 1964, that it would never be first.

THE UNITED STATES is particularly sensitive on this point at a time when Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger is already arguing that American credibility was put in doubt by the debacle in Indochina.

The Soviet bloc greatly outnumbers NATO in troops and non-nuclear weaponry in Europe. American nuclear weapons are the main balancing factor.

The United States is unwilling to do anything now which might endanger its credibility as a reliable ally, and so must politely but flatly reject any idea of promising to restrict itself on defending NATO with nuclear weapons, officials say.

The Friday ratifications of NPT came from the five members of the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM), Belgium, West Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and The Netherlands. A week earlier, South Korea ratified, although hostile North Korea is not a party to the treaty. Japan has recently taken steps bringing it close to ratification.

Administration officials found these moves particularly encouraging because now all major industrial countries which could fairly quickly and easily make their first nuclear weapons — especially West Germany and Japan — have agreed not to do so.

THE FEARS of accidental or criminal diversion of nuclear materials into weapons has been growing in recent years. This problem will be a major item in Geneva.

The U. S. General Accounting Office has warned that the Army and Navy have been transporting nuclear warheads without adequate security precautions against accidental damage or theft. The Army uses ordinary commercial trucks to carry warheads over public streets and highways without much protection, it said.

Similar reports from other countries about weapons and nuclear components from power stations have alarmed officials of many countries. They have worried about the possibility that terrorists might use the readily available nuclear technological data to convert stolen materials into major international blackmail tools.

WASHINGTON POST
3 MAY 1975(5)

Nuclear Report

UNITED NATIONS—The only way to stop the spread of nuclear weapons, said a report issued by the U.N. Associaton of the United States, is for the United States to agree to join with other suppliers of nuclear material and know how to bar nuclear sales to nations that fail to accept international safeguards.

The alternative, the panel report said, would be "a world saturated with weapons of mass destruction."

The panel report was issued in connection with a conference of 85 nations that have ratified the five-year-old nonproliferation treaty to ban the spread of nuclear weapons.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE - 4 MAY 1975(5)

Days before end of war, work pressed forward on construction near Saigon of a monument to American GIs who fought in South Viet Nam. Following is a Defense Department list of casualties in American wars. Figures prior to World War I are based on incomplete data and Confederate figures for the Civil War are estimates.

	Battle Deaths	Other Deaths	Wounded
Revolutionary War	4,435	Unknown	6,188
War of 1812	2,260	Unknown	4,505
Mexican	17,733	11,550	4,152
Civil War			
Union	140,414	224,097	281,881
Confederate	74,524	85,297	Unknown
Spanish-American	385	2,061	1,662
World War I	53,402	63,114	204,002
World War II	291,557	113,842	607,846
Korean	33,629	20,617	103,284
Viet Nam	46,229	10,326	303,654

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CHICAGO TRIBUNE 4 MAY 1975 (5) Part II -- Main Edition -- 5 May 1975

Japan's Army hobbled by costs, doubts

Tokyo (AP)—Thirty years after the crushing defeat of World War II, Japan's once mighty military establishment is hobbled by inflation, public indifference, detente and doubts about its right to exist.

Down to a mere 232,936 men —33,000 below authorized strength—the nation's Self Defense Force is only the palest shadow of the tough, old Imperial Army of 5 million that conquered much of Asia and the South Pacific.

Seventy years ago Japan established itself as a military power in Asia with its victory in the Russo-Japanese war. Now it is a world power without heavy bombers, long-range missiles, aircraft carriers, atom bombs or other weapons associated with offensive warfare.

One reason so puny a force is protecting a nation of 110 million is psychological, a nationwide revulsion against atomic warfare and against the militarism of the 1930's and 1940's that brought Japan close to extinction as a nation and created a country of dedicated pacifists.

The second is constitutional. Under the American-inspired 1947 Constitution, Japan renounced war as a sovereign national right, and stated: "Land, sea and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained."

It is this provision that prompts many Japanese to question the right of the Self Defense Force to exist. It is also why Japan has joined no regional security alliances, and sent no combat soldiers overseas since 1945.

The third reason is economic. Japan's youths just out of high school have, until recently, preferred to take the examinations that put them on the economic escalator as lifetime employees of big business. Though high school graduates get a respectable salary in the new Army—$194 monthly and 5.2 months of bonus pay yearly—private industry pays more. To many Japanese youths, the Army is a short adventure, not a career.

A downturn in the economy has resulted in a slight increase in enrollments recently. But 20,000 men of the all-volunteer forces quit each year. The Self Defense Agency says there is no money for a concentrated enlistment drive to bridge the gap.

Finally, Japan can maintain so small an Army at a bargain basement price—less than 1 per cent of the gross national product—because under a 25-year-old security treaty the United States guarantees to come to its assistance in case of attack.

That Japan has a military force at all is due to an anxious afterthought: the Korean war in 1950 and the Communist conquest of China the year before persuaded U.S. and Japanese leaders that Japan needed at least a nominal protective shield of its own to confront what they saw as a widening Communist threat to North Asia.

Aware of questions surrounding the birth of the defense force, successive conservative governments have adopted a low posture to gain it public acceptance. Accenting peace and its purely defensive role, they have involved it in a variety of community services from flood control to rescue work after earthquakes and typhoons.

The militaristic stigma clings to today's ground, maritime and air defense troops, self-effacing and public-spirited though they are. For a time, troops were too ashamed to wear their uniforms in public. Universities refused to accept them as undergraduates. Left-wing political parties portrayed them as germs of an aborning militarism.

The problem still confronts Prime Minister Takeo Miki. In a January budget address to the parliament, he said: "Let me stress again that the Self Defense Forces will not be able to manifest their true worth as long as they remain aloof and isolated from the people."

Most Japanese discount the possibility in this different day and age that the fledgling force—there are 153,658 men in the Army, 38,196 in the Navy and 41,090 in the Air Force—contain the seed of rebellion or incident militarism.

They cite the unsuccessful effort of Yukio Mishima, the novelist, to rally 2,000 Self Defense soldiers behind him for a coup d'etat just before his flamboyant suicide in 1970. His fervent plea to rise up for the emperor and restore the old martial virtues was met with derision.

That anxiety over the Self Defense Force is not entirely without foundation, however, was demonstrated in early February. A Socialist member of the Diet disclosed then that a group of Self Defense officers had organized a study and research group that envisaged a coup to overthrow any future progressive government.

The defense agency's director general, Michita Sakata, explained the group drew up the theoretical plan in 1971, that it was a private initiative, not connected with defense agency, and the group had been disbanded. Despite these disclaimers, leftists were not reassured.

The defense program is buffeted today by a new and unexpected enemy—inflation. The current five-year buildup plan was budgeted for $15.4 billion. With nearly one year left to go, it has eaten up $14.3 billion and the new estimate is for a total of $20 billion.

This means that 20,000 tons of planned naval construction will have to be delayed as well as acquisition of new tanks and remodeled ground support fighter planes.

Perhaps more damaging than inflation is the sense of uncertainty that pervades the Self Defense Force itself.

"Our position today is dubious," one soldier said. "We are neither fish nor fowl. We carry out our mission almost by stealth. This has to be changed. We must become legal."

The question of the Self Defense Force's legality is in the courts. One lower court ruled that it was illegal and the appeal is pending.

This has given rise to pressure for revision of the famed Article 9 (no war, no military establishment) of the Constitution.

Leftists in the parliament stand resolutely in the way of revision, a process that would require a two-thirds vote of the parliament. They argue that the Defense Force should be disbanded, that Japan should adopt a policy of unarmed neutrality, and that once revision begins it will erode the many American-inspired freedoms Japanese now enjoy.

Neither revision or the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty are burning issues today. Some members of the Miki government are reported to have discussed revision recently, but if they did, it has been hushed up.

AEROSPACE DAILY 30 APRIL 1975 (5 MAY)

HIGH DEFENSE SPENDING REDUCES JOBS POTENTIAL, NEW STUDY SAYS

A new study by a Michigan research group "smashes the myth promoted by big defense contractors that high defense spending means more jobs" and shows that an $80 billion defense budget actually costs the nation 840,000 jobs annually, Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wis.) has reported.

The study, by the Lansing-based Public Interest Research Group in Michigan (PIRGM), analyzes on a state-by-state basis the employment difference between spending for defense and cutting taxes and spending the same amount of money in the private sector, Aspin said in a statement Monday.

According to the study, he added, each $1 billion decrease in defense spending, together with a corresponding cut in taxes, nets an increase of 10,600 jobs.

PIRGM's analysis examines five key sectors of the economy, he continued, and on the basis of a statistical study done at Yale University determines how much job growth is passed up by an economy spending on defense, with its high cost per job created, rather than spending in the public sector or returning the money through tax cuts.

Most major industrial states "lost" jobs in the analysis, although a few gained employment from high defense spending. Principal losers, according to the study, were New York--426,000 jobs; Illinois--174,000; Michigan--172,000; Ohio--146,000; Pennsylvania--127,000; and Wisconsin--72,000. Biggest gainers were Texas---133,000; California--97,000; and Virginia--56,000.

In the five largest losing states, Aspin noted, the study indicates that the jobs lost averaged 85% of the average total unemployment between 1968 and 1973.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 5 May 1975
WASHINGTON POST (PARADE) 4 MAY 1975 (5)

Is the Pentagon Tinkering Too Much With the Weather?

by Phil Stanford

WASHINGTON, D.C.

The first time anyone used weather modification as a weapon was in 1963 when the CIA tried to make it rain on Buddhists demonstrating against the government of South Vietnam. "They would just stand around during the demonstrations when the police threw tear gas at them," a former agent told a reporter, "but we noticed that when the rains came they wouldn't stay on." So the CIA decided to give nature a hand.

Last year the Department of Defense admitted that from 1967 to 1972 it conducted extensive rainmaking operations—called Operation Popeye—over the Ho Chi Minh Trail in Southeast Asia. The object was to make the trail so muddy that the North Vietnamese couldn't move supplies into the South.

Military scientists have learned how to disperse cold fog by seeding the fog with dry ice or silver iodide. One reason for getting rid of fog is to clear runways or the flight decks of aircraft carriers to make them safe for landings. Another reason would be to clear away the fog covering bombing targets.

The U.S. Navy is working on what it describes as "defensive" weather modification. "Potential enemies," says a Navy document, may use weather modification techniques "to produce environmental conditions which benefit their own forces or limit the effectiveness of our forces."

Experts agree that the Soviet Union and the U.S. already have the ability to use weather modification as a local, battlefield weapon. A number of scientists are concerned that weather modification might also be used on a larger scale as a strategic weapon. In Senate hearings last year, Dr. Gordon MacDonald of Dartmouth College and a former member of the Council on Environmental Quality, named several kinds of global weather war that may be possible within the next decade or so.

It is already possible, MacDonald said, for man to trigger earthquakes by injecting fluids into faults in the earth's crust. These earthquakes could be used to set off tsunamis—giant tidal waves—that could wipe out coastal cities.

"Another possibility," said MacDonald, "is to melt the bottom of the Antarctic ice cap and cause tidal waves of one sort or another by having the ice slide more rapidly out into the ocean than it otherwise would."

'Holes' in ozone layer

Another would be to create "holes" in the ozone layer of the earth's atmosphere for the purpose of bombarding another country with ultraviolet rays. Ultraviolet rays are what cause suntan or sunburn. Ordinarily they are filtered out of sunlight by the ozone in the upper atmosphere. However, it is possible to make temporary holes in the ozone layer, letting the ultraviolet radiation through undiminished. "If the full force of it were experienced," says MacDonald, "it would be fatal to all life—including farm crops and herds—that could not take shelter."

Another possibility comes from Dr. Pierre St. Amand, the director of the Navy's weather modification research program. While Dr. MacDonald has been one of the leaders of the scientific community in attempting to have weather war outlawed, Dr. St. Amand is one of its most prominent defenders.

"Assume for a minute," St. Amand told a Congressional committee, "that a large country exists in which a nonirrigable crop must be planted and matured so that the country has adequate food and foreign exchange. It might, to take a negative viewpoint, be advantageous to cause heavy rain during planting season to preclude sprouting and growth, and then to cause severe and protracted drought during the growing season."

Now that it is clear that governments can use weather modification as a weapon—today on a limited scale, tomorrow perhaps almost without limit—some members of Congress are taking an interest in placing a ban on weather war. From the beginning the leader in this effort has been Sen. Claiborne Pell (D., R.I.), who in 1973 persuaded the Senate to pass a resolution asking the Administration to seek negotiations with Russia on banning weather modification for war. This year Reps. Donald Fraser (D., Minn.) and Gilbert Gude (R., Md.) are offering a similar resolution in the House. Gude also plans to introduce legislation that would take all weather research away from the military.

Naturally, both ideas—a ban on the use of weather modification for war and Gude's plan to get the military out of the weather modification business altogether—have encountered considerable opposition from the Pentagon. There is no good reason, Pentagon spokesmen argue, why weather modification should not be considered just another weapon—for the benefit and protection of our own fighting men.

Dr. St. Amand, speaking for those who oppose a ban on weather war, takes an example from World War II to support his case. What would have happened, he asks, if we had been able to use weather modification at the Battle of the Bulge when American troops were surrounded by the Germans and a heavy cover of fog prevented our Air Force from dropping in supplies and ammunition? "The American troops were short on food, ammunition and fuel, and were unable to advance," says St. Amand. "This advance was critical to obtaining the fall of Germany while the Wehrmacht was still reeling from earlier reverses.

Shorter war?

"A portion of the time this fog was supercooled. Available techniques can now, with a very high reliability, clear supercooled fog in a matter of 30 or 40 minutes. It would have shortened World War II by several weeks if the technology had then been available. Would it have been wrong to use the technology? I think not."

Opponents of a ban also argue that weather warfare is actually more humane than guns or bombs. Is it less cruel, they ask, to destroy an infantry company with high explosives or to immobolize it with excessive rainfall? (Those who support a ban say that since both would be used—rain and bombs—this argument is somewhat misleading.)

The supporters of a ban on military weather modification base their case on three main arguments. First, they say that despite recent advances there is still much that is not known about weather modification. The consequences of weather modification operations are really unpredictable. Second, weather modification would very likely involve civilians. This is prohibited by the rules of war.

Finally, say those who want weather war outlawed, even the most limited uses of weather modification tend to open up a Pandora's Box of horrors. If we accept weather modification as a very limited battlefield weapon, the next step is a slightly less limited operation—and the next step is the use of the same techniques to alter the climate of an entire country.

As a result of pressure by Congress and concerned scientists, delegations from Russia and the United States have begun meeting to consider negotiations on outlawing weather war. At this point the meetings are preliminary—just meetings to plan meetings—and it is unclear how far either side is willing to go in renouncing this new weapon that both are developing. However, it is surely a start in the right direction.

Members of Congress, scientists—and just plain citizens who like to keep their weather reports separate from the latest news from the latest battlefront—will be watching closely.

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RADIO - TV DEFENSE DIALOG

RADIO TV REPORTS INC. WASH., D.C., SUMMARIES NOT TO BE QUOTED.

TUESDAY, MAY 6, 1975 (BROADCASTS OF MAY 5, 1975)

SUMMARY OF NETWORK NEWS IN THIS ISSUE

John CHANCELLOR, Catherine MACKIN, George LEWIS, David BRINKLEY, and Jack PERKINS, all of NBC, report on Vietnam refugees and Asia. MACKIN reports that Director Dean BROWN went before a House subcommittee and said that about 30,000 jobs will be needed for Vietnamese refugees and was questioned concerning the resettlement effort. LEWIS reports that a large number of Vietnamese refugees who fled by sea are being picked up by the U.S. Navy and other ships or who headed for Subic Bay or Guam. BRINKLEY comments on arguments for the resettlement of refugees into the U.S. and on arguments against the influx of evacuees. PERKINS reports on why the Thai government is asking the U.S. to remove troops and airplanes from Thailand. He interviews the Thai Prime Minister who states that he does not believe Hanoi will invade Thailand; that he would like still to be friends with the U.S.; and that he is asking for the removal of troops because it compromises Thailand in its neighbors' eyes. CHANCELLOR reports on the Presidential request for $507 million for resettlement of refugees; on reports coming from Saigon and on Thai requests for American withdrawal. CHANCELLOR also reports on rumors that the Khmer Rouge have begun executions and that General CUSHMAN will resign early. CHANCELLOR reports that KISSINGER denies any knowledge about alleged assassination attempts on foreign leaders and includes an excerpt of an interview with KISSINGER done by Barbara Walters, concerning detente and the recent events in Indochina.

Roger MUDD, Bob SCHIEFFER and Murray FROMSON, all of CBS, report on Vietnam refugees and Thailand. SCHIEFFER gives a breakdown of the money requested for resettlement of refugees by President FORD. FROMSON has a report on Thailand and includes a statement by the Thai Prime Minister who discounts the domino theory and says Thailand should depend more on itself for its defense. MUDD reports on the influx of refugees on Guam; on statements by Nguyen Cao KY saying that THIEU was responsible for what happened in Vietnam not the U.S.; and on withdrawals of U.S. forces from Thailand.

MUDD, CBS, reports that President FORD will not promise to deliver weapons to Israel in upcoming meetings with RABIN, but that Jordan is getting a Hawk ground-to-air missile system. MUDD and Daniel SCHORR also report on CIA investigations. SCHORR reports that the ROCKEFELLER Commission is concentrating on allegations that CIA tried assassinations; that KISSINGER denies knowledge of any such attempts; and that Secretary SCHLESINGER discounted charges that the CIA killed KENNEDY. MUDD also reports that both Gen. CUSHMAN and Gen. ANDERSON are going to retire early and that Lt. Gen. WILSON will become the top Marine.

Howard K. SMITH, Sam DONALDSON, Harry REASONER, Jerry KING, Frank TOMLINSON, Jim GIGGANS, and Tom JARRIEL, all of ABC, have reports. DONALDSON reports on Judiciary subcommittee hearings on Vietnamese refugees and resettlement. KING reports on conditions on Guam for the refugees. TOMLINSON reports on troop withdrawals from Thailand and that the U.S. has recovered 120 Vietnamese planes. GIGGANS reports on reasons for the policy shift in Thailand as regards American withdrawals. JARRIEL reports that mail at the White House is running in favor of the President and that he praised Ambassador MARTIN for the evacuation.

Barbara WALTERS, the "Today" show for NBC, interviews Secretary of State KISSINGER about whether or not the loss of Vietnam is considered a defeat for America and about resistance by Americans to the influx of Vietnamese refugees. KISSINGER cites as precedent the Cuban and Hungarian evacuees and gives the reasons behind accepting the Vietnamese.

PREPARED BY THE AIR FORCE SAFAA, AS EXECUTIVE AGENT FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE TO BRING TO THE ATTENTION OF KEY DOD PERSONNEL MATTERS WITHIN THEIR OFFICIAL RESPONSIBILITIES.

FOR INFORMATION REGARDING THIS PUBLICATION CALL MR. HARRY ZUBKOFF, OX 52884

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NBC NIGHTLY NEWS NBC TV
7:00 PM MAY 5

News About Vietnamese Refugees and Asia

JOHN CHANCELLOR: Good evening. The FORD administration today asked the Congress for more than half a billion dollars for Vietnamese refugees and said it must have the money within a week. Speed is necessary, according to the Director of the refugee task force, because a $98 million fund now being used for refugees will be used up in a week. That money had been earmarked for post-war reconstruction in Vietnam. And the administration told a House committee today the number of refugees could rise to 150,000. The request for the money, $507 million, ran into immediate Congressional resistance. Catherine Mackin covered the story.

CATHERINE MACKIN: Dean BROWN, Director of President FORD's refugee program said he is working with non-voluntary organizations inside the United States on placing the refugees and that a priority is to resettle them in areas where they will not compete with Americans who are having trouble finding jobs.

DIRECTOR DEAN BROWN: We have agreed with them that the new arrivals should be dispersed as evenly and equitably as possible throughout the United States, avoiding in particular resettlement in economically hard pressed areas.

REPRESENTATIVE: Would you attempt to describe for the committee how many jobs might be needed by these refugees?

DIRECTOR BROWN: I would say that of 150,000 entering, we're talking about probably 30,000 heads of households, 30,000 jobs, sir.

REPRESENTATIVE DODD: There is a tremendous hesitancy on my part anyway to support individuals who are more capable of sustaining themselves economically than I am.

DIRECTOR BROWN: We're not going to be spending money on resettlement of people that have money. No way.

MACKIN: The committee also wanted to know what is being done about those South Vietnamese who misused American war funds or otherwise engaged in wartime stealing and torture, including imprisoned people in tiger cages. The answer is they will be admitted to the United States because even though some of them may be suspected of these crimes, none of them have been convicted, and to be kept out of this country they must be proven criminals. Catherine Mackin, NBC News, at the Capitol.

CHANCELLOR: Senator George McGOVERN thinks that most refugees would be better off back in Vietnam. Today he introduced a bill in the Senate which would allow them to go back if they wish to go, at American government expense.

***(Commercials)

The State Department today set up a toll free telephone number for Americans who wish to sponsor Vietnamese families who are settling in the United States. The number is 800-368-1180.***

About 30,000 of the South Vietnamese refugees are those who got away from their homeland on South Vietnamese naval vessels. It was a big, crowded flotilla and it's arrived at Subic Bay in the Philippines. George Lewis has that story.

GEORGE LEWIS: The collapse of South Vietnam sent hundreds of ships, boats and barges fleeing into the South China Sea, a flotilla of refugees. No one knows the exact number and no one seems to know exactly what to do with all of them. Many were taken aboard U.S. Navy and merchant marine ships after spending several days in the hot sun with little food or water. Some were bound for Guam, others to the Philippines. The main responsibility for sorting out all the refugees and finding places for them to live rests with the United States government. It's going to be a huge task because there are far more people than anyone had expected. Among the refugees are men who deserted the army and air force in the last days of the fighting. Many just laid down their weapons and ran, they said it was useless to continue battling, their generals had escaped and they were outnumbered by the other side. For these men staying alive was more important than dying for a lost cause. U.S. officials said considering the way the refugees got out of Vietnam, the number of sick and injured was relatively small. There was little trouble providing first aid for the refugees. The big problems are yet to come. The U.S. Government will have to feed, clothe and house all of them while they try to pick up their lives. They head for a country that accepts them reluctantly and they worry about the future hardships they may have to face. George Lewis, NBC News, Hong Kong.

CHANCELLOR: The evacuation of the South Vietnamese refugees produced an unexpected reaction here in the United States. David Brinkley's Journal tonight discusses that reaction and some reasons for it. David.

DAVID BRINKLEY: The President wants money to bring in and resettle many as

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many as 150,000 Vietnamese refugees. But it is not certain he will get all he wants because it appears there is a rising public opposition. There are no polls yet and no precise figures on how many Americans want or don't want to accept and care for the Vietnamese, but it is clear the opposition is substantial. A survey of 50 members of Congress showed their mail from home was heavily against taking them in, and these opinions are beginning to be reflected in the congressmens' public remarks. Senator McGOVERN, for one, said he though about 90 percent for their own good, about 90 percent of the Vietnamese should be given free rides back home. Senator JAVITS of New York said his parents were immigrants and he found that attitude appalling. The objection usually raised is that a time of high unemployment is no time to take in refugees from anywhere, since they may make it worse. But in the public reactions being sent to Washington there are other objections, stated or implied. One is that people suspect this will turn into another social and welfare problem and they feel the country has more than enough of these already; and the desire to put an unpleasant experience into the past and keep it there, and to resist anything, including resettlement, that will hang around to remind them of it.

***(Commercials)

CHANCELLOR: All the news out of South Vietnam today comes from various Communist sources. It includes the following. Thousands of officers and men of the old South Vietnamese navy have surrendered their ships to the revolutionary government. The government emptied the so-called "Tiger Cages" on Con Son island of its political prisoners and gave remnants of the Saigon army until the end of this month to surrender. Two Soviet freighters put into Da Nang with food and other aid, and Saigon's Tansonnhut Airport was reopened. Finally, former president Duong Van MINH, known as "Big" MINH, has been released from detention.

Both Thailand and the United States agreed today to remove almost 10,000 of the 25,000 American servicemen in Thailand over the next two months. Thailand wants the rest of them out in a year, but that's negotiable. The Pentagon said it is flying out of Thailand some of the 120 planes flown to that country by fleeing South Vietnamese pilots. And Thailand now treads a delicate course between the United States and the victors in Indochina. Jack Perkins, who is travelling in SE Asia, is assessing the effects of that victory. Tonight he reports from Bangkok.

JACK PERKINS: The new Prime Minister of Thailand has told NBC News that he does not believe that it is Hanoi's intention next to try to overrun Thailand. He does not believe that. But there is evidence in intelligence reports here that that is Hanoi's intention and there are those in Thai government who fear it and believe the Prime Minister is to sanguine about the dangers that face this country. They look at the map. In the north and NE of their country there are bands of Communist guerrillas active. They've been there for 10 years but of late they are more aggressive and more numerous than ever. Intelligence reports now figure there are 9,000 soldiers armed by Hanoi, many trained in Hanoi, and 50,000 active Communist supporters in these regions. Across the border in Laos a complete network of roads has been built and supply depots and a command structure apparently for just one reason, to supply a war against Thailand. Hanoi Radio has been saying most every day that Thailand is the next target for liberation, and now that its troops will not be otherwise occupied there are those in Thailand who fear that the time has come. But the new Prime Minister is not one of them. Prime Minister Kukrit PRAMOTCH (?).

PRIME MINISTER KUKRIT PRAMOTCH: I think it depends on us not on North Vietnam alone.

PERKINS: Well do you believe that North Vietnam has such an intention? And or capability?

PRIME MINISTER PRAMOTCH: I don't think so personally. No.

PERKINS: You don't feel any...

PRIME MINISTER PRAMOTCH: Well they might have aims of increasing their political influence and power and all that, but I don't think they will resort to direct invasion.

PERKINS: Prime Minister, you have asked that American troops be withdrawn from your country within the next year. What would you see after that as America's role in this part of the world?

PRIME MINISTER PRAMOTCH: Well I certainly would like to be friendly with the United States. We would like to feel that the United States is there ready to help us in time of danger or trouble.

PERKINS: Do you believe that?

PRIME MINISTER PRAMOTCH: I would like to but it's been very difficult. But I can see now the presence of the United States troops in this country is merely to compromise us in the eyes of the other countries -- that we are the U.S. lackies and all that sort of thing.

PERKINS: Trojan horse...

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PRIME MINISTER PRAMOTCH: Yes, and from the fact that I know the United States is not helping us very much by way of military aid and (unintelligible), because of Congress I suppose. You can blame everything on Congress. Yes, American funds, yes. There it is.

PERKINS: Is that why you've asked American troops to be withdrawn from Thailand?

PRIME MINISTER PRAMOTCH: Yes, I think it would help clear the air around us.

PERKINS: Within a year Americans will be gone from these bases in Thailand. The Thais figure it would cost two billion dollars a year to maintain the bases for themselves. They can't afford it, so they won't. What will become of them? A Thai official said, Utaphao, when the B-52s are gone, we'll probably use to dry tapioca root. Thailand is a survivor. Throughout the centuries of all the nations of SE Asia only Thailand has never been colonized or overrun. It has always managed, as they like to say here, to bend with the wind like a stalk of bamboo. And so today Thailand is asking the United States to get its troops out of here so that it will not look like a U.S. lackey anymore. And it is trying to get as friendly as it can with Peking and Hanoi, in that way to bend to the new winds it feels blowing across SE Asia today. Jack Perkins, NBC News, Bangkok.

Cushman to Resign

CHANCELLOR: The Associated Press reported today that Gen. Robert CUSHMAN, the outgoing commandant of the Marine Corps, is taking the highly unusual step of resigning early. Instead of leaving at the end of this year, CUSHMAN will leave on the 1st of July. The reason may be that CUSHMAN is dissatisfied because the President didn't go along with his recommendations for a successor.

Excerpt of Interview With Kissinger

CHANCELLOR: Secretary of State KISSINGER spent two hours today behind closed doors with the ROCKEFELLER Commission on the CIA. And then he told reporters he never had any involvement in CIA domestic spying or plots to assassinate foreign leaders. The Secretary of State has also taped a long interview with Barbara WALTERS of the Today program. One of the subjects discussed was detente with the Soviet Union. The Secretary of State pointed out that the Soviet Union had played what he called a moderately constructive role in the South Vietnamese evacuation. And he had some other things to say about South Vietnam and the Soviet Union.

SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER: What we cannot ask the Soviet Union to do is to keep itself from taking advantage of situations in which for whatever reasons we do not do what is required to maintain the balance. It is true that Soviet arms made the conquest of South Vietnam possible. It is also true that the refusal of American arms made the conquest of South Vietnam inevitable. And therefore while the Soviet Union does have a heavy responsibility, we cannot expect the Soviet Union to police the world for us, and we have to be mature enough to recognize that we have to co-exist, even in a competitive world, and perhaps hopefully be able to moderate over a period of years the competition in peripheral areas. Now eventually the Soviet Union must realize that it is responsible for the consequences of its actions, even in peripheral areas. But as a basic relationship, detente has never meant the absence of competition.

Khmer Rouge Executions

CHANCELLOR: The White House and the State Department said today that the victorious Khmer Rouge rebels in Cambodia have executed 80 or 90 officers of the defeated Cambodian army and their wives. Newsweek magazine said it was told by an American official that thousands have already been executed in Cambodia. There is no direct confirmation of these reports since Cambodia is cutoff from the rest of the world.***

(Interview with West German photographer FROEHDER and film report of fall of Phnom Penh.)

CBS EVENING NEWS CBS TV
7:00 PM MAY 5

Vietnamese Refugees; Guam; Thailand

ROGER MUDD: Good evening. The FORD administration said today it will need more than $500 million over the next two years for about 130,000 Vietnamese refugees. The Congress will have to approve that sum. We have reports from Bob Schieffer at the White House and Lesley Stahl at the Capitol.

BOB SCHIEFFER: White House officials gave this breakdown on how the money will be spent: $185 million will be used to

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pay for the refugees' food and other daily needs over the next 90 days; $99 million is transportation costs to get them from Guam and Wake Island to relocation bases in this country; $78 million will be paid to charitable agencies which will help the refugees resettle and find jobs; another $125 million is for reimbursing the states and other agencies for welfare costs and to pay for such things as medicaid and vocational and language training; another $20 million will finance transportation for the 20,000 Vietnamese who are expected to settle eventually in other countries. In all more than 100,000 Vietnamese are expected to settle in this country. They have cost $70 million so far, the money coming from a special $98 million fund which will be exhausted within another week. Spokesman Ron Nessen says unless Congress approves the President's new requests there will be no money available to care for the refugees when that special fund runs out. Bob Schieffer, CBS News, the White House.

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MUDD: The Pacific island of Guam is bracing for a new influx of 80,000 Vietnamese refugees, almost equal to Guam's normal population. One of the refugees who stopped at Guam on route to the United States was former premier Nguyen Cao KY. He said his country's defeat was not the fault of the United States but rather of former South Vietnamese president THIEU, whom KY referred to as a criminal.

NGUYEN CAO KY: I know for sure that my people will not ask too much from you. They will not be a burden for American people or for other people. They are suffering for 30 years of war now, so they can support suffer. All what happened today for us, for our nation is THIEU's fault and only Mr. THIEU's fault.

MUDD: KY is expected to arrive tomorrow at El Toro Marine Air Station in California.

***(Commercials)

The Pentagon plans to shutdown one of the four U.S. airbases in Thailand according to Ike Pappas. This will coincide with the phased withdrawal of more than one-fourth of the 25,000 U.S. servicemen now in Thailand. The pullout is at the request of the Thai government which said last week it no longer wants to depend on the United States for security. Murray Fromson has the first of two reports on how recent Communist takeovers in South Vietnam and Cambodia will effect Thailand.

MURRAY FROMSON: In the days before television focused on it, guerrilla warfare in SE Asia drew some attention from Hollywood. The "Ugly American" 1963, the story of Communist insurrection in the mythical kingdom of Sarakan. In the film U.S. Ambassador Marlon BRANDO got some advice from the country's prime minister.

ACTOR: When the worst part of a nightmare has been realized, there's nothing very much left to be afraid of, is there?

FROMSON: Today the man who acted that part is the actual Prime Minister of Thailand, Kukrit PRAMOT (?), journalist, actor, scholar, politician. As a leading journalist before the collapse of Indochina, Kukrit was among those who supported the U.S. role in Vietnam and the American presence in Thailand. As the Prime Minister, events of the past few weeks have caused him to adjust his views.

P.M. PRAMOT: The domino theory is purely an American invention, because ten years ago the United States wanted very much, for reasons of its own, to be involved in the affairs of this part of the world. And the domino theory sort of justified its involvement. It's just we've got to change our policy to conform with what has been happening in our neighboring countries. But at the same time we would like to still remain friends with the United States. And that friendship doesn't necessarily mean that we've got to keep the American military presence within our country. It has made us rather sort of careless in our own defense. We have been for the past decade hoping that if should anything happen to us the United States would be there to help. With the result that we haven't really made ourselves ready for whatever is to come. Now we're changing that, we want to stand on our own feet.

FROMSON: Unlike the plot of the "Ugly American" there's no end in sight for the Thai insurgents. The Prime Minister says it's a problem we'll have to solve by ourselves, not like the movie, with American advice. Murray Fromson, CBS News, Bangkok.

Aid To Israel and Jordan

MUDD: The White House said today that President FORD will meet Israeli Premier RABIN in Washington on June 11th and 12th. And during that meeting Mr. FORD will not promise Israel any new arms deliveries, according to Marvin Kalb. But sources told Kalb, and the State Department has confirmed, that the U.S. has promised to sell Jordan the Hawk ground-to-air missile system.

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Investigation of CIA

MUDD: President FORD ordered an investigation of the CIA because of alleged domestic spying. But now the focus of that has shifted. Daniel Schorr reports.

DANIEL SCHORR: The ROCKEFELLER Commission started on the last of its five months of probing into CIA was reported zeroing in on assassination plots, especially against Fidel CASTRO. Secretary of State KISSINGER, denying any involvement himself, indicated this was an issue.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I said that I would not go into any further details of this -- in any event none of these allegations occurred during the period -- pertained to any period in which I had personal knowledge.

SCHORR: KISSINGER would not say what he testified about events before his time, before 1969. Defense Secretary SCHLESINGER briefly CIA chief in 1972 was sure of one thing, the CIA was not involved in the assassination of President KENNEDY.

DEFENSE SECRETARY SCHLESINGER: The suggestion that there is any involvement of the CIA to my mind is simply preposterous. It is psychologically and emotionally unacceptable.

SCHORR: SCHLESINGER was asked whether reprisal for plots against CASTRO could have figured in the motive for the KENNEDY assassination.

SECRETARY SCHLESINGER: Well I understand what you're saying and I'll have no comments on that at this time.

SCHORR: No one today admitted authorizing assassination plots, no one quite denied there may have been some. Daniel Schorr, CBS News, Washington.

Cushman and Anderson to Resign

MUDD: The two top officers in the Marine Corps, General Robert CUSHMAN and General Earl ANDERSON, the Asst. Commandant, reportedly have asked for early retirement and the Pentagon is expected to approve. CUSHMAN, whose term runs until December, has been supporting ANDERSON to be his successor. But last week President FORD nominated Lt. Gen. Louis WILSON for the post.

ABC EVENING NEWS ABC TV
7:00 PM MAY 5

Vietnamese Refugees; Thailand

HOWARD K. SMITH: The FORD administration set a price tag today on its program to care for and resettle refugees from Vietnam and Cambodia. The total cost the administration estimated at more than $600 million, $507 millions of which still need to be authorized by Congress. ABC Capitol Hill correspondent Sam Donaldson has the story.

SAM DONALDSON: A House Judiciary subcommittee was told today that the administration's money request is based on a new, higher refugee estimate. Ambassador Dean BROWN said as many as 150,000 Vietnamese may seek asylum in the United States, up from the previous estimate of 130,000. The subcommittee wanted to know how many jobs would be needed.

DEAN: I would say that of 150,000 entering, we're talking about probably 30,000 heads of households, 30,000 jobs, sir.

DONALDSON: Ambassador BROWN and Immigration Director CHAPMAN were questioned closely about letting in undesirables. The law keeps out convicted criminals. But some members thought conviction should not be the only test of criminality.

WOMAN REP.: I'm not sure that there's anything in the existing immigration laws that would prohibit the entry of persons who were involved in police torture methods or running the tiger cages or theft and corruption.

MAN REP.: I think we have to screen the people that are coming into this country. And there are probably more people who are deserving of coming into this country that are still in Vietnam that I would rather see here than some criminal who happened to escape. And it's not a hard fact that I'm willing to swallow.

BROWN: Well it's not a hard fact that are any such, but I would just...

DIRECTOR CHAPMAN: The question is that any person setting foot on U.S. soil under the provisions of the asylum protocol is entitled to apply for asylum, he cannot be returned forcibly to his country of origin. So here they are.

DONALDSON: Congressional mail has been running heavily against taking in the Vietnamese. But with other nations so far reluctant to shoulder much of the load, Ambassador BROWN said the only

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other choices are to force them back to Vietnam or leave them at sea. No one today spoke up for either of those. Sam Donaldson, ABC News, Capitol Hill.

HARRY REASONER: Former South Vietnamese premier Nguyen Cao KY was among the thousands of refugees to arrive in Guam today. But Marshall KY didn't stay long, he was quickly processed through immigration and flown to California. ABC's Jerry King has been on Guam talking with some of the refugees there, and he's found that while many of them are not happy with their lives now they feel they made the right decision in leaving Vietnam.

JERRY KING: ***Nguyen Xuan CAO at 61 says he's too old for "Operation Newlife" to matter much to him. The same is true for his wife Ha, who's 60. Years ago they started afresh after evacuating North Vietnam. This time they fled Saigon for the sake of Tranh, at 17 their youngest son. Like 6,000 others CAO lives in tent city on Guam. It's not much, but at least it's not South Vietnam. That new life is not very exciting these days, too much time to think whether it was right to leave -- most believe so -- and how they and their children will fare in America. Optimism reigned supreme. Mostly though they wait. The conditions are primitive. It takes awhile before such amenities as showers are installed to meet the demands. Electricity is on a when and if basis. Ice is also a much sought after commodity. Its supply sometimes is haphazard, but in the 85 degree weather there's a certain pride in its possession. The evacuees are assigned to their tents where Navy personnel administer quick lessons in the art of assembling camp cots. These camps were designed as temporary quarters. But each day the arrivals far outnumber the departures. At the present rate many are likely to still be here several weeks from now. These evacuees brought little here but their memories and an almost childlike faith that somehow everything will work out. But right now for most of them the future is almost as uncertain as it is for the friends and relatives they left behind. Jerry King, ABC News, tent city on Guam.

REASONER: The new government in Saigon has applied for membership in a number of United Nations organizations. Diplomats say the applications indicate the Saigon government is planning to operate independently from North Vietnam for a prolonged period of time.

***(Commercials)

SMITH: In one of the first significant after effects of the Communist victories in Cambodia and Vietnam, a major withdrawal of U.S. troops from Thailand was announced today. We have raports first from ABC Pentagon correspondent Frank Tomlinson.

FRANK TOMLINSON: There are now about 25,000 American troops in Thailand. By the end of June 7,500 of those will be withdrawn under an agreement made with the former Thai government. The present Thai government wants all Americans out, reportedly in a year. Here in the Pentagon officials say that's a negotiable item and won't go into details. Meanwhile, some of those 120 American supplied planes flown out of Vietnam to Thailand are being recovered by the United States. Some are being place onboard the carrier Midway at a Thai port. The planned U.S. withdrawal from Thailand will have many political ramifications. Here with a report is ABC's Jim Giggans.

JIM GIGGANS: After Vietnam and Cambodia, Thailand could be considered the third American defeat in Indochina. The Thai's demand of a phased withdrawal of American planes and airmen from its soil is a harsh slap in the face of the United States, no matter how much Washington tries to soften the sting. Bases like this one at Utaphao, with its awesome concentration of American airpower, were always a symbol of American military preeminence in Asia. But for the Thais, once that pre-eminence was questioned, so was the value of allowing the bases to remain on Thai soil. Most Thais feel now that their country is surrounded by Communists or socialist neighbors, the traditional alliances with American are a liability.

THAI: If America wants to aid us, any aid should come in the form of economic aid. I would like to say is a rather poor country, you see.

THAI: In spite of our change of policy -- that is in spite the fact that we are going nearer and nearer towards Peking -- I really hope that the Americans would not take this shift of our foreign policy as anti-Americanism.

GIGGANS: Bangkok is industrious, prosperous and hasn't known war for generations. They've handled this feat with an impressive dexterity in political accomodation. What the Thais want more than anything else is continued peace, and they feel the only way to insure that is to back away from the United States. This is Jim Giggans, ABC News, in Bangkok.

REASONER: The White House began a campaign today to counter growing political criticism over the administration's

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handling of events in SE Asia during the last several weeks. White House correspondent Tom Jarriel reports.

TOM JARRIEL: President FORD would like to put Vietnam behind him, but the problem of the refugees and the trauma of the Indochina defeat on U.S. allies is continuing to burden him. In defending the President's unilateral decision to evacuate 150,000 Vietnamese from their homeland, the President's news secretary today gave the White House mail count. Of 7,600 letters received 4,400 support the President and 2,900 oppose him. On another potential political controversy White House spokesman Ron Nessen had words of praise from the President for Ambassador Graham MARTIN's final frantic evacuation of Americans from Saigon. The 11th hour move under fire in which four Marines died was well done, according to the President, because MARTIN brought the Americans out safely. On the diplomatic front the President begins a month of post-Vietnam fence mending. The Prime Ministers of Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Singapore will be calling on him this week, anxious to know where the line against Communist expansion in Asia is going to be drawn. It apparently won't be at Thailand, because a White House official says today if the Thais want us out we'll leave. Tom Jarriel, ABC News at the White House.

THE TODAY SHOW NBC TV
7:00 AM MAY 5

Interview With Secretary Kissinger

JIM HARTZ: Over the weekend Barbara Walters interviewed Secretary of State Henry KISSINGER. It was his first comprehensive interview since the fall of Vietnam. And here is part one of their discussion.

BARBARA WALTERS: We are about to celebrate our Bicentennial, is Vietnam our first defeat of 200 years?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Well when a nation is engaged in a major effort for ten years and then doesn't achieve its basic objectives, you have to say it's a significant setback, yes.

WALTERS: Is Vietnam our first defeat in 200 years?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Well that depends how you address the War of 1812 and other events. It's a significant setback.

WALTERS: You are responsible for the airlift of more than 100,000 Vietnam refugees. How do you answer the American people who are worried about further economic deprivation and are resisting the arrival of these refugees?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Well, it has been the American tradition to take refugees throughout our history, even from countries to which we had no special obligations. We took 675,000 Cuban refugees. We took, I think, over 150,000 Hungarian refugees. Here is a country in which for 15 years we were engaged in a major effort in which hundreds of thousands of people cooperated with us in the belief that the United States would see this effort through. The least we owe these people, those who were most seriously endangered, is that we make an effort to evacuate them. And I think when the American people reflect about our obligation they will recognize that we couldn't decently do anything else. The number is about 120,000. It is one of the things that we can be proud of having achieved and I think it is a national duty to help them. Moreover I believe that the impact in any one locality is going to be absolutely minimal.

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Items of relevance to DOD from the CBS Morning News and Today Show NBC News from May 5, 1975 have not been included because of insufficient space.

PLEASE NOTE: Complete transcripts of the following are available:

Special: Vietnam Epilogue PBS TV April 29, 1975

Vietnam: Lessons Learned, Prices Paid ABC TV April 29, 1975.

News WTOP Radio May 2, 1975 Navy Selects new plane.

News WTOP TV May 4, 1975 Military praised for evacuation efforts.

Today Show May 5, 1975 Report on AF air show.

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CURRENT NEWS
WEEKEND EDITION

THIS PUBLICATION IS PREPARED BY THE AIR FORCE AS EXECUTIVE AGENT FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE TO BRING TO THE ATTENTION OF KEY DOD PERSONNEL NEWS ITEMS OF INTEREST TO THEM IN THEIR OFFICIAL CAPACITIES. IT IS NOT INTENDED TO SUBSTITUTE FOR NEWSPAPERS, PERIODICALS AND BROADCASTS, AS A MEANS OF KEEPING INFORMED ABOUT THE NATURE, MEANING AND IMPACT OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL NEWS DEVELOPMENTS. USE OF THESE ARTICLES HERE, OF COURSE, DOES NOT REFLECT OFFICIAL ENDORSEMENT. FURTHER REPRODUCTION FOR PRIVATE USE OR GAIN IS SUBJECT TO THE ORIGINAL COPYRIGHT RESTRICTIONS.

FRIDAY PM 2 MAY THRU 4 MAY 1975

BALTIMORE SUN 3 May 1975 Pg. 1

Viet refugee total now put at 110,500

By DEAN MILLS
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—The State Department said yesterday that the total number of refugees leaving South Vietnam is now estimated at about 110,500, and that money is "urgently" needed to handle those who will come to the United States.

The new total includes about 30,000 additional refugees who escaped South Vietnam on a flotilla of gunboats, patrol boats, and other small South Vietnamese Navy craft. They are sailing toward the Philippines under United States Navy escort.

In addition, State Department officials say, there are about 13,000 South Vietnamese who came to the United States for study, military training, or other reasons and are expected to remain.

That brought the number of refugees to about 123,500 so far. Pentagon officials said that there are also from 50,000 to 80,000 refugees aboard small fishing boats and other vessels in the South China Sea.

The officials said that those spotted in the open sea would be picked up by the United States, but there was no way of estimating how many of them might reach American ships. Joseph Laiton, a Pentagon spokesman, said yesterday that American ships have now withdrawn to more than 35 miles off the Vietnamese coast.

The administration has the authority to admit up to 132,000 refugees to the United States on "parole" status, a category which allows them to stay and work in the country but without the standing of "permanent resident" status.

Robert L. Funseth, a State Department spokesman, said yesterday in announcing the latest figures that the administration regrets the failure of Congress to pass a bill this week giving emergency funds to handle the refugees.

"We urgently need money," he said. "We have sufficient funds for only a week to 10

See REFUGEE, Pg. 2

NEW YORK TIMES
4 May 1975 Pg. 1

SAIGON SAYS HANOI BEGINS REBUILDING OF SOUTH VIETNAM

The Saigon radio announced yesterday that North Vietnam had undertaken a vast reconstruction program in South Vietnam to provide jobs and to begin reversing the devastation of 30 years of war.

The broadcasts, monitored in Bangkok Thailand, said that people would have to work more hours each day. But they also held out the vision of new roads linking the cities of North and South Vietnam and of free-flowing travel and new accommodations.

Customary channels of communications with Saigon have been cut since Wednesday, when a new Communist regime seized the city and assumed power. Saigon broadcasts are providing what little news there is under the aegis of the new government.

Reorganization Under Way

The radio suggested that a wholesale reorganization of the country was under way. The regime, which previously announced the nationalization of all farms, factories and businesses, and ordered the suspension of unauthorized publications, took over the labor movement on Friday and began organizing "Revolutionary People's Committees" yesterday.

The committees were being formed throughout the country, ostensibly to protect government property. The Saigon radio said that 5,000 people in the Saigon area had signed up for duty.

All members of the defeated South Vietnamese mili-

See HANOI, Pg. 2

WASHINGTON STAR 3 May 1975 Pg. 2

Controversial Jet Picked by Navy

By Vernon A. Guidry Jr.
Washington Star Staff Writer

The Navy has selected a design for its new air combat fighter that is likely to encounter serious trouble in Congress and which does not yet have the full approval of Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger.

The Navy yesterday announced it has selected a derivative of the Northrup Corporation's YF17 fighter prototype that will be designated the F18. McDonnell Douglas will be the prime contractor for the Navy version and Northrup will be a subcontractor.

The announcement had been expected, but the acknowledgment that Schlesinger had not approved full-scale development of the plane surprised observers.

UNDER SECRETARY of the Navy David S. Potter said he hoped to have Schlesinger's full blessing within the next few days. Potter said the announcement of contractor selection prior to Schlesinger's full approval was made to avoid premature news leaks and ease the atmosphere so that discussion of the plane's future could be held openly. There already were leaks of the Navy choice.

The selection ended a design competition between Navy versions of the YF17 and the YF16 lightweight fighter prototype produced by General Dynamics. Both planes were built for an Air Force air combat fighter prototype competition which the General Dynamics plane won. The Air Force plans to buy 650 YF16s.

The Navy expects to purchase 600 to 900 of its plane which will be designed as a fighter-bomber.

THE NAVY was under strong pressure to accept a version of the fighter selected by the Air Force. A conference report on the fiscal 1975 defense appropriation bill said future funding of the Navy's air combat fighter "is to be contingent upon the capability of the Navy to produce a derivative of the selected Air Force combat fighter design."

Potter acknowledged that the "Navy selection has the unfortunate property" of not complying with that demand.

Potter said he hopes to sell the plane to Congress, adding "it is perfectly clear this does not meet" Congress' wish that maximum use be made of Air Force's combat fighter technology and hardware.

But before he can sell Congress he must convince Schlesinger, whose reservations were said to center on "black box" electronics for the plane. The question, said Potter, is how much of the electronics in the Air Force version can be used by the Navy.

As far as the basic choice was concerned, Potter said the Navy did not feel it could make single-engine YF16 "carrier suitable," that is, give it a slow enough approach speed and a structural toughness to withstand catapult take-offs and tailhook landings on aircraft carriers. The twin engines of the Navy selection also had greater

See JET, Pg. 2

JAMES KILLINGBECK, CHIEF, CURRENT NEWS BRANCH, OX 78765 HELEN YOUNG, ASSISTANT CHIEF

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NEW YORK TIMES 3 May 1975 Pg. 1

Ford Plans to Visit Spain And Italy to Bolster Ties

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 2—The White House announced today that President Ford on his coming European trip would not only meet in Austria with President Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt but would also visit Spain and Italy to bolster ties with those key Mediterranean countries.

On June 1 and 2, Mr. Ford will confer in Salzburg, Austria, with Mr. Sadat on what are being called crucial talks on the further course of Middle East diplomatic efforts.

Informed diplomats in Cairo say that the meeting between Mr. Ford and Mr. Sadat means that Egypt continues to look on the United States as the main power in the search for a Middle East settlement despite setbacks from the fall of Saigon and the failure of Secretary of State Kissinger's Middle East diplomacy in March.

Mr. Ford is also concerned about stability in the Mediterranean region, particularly in nearby Portugal, Administration officials said today, and wants to reaffirm American ties to Spain, where a leadership change is expected, and to Italy, which is facing severe economic and political problems.

The original purpose of what will be Mr. Ford's first trip to Europe as President was to confer with Western leaders at a meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, in Brussels on May 29 and 30 on ways of strengthening the alliance.

The White House announced today that Mr. Ford would go to Madrid on May 31 and June 1 for talks with Generalissimo Francisco Franco, the chief of state, and other Spanish officials, including Prince Juan Carlos, the designated heir.

Mr. Ford, who will probably meet with Premier Yitzhak Rabin of Israel in Washington later in June, will discuss with Mr. Sadat ways of increasing American economic aid to Egypt.

In Salzburg, Mr. Ford will meet also with the Austrian Chancellor, Bruno Kreisky, before going to Rome on June 3 to confer with President Giovanni Leone and other Italian officials.

During the Rome visit, Mr. Ford will have an audience with Pope Paul VI.

Administration officials said that they knew that the Israelis might resent the decision by Mr. Ford to meet with Mr. Sadat before seeing Mr. Rabin.

They said that to a certain degree this decision was a deliberate sign of Washington's recent coolness toward Israel and its appreciation of Egypt following the breakdown in March of Secretary of State Kissinger's efforts to bring about a new Egyptian-Israeli accord on Sinai.

Mr. Ford and Mr. Kissinger believe that Mr. Sadat was forthcoming in those negotiations and that Mr. Rabin's Government was shortsighted in not accepting a possible package arrangement.

But the Administration officials said there was every intention for Mr. Ford to meet with Mr. Rabin, probably the week of June 8.

Now in the final stages of its own reassessment of policies toward the Middle East, the Ford Administration views Mr. Sadat as a pivotal figure.

Mr. Ford and Mr. Kissinger regard Mr. Sadat as a major force for moderation in the area, without whose support all negotiating efforts would fail. The Salzburg meeting is being described here as important to reaffirm the American appreciation of Mr. Sadat's position.

In addition to various peace moves, Mr. Ford and Mr. Sadat will also discuss future American economic and technical aid to Egypt, now going through an economic crisis.

Mr. Sadat has indicated a desire to orient his economy toward the West and the Administration wants to encourage this process.

Publicly, Mr. Sadat is committed to a reconvening of the Middle East peace conference at Geneva. Mr. Ford will seek to learn whether there is a possibility of a new effort at step-by-step approach before the Geneva conference is called back into session.

White House aides are describing the European trip as Mr. Ford's first significant effort at projecting his own image as a foreign-policy leader. But he will as usual rely on Mr. Kissinger.

Mr. Ford's discussions with Mr. Sadat and Mr. Rabin will have some urgency because of the expiration of the mandates for United Nations peace-keeping forces in late July.

A lack of diplomatic progress by then might lead to a refusal by Egypt and Syria to extend the mandates, a move that would seriously increase tensions in the area.

REFUGEE... Continued

days."

State Department officials said about $103 million for the refugee operation has been available from existing funds —$98 million in unused aid funds for South Vietnam and Cambodia, and $5 million from a special fund for refugees and migration. About $60 million of that has already been spent.

The House rejected Thursday a bill which would have provided $327 million in emergency refugee aid. Many congressmen voted against the bill because of a provision that would have given the President retroactive permission to use troops in the evacuation operation. Some House leaders predicted that a new aid bill, without that controversial provision, could be passed by the Congress.

There has been relatively little response so far to the United States' appeal to other countries to take in some of the Vietnamese. Only Australia, France, and Canada have indicated publicly that they would accept refugees.

HANOI Continued

tary forces were ordered to register with the new regime or face punishment. The radio said that 1,000 officers and men of the former government's navy had surrendered, bringing with them their vessels from an offshore island.

Ships Being Registered

Meantime, a new program was launched to register all ships, and a maritime transport office was set up. Shipowners were ordered to register ocean-going vessels and river craft of 16 tons and over.

The new Saigon government continued to consolidate its administration with the appointment of an 11-member committee for the military management of the capital. Gen. Tran Van Tra, former head of the South Vietnamese Communist delegation to the military talks with the previous government, was named chairman of the committee, the radio reported.

While normal communications were cut for the fourth day in a row, the French Government said in Paris that its embassy in Saigon had reported in a radio transmission that foreign residents were in good health and being well treated. It also said that life in Saigon appeared to be returning to normal.

Production Resuming

Hsinhua, the Chinese press agency, said in another dispatch from Hanoi, that South Vietnamese workers in Saigon, Da Nang, Hue and other cities were returning to their jobs and that factories were resuming production.

The agency also said that electricity plants and water-supply companies in Ban Me Thuot, Pleiku, Kontum, Hue, Da Nang and Nha Trang had resumed operations interrupted by recent fighting.

Apparently, one of the new Government's principal problems will be the provision of jobs for hundreds of thousands of former soldiers. The Saigon radio gave few details about Hanoi's reconstruction program.

But it said that roads were to be built linking the South with northern cities. And it said the North Vietnamese Government was building more hotels to accommodate people in the South who wish to visit Hanoi and other northern cities.

In Jakarta, Indonesia, Chau Phong, the acting head of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front, discounted rumors of a federation of the Indochina states as "nonsense." He also said there was no chance that war could spread to other countries of Southeast Asia.

Mr. Chau said that his Government was following a "good-neighbor policy" and was prepared to have diplomatic relations with the United States if Washington was willing to respect South Vietnam's sovereignty.

Meantime, however, the Saigon radio said that the new Government had condemned the United States for "stealing" aircraft, vessels and other equipment from South Vietnam. It said the Government was urging the United States to return the material immediately from the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore and Taiwan. This was an allusion to equipment used in the evacuation of tens of thousands of South Vietnamese.

JET... Continued

appeal.

WHEN THE Air Force announced its selection in January, it said the YF16 was clearly ahead on both performance and price. Potter said the Navy version of the YF17 would cost 2 to 3 percent more than the proposed version of the YF16. But he said wing and engine improvements to the new version of the YF17 had made its performance comparable to its competitor.

The Air Force plane will cost about $6.7 million a copy. Potter said he could not give specific overall cost on a proposed purchase of 800 planes by the Navy, but agreed to a rough estimate of about $7.8 million a copy for the Navy F18. The surprising manner in which the announcement was made and the acknowledgment that the selection did not follow the wishes of Congress prompted questions about how seriously the program was being pursued. Potter declared the Navy is firmly behind its air combat fighter program.

Some observers have suggested that the Navy was unhappy with the idea and would prefer more F14s, the ultra-sophisticated Navy fighter that carries a price tag of $17.8 million. Potter said it would not.

But, he added, should the air combat fighter program fall through, the most likely alternative would be to buy more F14s.

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WASHINGTON POST 3 MAY 1975

Thai Aide Calls U.S. Immoral

Ties Strained By Saigon's Plane Demand

From News Dispatches

Thailand's foreign minister angrily denounced the United States as a country without morals Friday and vowed to expel all American servicemen within a year as scheduled.

Responding to remarks made Thursday in Washington by Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger about the U.S. "obligation of a moral nature" to defend Thailand, Thai Foreign Minister Chartichai Choonhavan said sarcastically in Bangkok:

"Moral? The United States does not have any morals at this point. They have already pulled out from Cambodia and South Vietnam, so we are going to have to depend on ourselves."

U.S.-Thai relations were likely to be further strained by the demand reiterated Friday in Hanoi and Saigon that "stolen property" including aircraft, ships and gold taken by fleeing South Vietnamese refugees be returned to South Vietnam.

The demand, issued by North Vietnam and the new Vietcong government in Saigon, seemed to be aimed particularly at Thailand, where 129 South Vietnamese warplanes and other aircraft landed early this week during the Communist takeover of Saigon.

Thai Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj said that the planes would be returned to the new Saigon government, but Schlesinger said the U.S.-made planes still belong to the United States under military aid agreements.

Chartichai soft-pedaled the prime minister's statement about the planes. "This a very sensitive subject," he said. "According to the law they belong to us at the moment, but we will have to look into the commitments between the United States and Vietnam."

Thai Defense Minister Pramarn Adireksarn said earlier that the planes cannot be handed over to the Vietcong because documentary evidence shows they belong to the United States. "They must be taken out of Thailand by the Americans themselves," he said. "We cannot return them to the Vietcong."

In his news conference Friday, however, Chartichai contradicted Schlesinger's reference to a U.S. "residual force" remaining in Thailand. "We will carry on the withdrawal and they [the American soldiers] will all be totally gone within one year as stated in our policy and approved by the Parliament," he said. "We insist on doing it."

Meanwhile, normal communications with Saigon were out for the third straight day, and there were no direct reports from news agencies. Radio broadcasts monitored in Bangkok, however, told of rapid developments in the South Vietnamese capital aimed at reorganizing the nation into a Communist state.

Saigon's citizenry was urged by the Vietcong's Liberation Radio to participate in a week long cleanup campaign to remove what a broadcast called "dirty garbage left over by the former government."

Citizens and soldiers were asked to throw away old flags, posters and pictures of former officials, to raise Vietcong flags and revolutionary mottos over streets, houses and buildings and to clear garbage and dirt from the streets and canals.

"Everyone must obey all orders given by the Revolutionary Government because we have a new city, a progressive and revolutionized city," said the broadcast.

Reuter correspondent Bernard Edinger, in Saigon, reported the city was calm.

A brief message from the French-born correspondent —one of three Reuter reporters in the South Vietnamese capital—said he and his colleagues were "safe and working in a relaxed atmosphere," but that they were unable to file news stories because normal communications were broken.

Some correspondents have been able to get some messages and brief dispatches out of Saigon through diplomatic channels of communication.

Diplomatic sources in Bangkok, in radio contact with Saigon, said that all the French nationals who remained in Saigon when the Vietcong took over are safe and well.

Many were said to be living in two centers set up by the embassy at a hospital and a high school where there were supplies of food and medicine. Others were said to have continued living at home without difficulty.

The radio also broadcast a third possible name for the capital of South Vietnam. The Communist leaders had first said Saigon would be renamed Ho Chi Minh City to honor the late Vietnamese revolutionary. Later a hyphenated form of both was suggested—"Saigon-Ho Chi Minh." A broadcast Friday told the capital's inhabitants that the city has been renamed "Uncle Ho the Great."

Diplomatic sources in Bangkok said that the new government is expected to issue entry visas within a week to diplomats representing countries with which it has relations.

Observers believe that such action could mean the restoration of air transport between Saigon and the rest of the world.

In New York, an official of the United Nations said that eight officials of the organization who remained in Saigon were continuing to channel aid from the U.N. Children's Fund and the High Commissioner for Refugees through the Vietnamese Red Cross.

Diplomats and their families based in Laos and Thailand to represent the former Saigon government have applied for political asylum in the United States, a spokesman for the diplomats said in Bangkok.

The diplomats were told their request would be forwarded to Washington, he added.

Hanoi's Vietnam News Agency Friday broadcast what happened when Communist forces seized the Presidential Palace in Saigon Wednesday.

Hanoi's Vietnam News Agency said the recently installed President Duong Van (Big) Minh and other South Vietnamese leaders were waiting, seated in two rows of chairs.

"Gen. Minh stood up and said: 'The revolution has come. You have come. We have been waiting for you since morning to arrange to hand over power,'" it said.

"In a gentle yet firm voice the Liberation Army officer replied: 'Now that the revolution has seized complete power, the former administration has been overthrown. No one can hand over what they have lost.'"

Agence France-Presse reported that the menu for the evening meal was found in a drawer in Minh's desk.

The Vietcong captors then ordered that the defeated authorities should be fed like an army in the field on rice and canned meat.

WASHINGTON POST

4 MAY 1975

Military Pension Change to Be Sought

The Defense Manpower Commission is to recommend to Congress that the cost-of-living adjustment formula for military retirees be changed so that pensions won't increase faster than inflation.

The commission voted Friday to include two recommendations in the interim report it is to present to Congress May 16.

The first calls for a change in the current pension adjustment formula, which over the long term causes pensions to rise faster than the consumer price index.

The second puts forth a specific new formula proposed by commission staff experts.

In presenting the proposed formula, staff member E. N. Devine told the commission it had been adapted with modification from a formula which the Associated Press devised Feb. 16 in a story about the cost-of-living adjustments.

That story detailed how overpayments to both civilian and military retirees under the existing formula could total $100 billion or more by 1990.

Commission calculations since that story appeared have confirmed the estimate of the potential overpayment.

The commission directed that the proposed formula be sent to other concerned government agencies as well. Other proposals to revamp the existing formula are pending in Congress, the Civil Service Commission and the Office of Management and Budget.

The Defense Manpower Commission is halfway through a two-year study of military manpower issues. Although its retirement focus is on the military, the same adjustment formula is used for both military and civilian retirees from federal service.

WASHINGTON POST

4 MAY 1975

Scheel to Visit U.S.

Agence France-Presse

BONN, May 3—West German President Walter Scheel will pay a state visit to the United States June 16 to 19, it was officially announced here today.

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WASHINGTON POST 4 MAY 1975

Marcos Seen Serious on Study of U.S. Links

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Foreign Service

MANILA, May 3—In the past two weeks the conviction has grown steadily among Filipinos and Americans alike that President Ferdinand E. Marcos is serious about his announced "reassessment" of security ties and military base agreements with the United States.

Day after day, Marcos is having more to say in polite but unmistakable language about the "reassessment."

One day he assures foreign investors that a final agreement will be "to the satisfication of both parties" in keeping with the fact that the United States is "a staunch and old ally."

Another day he extols self-reliance in a speech to the Philippine air force, pointing to "the trap of overdependence on other nations, friendly or not" and wondering aloud if South Vietnam would not have been better off to have relied on its own will and strength "rather than on the power and the wealth of another nation."

Inside the government, option studies are underway on the future of Subic Naval Base and Clark Air Base, which are among the largest and most important U.S. installations in Southeast Asia. One of the most interesting ideas being studied is a "pay as you use" plan under which U.S. warships at Subic, for example, would be charged fixed sums each time they pull up to the dock. reprovision themselves or use the extensive overhaul facilities. Subic would become a Philippine-operated industrial and port facility, with the United States one of several potential users.

Such a plan presupposes the early end of the present bases agreement, under which the United States maintains an unfettered lease on the Philippine facilities for 16 more years, until 1991. The United States has openly expressed willingness to renegotiate the bases arrangement, which dates from 1947.

Last Monday, the Philippine Foreign Ministry informed the United States in a diplomatic note of its "understanding" that Vietnamese military personnel or political refugees would not be brought ashore at Subic or Clark and that all Vietnamese evacuees would stay no longer than three days at the United States bases.

As a result of this, the United States suddenly speeded up its airlift of refugees from Clark to Guam, Wake Island and U.S. points and began making plans for the U.S.-Vietnamese flotilla on the South China Sea to bypass Subic Bay if at all possible.

U.S. officials said American warships, military sealift charters and Vietnamese naval craft are likely to stop only briefly at Subic for reprovisioning and adjustment of loads before heading east across the Pacific to Guam. Many of the Vietnamese refugees may be required to remain aboard their ships while these operations take place at the Philippine base.

Some Philippine news services, including the official Philippine News Agency, have carried warnings by the Philippine military liaison officer at Clark that former Vietnamese Premier Nguyen Cao Ky and other senior officials will be detained if they set foot on Philippines' soil.

NEW YORK NEWS 4 MAY 1975

N. Vietnam Warns U.S. To Pull Out of Korea

Tokyo, May 3 (UPI) — North Vietnam said today that the United States must withdraw its troops from Korea or risk an even worse defeat than the loss of Cambodia and South Vietnam to the Communists.

"If the Ford clique does not want to suffer a heavier defeat in Korea and Asia, it must change its policy on Korea and withdraw all its aggression troops and lethal weapons from South Korea at an early date," Hanoi's official Vietnam News Agency said in a broadcast monitored here.

"There can be no pretext whatsoever for the U.S. imerialist aggressor forces to remain in South Korea any longer.

"A Virule ntChallenge"

"The U.S. imperialists' plot to retain their aggressor forces in South Korea and intensify aggressive maneuvers against our country is a virulent challenge and an unpardonable criminal act against the entire Korean people."

The broadcast attacked Defense Secretary James Schlesinger for saying at a Pentagon news conference Thursday that South Korea was a forward defense area of the United States and that U.S. forces would remain there even after the completion of a South Korean arm ymodernization program.

The North Vietnamese called Schlesinger a "nortorious warlord of U.S. imperialism."

WASHINGTON POST
4 MAY 1975

Weapons in Japan

TOKYO—The newspaper Yomiuri Shimbun reported that Japan has agreed to allow the United States to base nuclear weapons here in the event of an emergency affecting either Japan or South Korea.

Quoting a source close to the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, the newspaper said the promise was made by Foreign Minister Kiichi Miyazawa during his visit to Washington last month.

WASHINGTON POST
3 MAY 1975

5 European Lands Ratify A-Curb Pact

United Press International

Five members of the European Economic Community—Belgium, West Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands—became full members of the nuclear nonproliferation treaty yesterday.

The ambassadors of the five countries formally presented their governments' instrument of ratification of the treaty at a ceremony at the State Department.

Their adherence to the treaty brings to 91 the number of countries that are now full parties to the treaty. An additional 17 countries have signed the treaty but have not yet ratified it.

Deputy Secretary of State Robert Ingersoll said that yesterday's events were "an extraordinarily important development in the life of the treaty."

He added: "The treaty now enjoys the support of the world's largest single group of industrial states, states which are numbered among the principal manufacturers and exporters of nuclear equipment and technology and are also among the principal consumers of nuclear energy."

Ingersoll said that the ratification added "significant momentum to the global effort to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and to the goal of nuclear arms control."

NEW YORK TIMES
4 MAY 1975

45 Unwilling Exiles Petition to Go Back To South Vietnam

AGANA, Guam, May 3 (Reuters)—Forty-five South Vietnamese Air Force mechanics, unwillingly exiled from their country when their pilots flew to Thailand last Tuesday at the height of the shelling of Saigon's airport, petitioned President Ford today to let them return home.

The eyes of many of them brimming with tears, they presented a petition to a refugee camp commander here asking the President to, "send us back to South Vietnam as soon as possible no matter what the Communist government has reserved for us."

They said that they were ordered aboard the planes by their officers as shells hit Tan Son Nhut air base and panic-stricken air force families scrambled aboard. They said that they were not aware that the planes were leaving the country, but thought that they were going to air bases further south out of the range of the fighting.

When they arrived at U Taphao Air Base in Thailand, they said, they begged Thai and United States authorities to leave them in small boats near the South Vietnam coast or let them walk across Cambodia.

"But they would not listen to our pleas,' Sgt. Nguyen Van Hien said today at a refugee camp here where all 45 were flown yesterday.

"We lined up and told the Thais to do us a favor and just shoot us because without our families we don't want to live," he said.

M. Sgt. Tien Thanh Thong said that after this they were given a number of shots on the understanding they were getting inoculations. The shots drugged them and they were carried aboard the plane, he said.

Their petition said: "Most of us still have our families in Vietnam and we would not, for any price, wish to live by ourselves in a foreign country."

Some cried openly as they pulled their wallets from their jacket pockets and showed reporters pictures of their wives and children.

Asked what reception he thought he might get from the new Communist government, Sergeant Thong said:

"We are not afraid of the Communists doing bad things to us. Even if we go back and the Communists sentence us to death the one thing we will ask is that they let us see our families before we die."

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EDITORIALS

BALTIMORE SUN - 4 MAY 1975

Vietnamese Refugees

Saigon collapsed just as Congress was writing an evacuation plan requiring that no more U S forces be used than were needed to remove the Americans Any extraction of Vietnamese was to be subordinate to the American evacuation President Ford honored those requirements, in spirit and in letter, even though war in Saigon moved faster than legislation in Washington He apparently personally stopped the ambassador's attempt to stretch the requirements to bring out more Vietnamese His acceptance of congressional intent might have helped bridge the gap his predecessors left between President and Congress, had he appealed promptly for congressional ratification of his action Instead, Mr Ford and his press secretary offered testy answers when asked about legal authority for the action.

That did not take the country back to Nixonian contempt for laws and lawmakers, but it was an unnecessary step in that direction It had a predictable effect on a Congress still smarting from Mr Ford's earlier try at making it a scapegoat for Vietnam's collapse. The House overwhelmingly rejected a bill providing retroactive legitimacy for the evacuation and money for the refugees. The President condemned the House vote as "unworthy," though he seemed to have changed his own mind twice in two days on whether he wanted the bill passed.

What is unworthy is the national spectacle of President and Congress pointlessly bickering over the evacuation as tens of thousands of homeless Vietnamese arrive in the United States. Both branches are in danger of letting a procedural dispute thwart purposes on which all Americans can agree Congress does not mean to deny the refugees help, and a separate bill to help them may yet pass. It is not too late for Mr Ford to ask ratification of the evacuation, perhaps even specifying dates to allay any congressional fear of writing a blank check. He should make that appeal—and Congress should honor it—because what he did was right and deserves a clear legal record. Making the appeal would reaffirm Mr Ford's sensitivity to Constitutional scruples and sound a reassuring echo from days when Presidents like Truman and Eisenhower publicly worried over such legalities. Congressional approval would show the nation its government is united in welcoming homeless Vietnamese.

Those Vietnamese felt their lives threatened by association with Americans or with a government Americans backed Most can have left their familiar world only in deep anguish. Few know what they will find here. Still fewer can have understood circumstances that make their arrival even harder than that of earlier refugees. They come when jobs are scarce, and some voices already protest on that ground. The same association with the American effort that impelled many to leave makes them suspect to some anti-war Americans, who might normally lead this country's natural compassion.

The Vietnamese are few, compared with some refugee movements here or with 400,000 immigrants we accept annually. Not all of them will need jobs. If Congress and President turn from bickering to planning, the refugees can be guided away from the most depressed areas Maryland, where unemployment is less than in many places, can expect significant numbers of Vietnamese, and they will be welcome because they need to be welcome. They will be bewildered by American commonplaces ranging from supermarkets to the idea that rice grows in dry fields. Many will find that complex skills acquired over a lifetime—transplanting paddy rice, or practicing French-style law—no longer help. Some will be incredulous that every child gets free schooling, but few will miss its meaning for their children. Marylanders will find that many of the new neighbors share their fondness for crabs, which Vietnamese serve in countless irresistible ways. That will be only a small sample of how America will be enriched, as it has been by cultural diversity gained whenever it has welcomed the unwanted or endangered of other lands.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
3 MAY 1975

The refugees

Those who are grumbling about the influx of Vietnamese refugees are hardly a credit to their country. They include a good many among the House majority that on Thursday rejected a bill to provide money to care for the refugees [ostensibly because it included a now moot provision authorizing the use of United States troops to evacuate them].

But a few liberal Democrats, never very fond of the Thieu regime, have voiced an underlying complaint that caring for the refugees will take money that should go to our own poor.

This attitude is disgraceful. The grumblers might have been justified in complaining that a good many people got out of Viet Nam who didn't really deserve to and that others who should have been rescued from the Communists weren't. It does appear that a rather motley assortment of prostitutes, grafters, dope peddlers, and distant relatives of deserving refugees muscled their way aboard the evacuation planes and fishing boats, and in the haste and confusion of the evacuation this may have been inevitable. There will no doubt be demands that the evacuation be investigated, and there's no reason to oppose them.

But it also appears that most of the 90,000 or so who escaped from Saigon [or were "forcibly evacuated," according to the inverted jargon of the Communists] fall into one of two legitimate categories. They are either legitimate dependents of Americans who are entitled to enter under existing law and presumably will not become dependent on the government. Or they are former members of the South Vietnamese army or police, former employes of the Saigon government or the American embassy, or members of other "high risk" categories who had worked in collaboration with the United States and who would very likely be executed by the Communists. In view of our part in the war, it would be unthinkable to deny them sanctuary.

These people can't be compared to immigrants who come here illegally simply to earn money to send home. They are more like the Cubans who fled here to escape Castro's Communism—and most of these Cubans have proved intelligent and useful members of the community. Communism, after all, rarely appeals to those who have something to offer only to those who think they deserve more.

NEW YORK NEWS - 5 MAY 1975 (4)

WELCOME THE REFUGEES

There is grumbling—with racial overtones—that the 100,000 Vietnamese refugees will put an added burden on the taxpayer and steal jobs from Americans.

They'll Be Assets

We don't agree in any way, shape or form.

These s e l f i s h, short-sighted complaints are unworthy of our shining tradition of compassion, and are inaccurate to boot.

Many of the refugees have relatives already in the U.S. who will help look after them. They will be dispersed so that no section of the country will b e a r a disproportionate burden.

Probably only 20,000 of them will be looking for jobs. A surprisingly high percentage of these are middle and upper-class professionals we can well use — lawyers, doctors, college teachers.

In welcoming them, we are carrying out our splendid tradition of offering refuge to the homeless and the tempest-tossed.

We succored victims of famine and revolution in the 18th and 19th Centuries—they were our ancestors. We gave haven to those who suffered the Nazi pogroms, those who fled Red tyranny in Hungary and Cuba.

America can easily absorb this wave of immigration and thus reinvigorate herself as each wave in the past invigorated her.

Most of all, we will be fulfilling our destiny, the destiny that Emma Lazarus so hauntingly described in her inscription for the Statue of Liberty:

A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of exiles.

WASHINGTON POST
5 MAY 1975 (4)

Troops in Thailand

BANGKOK—At least 7,000 U.S. troops will be withdrawn from Thailand by the end of July, according to Deputy Prime Minister Pramarn Adireksan.

Meanwhile, Foreign Minister Chatichai Choonhavan denied a local press report which quoted him as saying that half of the 23,000 U.S. troops in Thailand would be withdrawn by the end of June.

From staff reports and news dispatches

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SAN DIEGO UNION - 20 APRIL 1975 (4 MAY)

Defense Priority Vital

Budget committees of the House and Senate are proposing cuts of as much as $5 billion in the $95 billion defense budget submitted by President Ford for 1975-76. Moreover, both the House and Senate versions of the proposed budget still carry deficits exceeding the $60 billion which the President hopes to maintain as a ceiling. Clearly, there may be even greater pressure on defense spending before the 1975 battle of the budget is over.

Congress is following a familiar scenario: if there is a squeeze on funding for social programs, look for "fat" in the defense budget to make up the difference. It is this approach to budgeting in recent years that has been eating into the strength of our armed forces as inflation pushed up the cost of military hardware and the all-volunteer program sharply increased the cost of manpower. The result is that the Soviet Union, which has been beefing up its military power steadily, is approaching a cross-over point which would leave the United States of America confronted for the first time since World War II by a potential enemy with military superiority.

There are staggering implications in the possibility that the Russians could confront the world with an acknowledged superiority in military power. Detente would become a meaningless exercise under such conditions. U.S. leadership in the Free World—especially among nations that consider themselves "non-committed" to East or West—would lose any claim to confidence.

Congress must let go of the idea that the amount it budgets for defense can be determined by how much it wants to spend on something else. Our domestic problems have nothing to do with the range and accuracy of Soviet missiles, for instance, or the number of tanks deployed by Communist armies in Eastern Europe. Such factors, however, determine what is adequate for our defense and the role our armed forces must play in mutual security alliances in Europe and the Far East.

The temptation for Congress to shift resources away from defense again this year is great because of the demand for federal dollars for welfare, unemployment relief and other anti-recession programs. However, this year it is most important that the United States assert its determination to stay militarily strong.

The credibility of the United States as a world power has been seriously shaken by our performance as an ally of Cambodia and South Vietnam. We are trying to assure all those nations which respect our power—including both our potential enemies and our allies who rely on us for their security—that our backing away from a Communist challenge in Southeast Asia is not a portent of the future.

Some historians believe the most significant event of the 1960s was that the United States declined to use its obvious military superiority to turn back a threat to the independent nations of Indochina. It would be disastrous if that is followed in the 1970s by a conscious decision of the United States to forfeit its military superiority to the Soviet Union.

NEW YORK TIMES - 5 MAY 1975 (4)

CAMBODIAN OFFICERS REPORTED EXECUTED

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 4—Administration sources said today that intelligence reports indicated some Cambodian military officers "less than 100—had been executed by the new Government.

An official indicated that the reports were sketchy and said that he could not identify any of the military personnel or the circumstances under which they had been slain.

A White House spokesman said, meanwhile, that he could not confirm a report in the current issue of Time magazine quoting President Ford as informing Republican Congressional leaders of the killings.

"They killed the wives, too," the President said to have told the leaders at a meeting last week. "They said the wives were just the same as the husbands. This is a horrible thing to report to you, but we are certain that our sources are accurate."

Time said 80 Cambodian officers had been executed by the new Government.

NEW YORK TIMES
5 MAY 1975 (4)

Thoughts on Detente

To the Editor:

William Safire's April 14 column, "Ending World War II," gives Americans the wrong picture of the present situation in Europe . was misleading in its emphasis that détente in Europe and the successful conclusion of the European Security Conference are advantageous only to the Soviet Union.

The development of international relations in Europe over the last few years testifies to the fact that the positive changes on the Continent meet the interest of the peoples of both Eastern and Western Europe. Furthermore, the article does not take one very important fact into consideration. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries actually initiated the European Security Conference to improve the European political climate. However, the progress made in promoting détente in Europe is the result of the united efforts by 35 countries, including the United States.

Indeed, could the treaties on the inviolability of existing borders, signed by the U.S.S.R., Poland, the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia with the Federal Republic of Germany, have been possible were they in the interests of the socialist countries alone? Could the conclusion of the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin and the international recognition of the G.D.R. have been possible if these were advantageous only to one faction? Could today's trade exchanges, amounting to many billions of dollars and involving almost all of the Eastern and Western states, be advantageous to only one faction?

Of course, we know that both in the U.S.A. and Western Europe certain forces are attempting to undermine the process of détente. It is a pity that a respected newspaper like The Times should play into their hands.

Thirty years ago, in the long and grim struggle against the aggressor, the Soviet Union played a decisive role. Winston Churchill said, "It is the Russian army that tore the guts out of the German military machine." It is our country that was the main force which blocked German fascism's path to world rule. At the same time, the defeat of fascism was a common victory for the freedom-loving nations of the United States, Britain and others in the anti-Hitler coalition.

If one attempts to relate the "End of World War II" to the European problems of today, I think one must not forget that during the war years countries with different social systems convincingly proved the possibility of cooperation in the efforts to defeat an aggressor. Now such cooperation is perhaps even more important —because it is a question of combining efforts to prevent a thermonuclear war.

VLADISLAV KOZYAKOV

Moscow, April 25, 1975

The writer is a Moscow radio commentator.

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WASHINGTON POST
5 MAY 1975 (4)

Turkish Alert

ANKARA — Deputy Premier Alpaslan Turkes said Turkish troops along the Aegean coast and in Thrace are on alert and are being reinforced to counter an alleged military buildup by Greece.

Turkes reiterated earlier government statements that the Greeks were militarizing the Dodecanese islands off Turkey's southwestern coast. "We are taking necessary security measures," Turkes said.

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER 4 MAY 75

Victims are our responsibility

"They say it's a lot colder here than in Vietnam," a woman said to our reporter, Wendell Rawls Jr., in Fort Smith, Ark., as the military post awaited the arrival of 500 Vietnamese refugees. "With a little luck, maybe the refugees will take pneumonia and die."

Similar views have been expressed elsewhere in the country. In Niceville, Fla., where 1,500 refugees were being placed at an Air Force base, a woman said, "There's no telling what kind of diseases they'll be bringing with them." In Seattle, the city council disgraced itself by voting down a resolution that would have welcomed the fleeing Vietnamese.

In some instances, the views may reflect an honest fear based on a U. S. unemployment rate of 9.1 percent and other national anxieties. Yet if honest, the fear is misplaced. A majority of the refugees are, as immigration officials note, members of families, Vietnamese and American. Leaders of organized labor, sensitive to the job issue, have themselves urged that immigration bars be lifted for these victims of war. A nation of 210 million people can surely assimilate 70,000 or 80,000 more.

In other instances, however, anti-Vietnamese feelings have been a manifestation of a domestic disease — an ugly underside of American life.

It is the kind of prejudice that Irish, Italians, East Europeans and others have experienced when they came to this country, and in the case of the Vietnamese, it is compounded by race prejudice — the atavistic fear of the "Yellow Peril."

Yet this nation has another side — a tradition of compassion for the suffering and asylum for refugees of wars and prejudice abroad—and it is to this that responsible leaders and decent citizens will address themselves.

This nation has a particular responsibility for the Vietnamese, for whatever one may say of our intervention in their country, they are its victims, and they deserve our help. The tragedy of our intervention in Southeast Asia would only be made worse if we as Americans were to turn away from our best instincts and highest ideals.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE 2 MAY 1975 (4)

America's first defeat

Our first concern, in the wake of South Viet Nam's surrender, is how it affects the lives of the people of that country. But in the longer run, the important thing will be how it affects the people of the United States.

For the first time in history, the United States has been on the losing side of a war. But like most wars, it never touched American territory or brought bombing raids to our cities, so it is a defeat which many Americans prefer not to regard as such. It was a sort of voluntary defeat, or default, if you will; to listen to some, you'd even think it was a triumph.

The result has been a tendency to confuse goals and strategy—to conclude that because we stumbled into this war unwisely and handled it abominably, our principles are somehow suspect and our behavior immoral. The next step—and it is already surfacing—is to conclude that because the sacrifices we made for Viet Nam proved in vain, we should reject any commitments that might mean future sacrifices, even where our interests are greater and freedom is more real than was true of Viet Nam.

If the United States were to yield to this new isolationism, it would be the greatest tragedy of the Viet Nam War. Whatever mistakes we made in Viet Nam, and there were plenty, there is nothing wrong in the desire to cooperate with others in the defense of freedom against Communist aggression. Ben Franklin's warning about hanging together or hanging separately was never more applicable.

In the Communist countries, citizens are constantly forced to make sacrifices to further the political goals of their governments—sacrifices in their standard of living, in their freedom of movement and communication, in their access to news, and in many other ways.

It's blind nonsense to think that our own liberty will take care of itself while we sit in our comfortable family rooms watching television reports of whole nations being plowed under by Communist invasion or subversion [between commercials for dandruff remover, detergents, and dog food], while we angle for ways to work less and collect more, usually from the government; and while we demand that the government "protect" us in an ever widening variety of ways.

It is rare today to hear a politician even suggest that the defense of the American way of life may call for sacrifices. Barry Goldwater was excoriated for saying so. It has become widely fashionable to confuse freedom with permissiveness—the freedom to do only what we want when we want, with little thought of others or of the future, and to break promises when we decide they shouldn't have been made.

Certainly military treaties are not the only way or even the best way to deter Communism. Our economic power, exerted thru trade, and the great historic power of example are at least as important. What's more, Viet Nam may not have been the right place to make a military commitment.

But we did make a commitment; we didn't keep it; and in the eyes of much of the world we let down our friends. However we may try to rationalize the unpleasant facts, other countries will judge our remaining and future commitments accordingly. Until we restore confidence in us, our friends will be less willing to take risks in the defense of freedom and the enemies of freedom will be bolder in pressing their demands. And the next challenge is likely to come sooner than we would like, perhaps in Thailand or perhaps in Korea. There is no time for delay in recreating a foreign policy that is viable and persuasive. There is much studying to do in order to avoid another Viet Nam.

The first sound bit of advice comes from Secretary Kissinger himself: that we "be careful about the commitments we make and determined to follow those we do make." We cannot conduct foreign policy by improvisation; it "will have to be sustained over the decades." And since we've learned that the White House cannot pursue a foreign policy that the people and Congress have turned against, this means that our policy must be openly arrived at [in contrast to Viet Nam], indentifiable, and persuasively related to our national interests. Ideals can't just float around in a vacuum; they must be embodied in something tangible if public support is not to wither away at the first sign of danger.

If the American people resign themselves to the feeling that freedom will survive without any effort on our part—with no commitments no risk of sacrifice. Then they will have abandoned the essential ingredient of freedom. In that event there will be little chance of adopting any successful foreign policy and none at all of regaining the confidence of other free countries whose support and cooperation are necessary but who are increasingly uninterested in making any sacrifice themselves — especially since the fall of Saigon. One lesson of Viet Nam is that we can no longer act alone as the world's policeman.

If, on the other hand, we can accept the defeat in Viet Nam without rejecting the principle of collective security for freedom, then there is good reason for hope.

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WASHINGTON POST - 5 MAY 1975 (4)

The Congressional Budget

FOR THE FIRST time in their history, the two houses of Congress have now committed themselves to ceilings on the budget and its deficit. In the case of the House of Representatives, it was an exceedingly close shave. The Democratic leadership was able to carry the budget resolution by only four votes over an unlikely alliance of fiscal conservatives who thought the deficit much too high and social activists who thought it much too low. A precedent of great importance to congressional politics is being hammered out here. The Budget Act of 1974 is beginning to bite. The new process will mean a vast improvement in fiscal legislation, but it won't be confortable for a Congress that is used to voting on appropriations piecemeal—and not voting on deficits at all.

At first glance, it might look as though there were a great storm building up between President Ford and Congress over next year's deficit. On Wednesday, Mr. Ford urged Congress again to hold it down to $60 billion. On Thursday, both houses passed resolutions putting it up in the range of $70 billion. But the longer you look at the difference, the less substantial it becomes.

Take, for example, the money that the federal government gets when it sells off-shore drilling leases to oil companies. The off-shore receipts are always an interesting figure in the budget, because of the peculiar way in which the accounts are kept. These receipts are subtracted from the spending column, rather than being added to the revenue column. If a President wants to hold down the spending total in his budget, one of the more tempting devices is to push up the estimate of offshore lease sales. In his budget last January Mr. Ford said that he expected an unprecedentedly large return of $8 billion from off-shore lease auctions next year. A good many people in Congress think that $4 billion would be a much more realistic figure, in view of the enormously complex environmental and legal issues yet to be resolved. If you agree, then you would also agree that both the spending and deficit figures in the President's budget are understated by $4 billion.

Other examples involve welfare benefits already set by law. Congress thinks that more people are going to be eligible for them next year than the President does. The point here is that this dispute often revolves around economic forecasting, not welfare policy. In the brief Senate debate, one senior Republican, Sen. Henry L. Bellmon of Oklahoma, chided the administration for a "lack of candor" in continuing to estimate its budget deficit at $60 billion and warned Mr. Ford that "he is using figures that will not be borne out by events."

The largest issues now lie not between the President and Congress, but between the congressional budget resolutions and the congressional committees that are going to have to operate under them. It is the first time, remember, that Congress as a whole has attempted to impose limits on the substantive committees before they take up the separate authorization and appropriation bills. The President's budget comes to $355 billion. The House voted for a spending limit of $368 billion. But the estimates of the House's various substantive committees, added together, come to $398 billion. In the case of defense, the President is asking for $94 billion in outlays next year. The substantive committees in the House would increase it by $2 billion. But the House as a whole voted, in its resolution, to hold defense down to $90 billion. Congress can, of course, vote in the course of coming months to raise the appropriation for defense. But it will then have to vote to raise the deficit.

As the roll calls last week showed, a good many congressmen are extremely sensitive about voting for deficits. When the House Budget Committee originally offered the resolution, it set a deficit of $73 billion. The resolution passed only after a considerable exercise of ingenuity on the floor that reduced the fatal number to a round $70 billion.

The question, in the end, is not whether the deficit is big or small, but whether it is rationally related to economic policies that Congress means to pursue. So far the new budget process seems to be off to a good start. It is forcing Congress to think about the impact of the budget as a whole. The votes last week call for federal spending that is somewhat more of a stimulant to the economy than President Ford's budget would be But it is not, on present evidence, dangerously inflationary. If Congress can maintain discipline over its committees through the summer, it may at last produce a strong and coherent alternative to the administration's budget.

NEW YORK TIMES - 5 MAY 1975 (4)

'We Have No Choice'

The antagonistic response of some Americans in and out of Congress to the prospect of granting refuge in the United States to 150,000 Vietnamese seeking asylum here recalls the worst days of McCarranism a quarter century ago. At that time, the late Senator McCarran of Nevada became the odious symbol for all that was ungenerous in the American attitude toward the admission of political and other refugees after World War II. A recrudescent McCarranism is the last thing Americans should want to see today.

The most immediate and obvious way for the Congress to demonstrate that Americans have not lost their moral sense as a result of the Vietnam tragedy is to grant President Ford's urgent request for sufficient funds to meet the expenses of transporting, housing and resettling those Vietnamese refugees who have managed to escape to this country. Senators Javits of New York and Pell of Rhode Island are sponsoring a bill to provide the requisite funds; the ultimate shame of American involvement in the Vietnam war would be the hesitation—or, worse yet, refusal—to accept this much responsibility.

In fact, one of the few shreds of glory that the United States has been able to retrieve from the closing days—or years—of the Vietnam war consists of the success of the tremendous air and sea lift that rescued so many thousands of Vietnamese who had been associated in one way or another with the American involvement.

* * *

The attitude expressed by a few public officials—including Governor Brown of California—and many private citizens to the effect that the influx of Vietnamese is unwelcome because they will take needed jobs from Americans may be understandable but it is unwarranted. As Representative Morris Udall of Arizona has sensibly pointed out, the incoming Vietnamese will comprise a minuscule fraction of the labor force (certainly not more than one-tenth of 1 per cent); they total less than half the number of immigrants normally admitted to the United States annually; they are less than one-fifth the number of Cubans who came here after the Castro revolution. "We have no choice," says Mr. Udall, "except to take them in."

He is right, on the grounds of humanitarianism, of decency and of political freedom—and as much for our own self-respect as for the Vietnamese.

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Weekend Edition - 4 May 1975

FEATURES COLUMNISTS

CHICAGO TRIBUNE - 5 MAY 1975(4)

Aides blame Martin for chaos in Saigon

By Ronald Yates
Far East Correspondent
Chicago Tribune Press Service

ON BOARD U.S.S. OKINAWA—The last days of the American embassy in Saigon were full of confusion and uncertainty and during much of the time Ambassador Graham Martin kept evacuation plans to himself, refusing to divulge them even to Washington, embassy sources have told The Tribune.

"At one point Washington called some of the third echelon people to find out just how many Americans there were in Viet Nam because Martin had not cooperated in sending them an accurate figure," one source said.

Other embassy sources said they feared that Martin had opted to "go down with the ship," and up until the very end was not convinced the city should have been evacuated.

"THAT'S WHY thousands of American's Vietnamese employes are still in Saigon and may face punishment from the North Vietnamese," said one source. "The embassy just waited too long to give evacuation orders."

That the end of America's involvement in Viet Nam was an emotional blow to Martin was obvious to much of the embassy staff which on the day of the evacuation observed Martin walking brazenly out an embassy gate around which were gathered thousands of Vietnamese.

"He said he was going to walk to his home a few blocks away," said one embassy source. "And when a Marine guard told him it was too dangerous, Martin replied he would walk across Viet Nam if he wanted to."

"I THINK the fact that South Viet Nam was dying and dying faster than anybody ever thought it would, created a lot of emotional strain on the ambassador," said one official.

The scene at the embassy a week before the evacuation was one of almost total confusion as even close Martin aides were kept in the dark about evacuation plans, according to one source.

Corrpespondents who asked about the plans were told quite frankly that no one had been told anything about leaving. It was known to them, however, that several hundred embassy dependents had been flown out of Saigon several weeks before.

"AMBASSADOR MARTIN was very nervous and seemed to think there was still some hope that South Viet Nam could hang on if a political solution could be worked out," said one source.

See MARTIN, Pg. 2-F

WASHINGTON STAR - 4 MAY 1975

Ford Eyes Asian Defense

By Jeremiah O'Leary
Washington Star Staff Writer

President Ford's meetngs here this week with the prime ministers of Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Singapore take on new significance in light of the fall of South Vietnam and Cambodia and the shifting power balance in the Far East.

The increasing tendencies of Thailand and the Philippines to put some distance between themselves and the United States in the face of the new situation has prompted Washington to turn its attention to the Five Power Treaty nations: Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Singapore and Malaysia. The main thrust of U.S. policy now, analysts believe, will be to try to develop a new line of defense on the outer periphery of Asia from South Korea, through Japan, Taiwan and the Five Power nations.

BUT THE linchpin of the Five Power allies is the huge Singapore naval base and its oil tank farm. Singapore is strategically located on the Straits of Malacca, which the U.S. Seventh Fleet must use when it passes between the Pacific and the Indian Ocean.

The British are pulling out of their Singapore naval base in April 1976, leaving it in the hands of Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew. And while Washington's strategic planners have no intention of trying to negotiate a takeover of the British base, the United States is extremely eager to have access to it as well as to the vital refueling capacity at Singapore.

Lee, who meets with Ford and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger on Thursday, is reportedly determined to make the base facilities available to all comers, including the Soviet navy. U.S. officials have expected Lee, as the leader of a small nation, to take this position.

For the United States, the prime concern is access to the refueling facilities for extended fleet operations, especially since Congress has refused to permit the Navy to expand its facilities on the Indian Ocean island of Diego Garcia. A New Zealand newspaper has reported that the United States may attempt to work out an arrangement for use of Singapore through New Zealand, America's ally in the ANZUS pact with the Australians.

The difficulty is that both Australia and New Zealand currently have Labor governments which are not eager to be identified with U.S. military moves in the area. Some experts believe the United States can deal directly with Singapore on the refueling question, while others believe it ought to be done in conjunction with New Zealand because of the close ties between Singapore and New Zealand.

THE MEETINGS with Prime Ministers Harold Wilson of Great Britain, Wallace E. Rowling of New Zealand and Gough Whitlam of Australia on Wednesday were set up long before the American departure from Indo-China. Wilson, Rowling and Whitlam, like Lee, are coming to Washington from a meeting in Jamaica of British Commonwealth prime ministers. U.S. officials say the conferences are not a result of the collapse of Cambodia and South Vietnam.

But they concede that the new situation unquestionably adds new urgency to discussions of the relationship between America and the governments of the Five Power Pact.

There is a perceptible acceleration of meetings between U.S. officials and foreign leaders in the near future, with President Ford involving himself personally in most of the meetings both here and abroad.

TOMORROW, Archbishop Makarios, leader of the Greek Cypriots, meets with Kissinger here. This is significant because of the current meetings in Vienna between Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash and his Greek counterpart, Glafcos Clerides. Kissinger is pressing hard for some compromise that will appease the U.S. Congress and bring the two NATO allies back into the fold.

On Thursday also, Kissinger will head the U.S. delegation to the meeting of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States and is expected to spend considerable time at the OAS through the weekend.

Premier Johannes den Uyl of the Netherlands will visit Ford and Kissinger here May 14, and the Shah of Iran makes a state visit to Washington May 15 and 16. The President and Kissinger will go to Europe May 28 for a two-day NATO summit meeting in Brussels, followed by visits to Madrid May 31 and June 1, to Salzburg, Austria, June 1 and 2, for meetings with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and a visit to Rome June 2.

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Weekend Edition -- 4 May 1975
CHICAGO TRIBUNE - 4 MAY 1975

Asian leaders unsure of U.S. commitments

By Robert Kaylor

BANGKOK—Faced with a Communist-dominated Indochina sooner than many of them expected, and unsure of what to do about it, Asian leaders worry whether the United States will live up to other security commitments in the region.

In Thailand, America's last military foothold on mainland Southeast Asia, the government talks about the 350 U. S. warplanes and 25,000 GIs being out within a year. "They all might as well be back in Nebraska eating ice cream if they're not going to do anything," said one official.

In the Philippines, President Ferdinand Marcos says it may be time to reassess a defense arrangement dating to 1951 and warns he is ready to take over giant U. S. Air and Naval bases if necessary.

THAILAND AND the Philippines are members of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization [SEATO] of which the United States is a signatory. The SEATO treaty provides that if one member is attacked the others would react according to their constitutional principles, a vague commitment at best.

In Japan, some members of the ruling party have suggested that the government consider scrapping the anti-militarist policy that has been the basis of the country's foreign relations since World War II. They want the country to be ready to manufacture nuclear weapons because they believe the United States cannot be trusted to live up to its side of the security pact.

Most leaders in this part of the world have long expected that someday they would have to live with a Communist Indochina. But it has come with shocking swiftness. They are far from agreed on the best way to face it.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik says that if Thailand and the Philippines take over American bases in their countries, it will help to achieve stability in Southeast Asia. Officials elsewhere note, however, that Malik's island nation is the farthest removed from Communist Indochina.

The "domino theory" that small nations will topple one after the other is out of favor in much of the world these days. But recent events in Indochina have provoked an upsurge of insurgent activity in the region and for many worried Southeast Asians the theory is very much alive.

In Thailand, which lies along the western flank of Indochina, some senior officials are known to believe that within three years the country may be in a life or death struggle with rebels.

SOME ASIAN leaders voice the hope that after the 1976 election in the United States the impasse between the White House and Congress that blocked further aid to South Viet Nam will be resolved.

"The United States has lost its prestige and its will for the time being," says one Asian figure known and respected around the world. "But it still remains the most powerful nation. It still has the most to offer us and can do the most for us."

This Asian adds, however, that future agreements with the United States will have to be open, not secret, and approved by Congress.

Among themselves the countries most affected by Indochina have formed the five-member Association of Southeast Asian Nations [ASEAN]. But there are bound to be weakneness in any organization of nations that have not always gotten along with each other.

Robert Kaylor is a correspondent for United Press International.

LOS ANGELES TIMES
2 MAY 1975

There is no evidence to indicate a recent worldwide Soviet naval exercise involved a mock nuclear attack on the United States, Navy officials said in Washington. Columnist Jack Anderson reported the exercise began with a simulated Soviet nuclear attack on the United States. The Navy said the exercise concerned itself mainly with anit-submarine, anti-convoy and anti-carrier tactics.

LOS ANGELES TIMES
2 MAY 1975

U.S. Army deserter William Brindle won a last-minute reprieve against being returned to his unit in West Germany when the high court in London granted him leave to appeal Brindle's case is considered by lawyers to be of great importance to other U.S. deserters who are returnable to their units under North Atlantic Treaty Organization commitments. His appeal is due to be heard in about three weeks when the Home Office and American military authorities are expected to be represented.

WALL STREET JOURNAL
5 MAY 1975(4)

Control Data Defense Job

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

MINNEAPOLIS — Control Data Corp. said that its contract with the Air Force is expected to be a "break-even" operation instead of the loss anticipated earlier. Amendment of the contract, which is for development of a large computer-based logistics system, changed the prospect, the company added.

At the end of 1974, Control Data set up a special charge of about $6 million to provide for the anticipated loss.

MARTIN -- CONTINUED

However, embassy sources told The Tribune that the political department of the embassy had informed Martin that there was no hope of any kind of political settlement.

"He just seemed to ignore that advice and it wasn't until most of the people in the political section were told to start working on the evacuation and to stop their political work that it was apparent they would be leaving shortly," one source said.

AS A RESULT of Martin's action, embassy sources charged, the embassy compound on the day of the evacuation was transformed into a horror show with desperate Americans climbing frantically over the high embassy wall while thousands of frightened Vietnamese screamed and shouted in the street.

This correspondent and other Americans wandered for almost an hour in the streets of Saigon before we found the right evacuation pickup point because the embassy had not kept us informed of where we were supposed to go. Some Americans did not get out of the country and were left behind simply because they were not told where they should go to be picked up.

AFTER TAN SON NHUT air base was bombed Monday by the North Vietnamese and shelled early Tuesday morning, Martin ordered his limousine to drive him to the base so he could personally assess the damage.

"Apparently he wanted to see for himself just how bad it was," said one source. "And what was really frightening was that he may have based his recommendation to evacuate on what he saw. If he had seen the wrong things, we might still be in Saigon."

While Martin was driving to Tan Son Nhut, thousands of North Vietnamese troops were entering the outskirts of Saigon. There they paused, almost as if they were waiting for the American evacuation to begin.

"I'M SURE THE NVA [North Vietnamese Army] let us leave because even tho every evacuation chopper received some kind of fire from the ground I had the feeling they could have shelled the hell out of the embassy and shot down several choppers if they really had wanted to," said one source.

"But what makes many of us who worked at the embassy angry is that Martin took numerous calculated risks that he didn't have to take and in that way endangered the lives of every American being evacuated," the source added.

"In fact," he source continued, "as far as I am concerned the blood of the two Marines killed by shelling at Tan Son Nhut on the morning of the evacuation is on Martin's hands."

FORMER EMBASSY employes have hinted that there should be a Congressional investigation into Martin's handling of the evaucation and that they would be willing to testify at such a probe.

"There was no reason for us to wait until the last possible moment to leave," said one source. "By doing that those two Marines at Tan Son Nhut were killed, more than 1,000 Americans lost most of their property because they couldn't take it with them, and Vietnamese who were supposed to get out didn't."

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WASHINGTON STAR 4 MAY 1975

CARL T. ROWAN

Have We Learned Anything?

What a humiliating way for two decades of U.S. involvement in Vietnam to end.

With a new "leader" of the people for whom we sacrificed so much ordering us out within hours, and with the enemy we fought so long pounding on the doors of Saigon, we hustled our last citizens out in a panicky helicopter retreat. Then the South Vietnamese surrendered.

It is inescapable that for a long time we shall ask ourselves and each other some painful questions about this military debacle and human tragedy.

Did the leaders of North Vietnam really sense something about our national character when they boasted a decade ago that the North Vietnamese were prepared to fight for 10 or 20 years, but that the American people would not have the stomach to sustain a long struggle? What was it that kept the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese so highly motivated, even in the face of merciless bombings, when there was no comparable fervor on the part of South Vietnamese troops? Is it a simple matter of the Communist forces truly believing that they were liberators, throwing out the last of the foreigners, whereas the South Vietnamese troops always had a gut feeling that they were defenders of an older order in which outsiders and their wealthy, corrupt Vietnamese lackeys controlled everything?

We can abuse ourselves and each other for a generation and longer with such questions about the who and why of Vietnam. But the only meaningful question in the long run is: What have we learned, if anything?

World politics changed empires profoundly during the 20 years or so that we were thrashing around in Indochina.

- As old colonial empires were dissolved, dozens of new nations entered the United Nations, wiping out a political dominance the United States once enjoyed there. Americans are faced with the question of whether to woo these often-exasperating "third world" countries or to adopt a posture of haughty disgust and say, "To hell with them and the United Nations."
- Latin Americans, who a generation ago could be counted on to side with the United States in most any major international dispute, have become intensely independent and sometimes harshly critical of their giant neighbor.
- With much of the world's vital raw material (bauxite, rubber, petroleum, tin) no longer controlled directly by European colonial powers, the United States' economic well-being is far more dependent on her bilateral relations with new, small nations.

Consider Latin America alone. Our troubles there are serious, and they involve much more than Cuba's move to communism, Chile's drift first into Marxism, then right-wing dictatorship, or Peru's defection from the solidly pro-U.S. bloc.

Not just Latin leftists but even Latin oligarchists, dictators and autocrats are angry over the recent trade bill which they

(SEE LEARNED.....Pg. 4-F)

BALTIMORE SUN 4 MAY 1975

Joseph Kraft

The Fall of South Vietnam Need Not Spell Disaster for U.S.

Washington.

Most people here and abroad long ago discounted the possibility of anything but an American setback as the eventual outcome in Southeast Asia. Bad as the scene was, accordingly, the surrender in Saigon does not have to spell prolonged trouble.

On the contrary, a terrible burden has finally lifted from the United States, thus presenting an opportunity for a more effective policy in areas that truly count. So the end in Vietnam could mean deliverance or disaster—and which one depends on the behavior of American officials.

One encouraging portent is the state of domestic opinion. Americans have been steeling themselves against the unhappy ending for months. By huge majorities, the Congress, acting at the clear direction of the country, has repeatedly resisted appeals for more military aid to Southeast Asia. Because previous American efforts were so ample: because the majority against throwing good money after bad was so broad, and because the pseudo-commitments of Mr. Nixon were so illegitimate, it will not be easy to finger any particular group as responsible for defeat.

Nor does there have to be a turning inward in disgust on a scale that would justify that dirty epithet, neo-isolationist. Whether in corporations, unions, farms, universities or government, whether as investors, consumers, travelers, students or policymakers, Americans are bound by hoops of steel with foreign lands. Having liquidated the primary source of division in foreign policy, Americans can realistically think of rebuilding the consensus about national security which marked pre-Vietnam days.

The foreign outlook is not worse. A few countries—Thailand, the Philippines and perhaps Singapore—will have to scramble to undo the opportunism which made them strive to be No. 1 boys for Lyndon Johnson or Richard Nixon in times past.

But the most important Asian countries—notably Japan which has diplomatic relations with North Vietnam and a working aid program—have already made adjustments to the new reality without fraying American ties. The European allies, and most of the countries of Africa, Latin America, the Near East and South Asia, are going to find it easier—not harder—to reach common ground with the United States now that Vietnam, a prime source of discord, is out of the way.

The more so as the Communist world is showing unexampled restraint about events in Southeast Asia. The Russians and Chinese—pushed years ago by the desire for rapport with Washington into an awkward stance toward Hanoi—now sound almost neutral. Note, for example, the miraculously dispassionate rhetoric of Tass, the Soviet news agency, in announcing the surrender: "A most dangerous seat of international tension has been liquidated."

In these conditions, the fear of great new danger seems highly exaggerated. The talk of Communist assaults on Thailand, South Korea or Formosa, in particular, ignores the military and political realities—not to mention the cool relations between China and Russia.

In the Middle East, the Israelis will perhaps be even more suspicious about settling with the Arabs on the basis of an American guarantee. But the true lesson, and one which the United States can now drive home to the Israelis, is that over-persistence does not pay off; that it makes sense to settle with the Arabs now, before the tide of their power swells in a way that will belittle the surge of Communist strength in Southeast Asia.

The unfinished business of detente with Russia can plainly go forward more safely than before. Washington no longer has to pay Moscow exorbitant fees—such as the wheat deal—for a hands-off policy in Vietnam.

Perhaps most important, there is a chance for some steady and serious high-level attention to a prime international problem which the United States has been pleased to ignore. That is the international economic problem, engaging recession, inflation, gyrating commodity prices, uncertain currency rates and, in some case, national bankruptcies.

But America's influence in the world can be made whole again if there is a truce in the guerrilla war now waging between the executive and the Congress. Some reponsibility for more reliable performance surely devolves upon the Congress. But the key lies with the Secretary of State. The future of the American role requires that he be more explicit about his purposes, that he confide in more than a few subordinates, that he allow some others to play some hands, that he cease blaming whatever goes wrong on others, that he take economic issues and libertarian causes more seriously. If he cannot make these changes, he has become more a part of the problem than of the solution, and he should draw the consequences.

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NEW YORK NEWS 4 MAY 1975

Grim Lessons of Vietnam: Will We Remember?

By JERRY GREENE

Washington, May 3—It is doubtful that more than a few political or military leaders here or elsewhere will learn or remember any of the lessons that America's disaster in Vietnam is supposed to hold for future guidance.

If the statesmen and generals of oncoming generations do profit from the mistakes, it will be the first time in anybody's history that such had been the case after a frightful war.

But certain self-evident truths are currently receiving grave consideration at the Pentagon, and some military types are hoping that the State Department and the White House will take due note of at least one of them: If it is not absolutely necessary for survival, the U.S. should not get into another war in this century, and never again without overwhelming public support.

CAPITOL STUFF

No More Token Warfare

A corollary hope heard frequently is that should war come again, American forces would not be fed in piecemeal but thrown in full blast with the intent to stay.

Perhaps a detailed analysis of past wars might provide some suggestions for improvement in diplomatic technique or military operations resulting from experience gained the hard way. If so, the positives would be far outweighed by the negatives.

The record of the Korean War is replete with blunders. For all the prideful histories, memoirs and biographies that have poured off the presses in the victorious Allied nations, World War II was packed with errors, mistakes and misjudgments. World War I's record was worse, and only in recent years have we learned that faulty coal bunkering—not an enemy mine—apparently blew up the battleship Maine to trigger the Spanish-American War.

The Cue From Mao

During Vietnam, some politico-military strategists around the White House went ape over the discovery of guerrilla warfare, making the sayings of Chairman Mao required reading—all that stuff about fishes in the sea when they meant fighting men surrounded by a friendly and supporting civilian populace.

The enthusiasts had forgotten that Chairman Mao apparently borrowed much of his thought from a U.S. Marine Corps field manual issued 40-odd years ago, an instruction book written from experience in Central America. Guerrilla operations are as old as warfare; they were used extensively in the American Revolution, even around Brooklyn.

Here We Go Again

The military leaders of course will be trying, in the immediate future, to apply the tactical lessons of the Vietnam battlefields in planning for the future and in training of a post-Vietnam generation of troops. It takes a while to forget; combat characters who have been shot at usually remember a little longer and better than the statesmen.

But eventually human nature will exert itself and it will be back to the old routine, differing only as necessity dictates as a result of advanging technology.

It is technology that will assure one change, however, when and if war comes again. Like Vietnam, the next one will be played out in prime time television back home.

Vietnam was the nation's first televised, uncensored war and for all practical purposes, censorship is dead. Censorship can keep bad news from the homefolks as well as military secrets from the enemy.

But the feeling is strong, and growing, among the military, that in any new war the fighting forces should let it all hang out, that the civilians back home might as well become paritcipants to the fullest electronic extent possible.

Last Days of Censorship

Interestingly enough, Maj. Gen. Gordon Hill, chief of information for the Army and a veteran of Vietnam, is a leading advocate of the idea that censorship should be abolished. He thinks that because of mobility and modern communications it would be impossible to impose censorship and that hiding the harsh realities in today's world would serve no useful purpose.

Gen. Hill thinks that essential military information could be safeguarded by cooperative ground rules, as in Vietnam. Naturally, some generals oppose the thought, insisting that censorship could be vital in a nuclear war.

It is safe to say that in a nuclear war people would do what they had to do to survive—those left after the initial explosions of incoming ICBMs.

(LEARNED....CONT'D.)

say adds more "Hickenlooper amendments" under which Latin American countries can be punished economically if they are naughty politically.

Rodolfo Silva, the new ambassador from Costa Rica, said to me recently: "There have been three periods of genuine hope in Latin America — when Roosevelt declared his 'Good Neighbor Policy,' when Kennedy announced his 'Alliance for Progress' and when Kissinger proposed a 'New Dialogue.' The 'new dialogue' ended before it was begun."

Have we learned from Vietnam that tanks and bombers cannot save a situation once we let a whole nation, or even a continent, come to believe that we stand for unjust exploitation?

Are we now ready to turn some of our attention and resources toward those peoples on whom we have lavished mostly neglect and indifference in recent years? The answers hold the key to this country's future position in a sharply-reordered and still-changing world.

WASHINGTON STAR 2 MAY 1975

Ford, Tunisian Premier Confer on Mideast

President Ford reaffirmed during an hour's meeting yesterday with Tunisian Premier Hedi Noura his determination to avoid a stalemate in Middle East peacemaking efforts.

Noura plans to visit Atlanta, New York, Chicago and San Francisco.

WASHINGTON STAR 2 MAY 1975

Jackson Stalks Secret Commitments

Sen. 'henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., has renewed his demand that Congress be given "all documentation" relating to private commitments by former President Richard M. Nixon to South Vietnam President Nguyen Van Thieu.

"It is a grotesque and dangerous situation when the Congress and the people of the United States have to rely on foreign officials to reveal in their own time and for their own purposes vital communications," Jackson said yesterday.

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Weekend Edition -- 4 May 1975

Treaty Conference to Open

WASHINGTON POST 5 MAY 1975 (4)

A-Bomb Proliferation Feared

By Thomas O'Toole
Washington Post Staff Writer

"Some years ago," President Muammar Qaddafi of Libya siad earlier this year, "we could hardly procure a fighter squadron. Tomorrow we will be able to buy an atom bomb and all its parts. The nuclear monoply is about to be broken."

Now, as the first Review Conference on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty opens in Geneva, nuclear weapons experts fear that Quaddafi may be half right: while atomic bombs are not for sale like jet fighters, the day of the nuclear monoply may indeed be over.

The monopoly was first cracked a year ago by India, and fears are rising that India will soon detonate its second atomic bomb, possibly before the year is out. If that occurs, Pakistan is expected to follow —and if that happens, others will not be far behind.

"The real monster down the road is nuclear proliferation," said a senior State Department official who asked not to be identified. "It is so far down the road that people can't get terribly serious about it, but I think it is inevitable that there will be three or four new nuclear powers in the next 10 years."

Ironically, this kind of pessimism is being voiced at a time when, on the surface, things look the brightest they have in years. he Euratom countries —Italy, West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, which share their nuclear technology—last week ratified the non-proliferation treaty, which prohibits their bearing nuclear arms. Japan is expected to ratify soon.

All this was orchestrated to open the first review conference for the NPT, which begins today in Geneva. The conference is expected to run the month of May, during which every effort is to be bent to bring into the fold the 17 countries that have not ratified the treaty and the more than 30 countries that have not even signed it.

The NPT prohibits the spread of nuclear weapons, limiting them to those countries that already possessed them in 1968 when it was signed by the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain.

France, China and India also have the bomb but have not signed the treaty.

What worries disarmament experts is that, while the Euratom countries have ratified the treaty and Japan is about to, there may be a move afoot by two or three countries of the Third World to disavow the non-proliferation treaty.

Nobody mentions any names, but intelligence sources say they wouldn't be surprised to see at least one and possibly two Third World nations withdraw from the treaty during this month's review conference.

"And if anybody pulls out of the NPT, there will be a flood of countries pulling out," one source said. "The world has changed since the 18th of May (the day India exploded its first nuclear bomb last year), and other countries now see the bomb as a way of expressing their natialism and their sentiments about things, all at the same time."

In addition the astronomical price of oil has eliminated it as an energy source for all but the richest nations, and even they are turning to uranium for their electrical supply.

An estimated 15 nations now have nuclear power, a number that will double in five years and triple in 10.

The nations having nuclear power or about to have it include some with large armies which fear they may have to use armed force someday, notably Korea, Iran, Pakistan, Israel, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Argentina and Brazil.

It's true that nuclear power doesn't mean nuclear weapons, but it's a step closer. Another step is the reprocessing chemical technology that makes possible the extraction of plutonium from spent uranium fuel, a technique used by everybody but the Chinese to fashion there first atomic bomb.

Few reprocessing plants are operating anywhere in the world yet, partly because of bugs in the machinery and partly because there isn't enough spent uranium around to need reprocessing.

Meanwhile, spent fuel is being stored in large tanks on the sites of the power plants.

But the time is fast approaching when the spent fuel will have to be reprocessed, if only to avoid having giant radioactive storage farms next to every nuclear plant.

Also reprocessing is economical, since plutonium removed from spent fuel can itself be used as a nuclear power source.

Korea and Iran have already approached the United States, asking for licenses to build their own reprocessing plants. Argentina is insisting on its own reprocessing plant if it is to buy any more nuclear power plants from the United States. Brazil feels the same way, if only to avoid the embarrassment of having to ask Argentina to reprocess its fuel at some future date.

This poses a dilemma for the United States, which can refuse to sell reprocessing plants abroad. If it does, it must agree to reprocess spent fuel from overseas, meaning the United States would become the world's garbage dump for the residual atomic waste left by the process.

"The way to do it is to have fuel reprocessing plants built in a relatively few locations of the world," Mason Willrich, professor of law at the University of Virginia, told the Senate Government Operations Committee, whose members are sponsoring a bill to put limits on nuclear export.

"These facilities would be multinationally owned, subject to international inspection and would be large enough to meet the needs of nuclear power plants throughout an entire region of the world."

India showed the rest of the world how to get an atomic bomb on its own. Back in 1960, Canada built a research reactor in India. This reactor produced about 22 pounds of plutonium every year, though it was locked up in the spent uranium fuel. Canada had no safeguards for the plutonium, just the uranium.

With a little French help, India built its own plutonium extraction plant. It used the first 25 pounds of extracted plutonium for its first bomb. It now has about 220 pounds in storage, enough for 10 more bombs. India is building at Madras two huge power plants, which themselves will produce 240 pounds of plutonium every year.

Intelligence sources believe India will detonate a second bomb soon, possibly before the year is out. India's first bomb won it a lot of self-esteem.

A second will win it even more, sources say, as well as convince Pakistan once and for all to duplicate the Indian experience.

NEW YORK TIMES 5 MAY 1975 (4)

Mushrooms for Dinner

By Stuart Symington

WASHINGTON—On April 2, the news media reported that an Argentine legislator had introduced a bill calling for his Government to develop nuclear weapons. This was a clear indication of the pressures on a growing number of governments to "go nuclear."

The possibility that nuclear weapons may soon be in the hands of many more governments—as well as terrorist or criminal groups—is one of the gravest security issues facing the United States.

Our nuclear forces, upon which we place our main reliance to deter any major would-be aggressor, were not planned to protect us in a world in which nuclear-armed groups abound. But such a world is now close on the horizon.

Economic costs and technical restraints are no longer decisive factors in preventing other countries or nongovernmental groups from acquiring various types of nuclear explosive devices.

Furthermore, respected nuclear physicists tell us that between 100,000 and one million people throughout the world now have the basic information necessary to assemble nuclear weapons.

Today more than 50 countries have nuclear reactors. Not including the five nuclear powers—the United States, Soviet Union, Britain, China and France—as well as India, which recently exploded an atomic device, about 30 countries currently possess weapons quantities of plutonium that could be used in a bomb development program.

Enough plutonium has already been produced in the nuclear plants of these 30 countries to build some 9,000 nuclear weapons, each with the same destructive power as the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. And five years from now that number is projected to reach 50,000.

Moreover, half of these same 30 countries, plus two of the nuclear powers (France and China), have refused to ratify the 1970 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which forbids the acquisi-

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Weekend Edition -- 4 May 1975

NEW YORK TIMES 4 MAY 1975,

U.S.S. Nimitz, the Navy's Newest and Biggest Vessel

By DREW MIDDLETON
Special to The New York Times

NORFOLK, Va., May 3—The U.S.S. Nimitz, at 95,000 tons the largest aircraft carrier ever built, was commissioned into the Atlantic fleet today with President Ford as godfather.

When she has taken aboard an air wing of approximately 100 tactical aircraft, the Nimitz will be not only the largest but also the most powerful surface warship in the world, according to Navy sources. Powered by two nuclear reactors, she is designed to operate for 13 years without refueling.

The carrier, which will probably be deployed in the Mediterranean, also represents, with her aircraft, a $1-billion-plus bet by the Navy that, in war, attack carriers with their attendant destroyers and protective aircraft will survive attacks from the submarine and cruise-missile armed surface ships in whose construction the Soviet Navy has specialized.
of nuclear-powered guided-mis-

The Nimitz is also the largest symbol of the "new Navy" that is slowly replacing older surface ships and submarines, some of them of World War II vintage. She is the first of a class of three ships and the first nuclear carrier to be commissioned since the Enterprise in 1961.

The other ships of the Nimitz class are the Dwight D. Eisenhower, which will probably be commissioned in the middle of 1977, and the Carl Vinson, scheduled for service in 1980.

These nuclear carriers will be escorted by a new class of nuclear-powered guided-missile frigate, the first of which, the California and the South Carolina, have been commissioned.

Navy sources say that with such frigates in service with nuclear-powered carrier task forces the United States "will have the capability to deploy these forces on very short notice to any spot in the world to react to any situation that calls for the application of this type of pressure."

The Virginia class of three frigates with approximately the same characteristics as the California will be commissioned this year and next, providing similar protection for carrier task forces.

Modernization Program

The modernization program includes 30 Spruance class destroyers driven by gas turbines, 12 nuclear-powered attack submarines of the Los Angeles class and the Pegasus class of patrol hydrofoil missile ships armed with the Harpoon, the Navy's most formidable anti-ship missile.

With Navy ship strength lower than at any time since before Pearl Harbor in 1941, the modernization program has had to concentrate on quality to balance the rapidly expanding Soviet navy.

The program, a senior officer said, is not intended to "replace ships on a one-for-one basis" but to introduce new classes of ships "that are significantly more capable than their predecessors and that are designed to respond to an increasingly complex range of missions."

The program is expensive. The Nimitz, with her aircraft, cost approximately $1-billion; her sister ships will probably cost more. The Trident nuclear-powered, ballistic-missile submarine is expected to cost about $1-billion with the first of the class expected late in this decade.

Priority was given to combat ships. Modernization of support vessels has lagged and there will be more than 50 World War II ships of this type in the active fleet by the end of the fiscal year 1977.

32-Ship Plan Urged

The Navy has proposed a 32-ship building program beginning this year that will include 10 fleet oilers, five destroyer tenders, two submarine tenders, two ammunition ships, three combat stores ships and 10 ocean tugs.

The American concept of surface sea power, senior officers concede, has not changed since 1945. American naval strength remains based on attack carriers despite the advent of a Soviet undersea and surface fleet that naval intelligence believes was designed with the elimination of American carriers in mind.

"The United States is putting all her naval eggs in one basket," a British admiral remarked recently, "and a very expensive basket it is, too."

The survivability of the modern carrier in conventional or nuclear war is one of the most hotly debated issues in naval strategic thinking.

Advocates of the attack submarine and the cruise-missile armed surface ship argue that "the potential adversary," meaning the Soviet Union, would deploy so many of these vessels that at least one, but probably more, would be able to launch ruinous attacks on carriers.

Admirals Reply

The carrier admirals, who retain a dominant position within the Navy, have a series of answers. One is that the carrier's protective forces on the surface or in the air would be able to cope with either submarines or surface ships because of the increased sophistication of detection devices and long-range weapons systems.

Another is that the new American attack submarines are the best answer to Soviet submarines and that, in company with aircraft such as the F-14 Tomcat and the new nuclear-powered frigates, they would be able to minimize attacks on carriers.

Finally, it is argued, that carriers over the years have proved to be very durable warships capable of sustaining direct hits or serious accidents without serious interference to their fighting capabilities. Survivability under nuclear attack, it was conceded, is a different problem.

The Nimitz-class carriers have another attribute—speed. The Navy says they will move "in excess of 30 knots" but foreign navies regard this as a gross understatement. The Nimitz's nuclear reactors can operate for 13 years, the equivalent of steaming 800,000 to 1 million miles, before refueling. The energy equivalent in fuel oil is estimated at 426 million gallons.

A Small Island

The Nimitz's proportions are those of a small island. She has an over-all length of 1,092 feet and an extreme breadth of 252 feet. The flight deck covers about four and one-half acres. There are accommodations aboard for 6,282 although her complement will be about 300 officers and 5,400 enlisted men.

She has four aircraft elevators and four catapults. The latter are controlled by a new system. Two bubble-topped control centers stand ready under the flight deck and are elevated to it to fire the catapults.

After commissioning, the Nimitz will go to sea for a brief period for testing her flight deck and electronic gear. She is expected to sail for the Guantánamo Bay naval base in Cuba in July to conduct qualifications and readiness exercises for from six to eight weeks.

In the autumn the Nimitz will return to Norfolk for minor repairs and modifications and in 1976 she will sail on her first deployment, probably with the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean.

MUSHROOMS -- CONTINUED

tion or distribution of nuclear explosive devices.

Growing worldwide diffusion of nuclear technology and fuel also increases the opportunity for theft and usage by terrorist and criminal groups. We should be especially concerned with the possibility of piracy of nuclear materials in transport, or in a foreign country where security measures might not be as effective as in the United States.

It is not inconceivable that an international black market in stolen nuclear materials—possibly complete nuclear weapons—could develop.

What can be done to prevent the cancer of nuclear weapons from spreading throughout the world? Here are some suggestions:

● When the parties to the non-proliferation treaty meet in Geneva next month to review its operation, the Ford Administration should avail itself of this key opportunity to help shape policies necessary to gain additional membership in the treaty and strengthen its safeguards.

● In order to tighten control over nuclear materials, countries supplying nuclear fuel should carry out a comprehensive plan for the enrichment, reprocessing and/or leasing of world fissionable materials, and should not supply any nuclear materials to nations that have not agreed to accept International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards on all their nuclear programs.

● The International Atomic Energy Agency should be empowered to develop and supervise security arrangements designed to protect nuclear materials from theft. At a minimum, the agency could exercise periodic surveillance over nationally-operated security systems.

● Until such adequate safeguards and security arrangements have been developed, nations supplying nuclear materials should put a freeze on the further reprocessing of plutonium.

● To discourage non-nuclear nations from embarking upon nuclear weapons programs, the nuclear powers should make a concerted effort both to put an end to their own arms race and to provide security assurances to non-nuclear states that nuclear weapons will not be used against them. At a minimum, the former effort would require the United States and the Soviet Union to negotiate various types of reductions in nuclear weapons.

We must learn to handle the growing danger of this nuclear proliferation before it handles us.

Stuart Symington, Democrat of Missouri, is a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and chairman of the Military Applications Subcommittee of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee.

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WASHINGTON STAR 2 MAY 1975 Weekend Edition -- 4 May 1975

Missile Pact Floundering On Numbers

By Henry S. Bradsher
Washington Star Staff Writer

Soviet-American efforts to convert the Vladivostok agreement on strategic nuclear weapons into a binding treaty will recess shortly in deadlock on the main issue of verifying numbers of missile warheads, according to senior administrations officials.

After three months of negotiations in Geneva, the two sides are unable to agree on how to count missiles in the limit of 1,320 that can have multiple independently targeted warheads.

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger has said that the issue is one on which the United States is "going to be adamant and will not yield, which is non-negotiable...." The Soviet Union is not yielding, either.

THE ADMININSTRATION feels that useful clarifictions have been worked out in Geneva on the agreement which President Ford and the Soviet Communist party's Secretary-General Leonid I. Brezhnev made at Vladivostok last Nov. 23.

Congressional critics found the hastily written agreement to be vague in its restriction on the arms race and too high in its overall limit of 2,400 strategic weapons systems for each side, including the 1,320 missiles with multiple warheads.

The central issue of verifying that a treaty is being observed now requires further top-level decisions. The Geneva talks which began Jan. 30 will recess for an indefinite period to permit direct contacts between Washington and Moscow.

SENIOR OFFICIALS here expect Kissinger to meet with the Soviet Ambassador to Washington, Anatoly F. Dobrynin, to try to work out the verification problem. How soon that will happen is unclear.

Kissinger might have to go to Moscow to deal directly with Brezhnev, the officials suggested, as was needed before the original Strategic Arms Limitation Agreement — SALT I — in 1972 and before the Vladivostok meeting.

Such a trip is, in any event, expected to occur before Brezhnev comes to the United States. His visit is now tentatively scheduled for September or October, but its timing is at least partly dependent upon reaching agreement to sign an arms treaty.

THE PLAN is to have Brezhnev and Ford sign the new treaty — SALT II — which the negotiators have been trying unsuccessfully to get written.

Senior officials here think that the Soviets are under more pressure than the Ford administration to get a treaty signed this year, and therefore might be willing to compromise on verification.

The official reasoning is that Brezhnev wants to wrap up the treaty as a personal triumph before a Communist party congress meets next February. Brezhnev, who at the age of 68 is in poor health, might retire then or shortly after.

An additional factor, officials think, is that the party congress will consider the next Soviet five-year economic development plan. Armaments programs are a critical element in deciding on economic priorities for the five-year period, with a SALT II treaty making possible larger allocations to civilian programs such as agricultural improvements to which Brezhnev is committed.

ASIDE FROM Soviet political and economic factors, there are American political reasons for Moscow to want to conclude a treaty this year, U.S. officials feel.

They say it would be unlikely that during a presidential election year here any treaty could be concluded because it would be too controversial on Capitol Hill.

Therefore, if the Soviets miss this chance, a treaty might not be possible until 1977. Such a delay would eliminate much of the money-saving possibilities of checking the arms race which the Vladivostok agreement was supposed to offer.

Despite this reasoning in high administration circles, officials concede that the obstacles to getting a treaty signed are considerable.

AFTER THE AMERICAN and Soviet delegations in Geneva each presented in February a draft treaty based on its interpretation of the Vladivostok agreement, three main areas of conflict emerged.

One was whether the Soviet Backfire bomber would be counted as a strategic weapon within the overall limitation of 2,400. The second was whether U.S. bombers equipped with long-range cruise missiles would be counted.

The third point — the one that senior officials say is the heart of the problem — involves what to count within the limitation of only 1,320 missiles with multiple warheads, or MIRVs.

Kissinger said after the meeting in Vladivostok that "we cannot accept their assertion that a missile they have tested as a MIRV isn't MIRVed....

"THE ONE PRINCIPLE on which we're going to be adamant and will not yield, which is non-negotiable, is that any missile that has been tested with a MIRV mode successfully, I mean if they've run five or six tests, will be counted as a MIRVed missile when it is deployed," Kissinger said.

Three new Soviet missiles are involved. They are the SS17, which American experts believe can carry four warheads; the SS18 with five to eight warheads; and the SS19 with four to six warheads. All have a range of more than 5,500 nautical miles.

The deployment of MIRVed SS17 and SS19 missiles in launching silos requires silo modifications that U.S. reconnaissance satellites could see, and therefore this country could tell whether to count them in the 1,320.

BUT THE HUGE new SS18, whose ability to deliver a 15,000 pound nuclear payload of warheads dwarfs any American missile, is the unknown in any verification arrangement.

Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger said Jan. 14 that the United States had "confirmed evidence" that the Soviet Union had begun deployment of SS18 missiles. Since SS18s have been tested with eight large MIRVs, this country will count all deployed SS18s within the 1,320 limit, Schlesinger said.

Kissinger said earlier that this basis of counting had been put to the Soviets at Vladivostok. "They have never rejected it. They've also never accepted it."

But in Geneva the Soviets have recently refused to agree that a whole class of missiles like the SS18 should be counted against their 1,320 limit just because of tests.

"If they reject the verification formula," Kissinger said in December, "unless there is enormous ingenuity in which we come up with another one, I really wouldn't know where to begin.

"I think if they reject verification it will be very hard to conceive how there can be a deal," he added.

THE PROBLEM NOW, five months after Kissinger made that statement, is to find a way around the Soviet rejection in order to break the deadlock in negotiations on a treaty.

Kissinger added last December that, "if we find out by next April that they are stalling on verification...because they won't agree to really the only reasonable inspection system that can be designed," then the administration would have a much better chance of getting additional armament money out of Congress.

So far, however, the administration has not publicly accused the Soviets of stalling, nor has it approached Congress for more money to continue the arms race on the basis of admitting that SALT II has broken down. Officials are not yet ready to draw the conclusion of a breakdown, and are in fact optimistic that something will turn up.

DEFENSE SPACE BUSINESS DAILY 30 APRIL 1975 (4 MAY)
MCGOVERN ASKS FOR BAN ON CRUISE MISSILES. Sen. George McGovern (D-S. Dak.), a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Arms Control Subcommittee, has written Secretary of State Henry Kissinger urging a ban on the development and deployment of cruise missiles, a substantial reduction in total strategic delivery vehicles and MIRV vehicles, and a ban on nuclear weapons testing.

Earlier, former Defense Department SALT negotiator Paul H. Nitze, had warned the committee against the Soviet movement to include air-launched cruise missiles of over 600 kilometer range in the total delivery limitation of 2400 vehicles (Defense/Space Daily, April 29). Nitze also disagreed with McGovern that the U. S. lead in delivery vehicles was more important than throw-weight.

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Weekend Edition -- 4 May 1975

WASHINGTON POST 4 MAY 1975

The Roots of Our Vietnam Involvement

Jack Anderson

The late Nikita Khrushchev sized up the Vietnam War during a talk with U.S. Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson in July 1962. As Thompson later recounted the conversation in a secret cable, Khrushchev told him brusquely: "In South Vietnam, the United States has stumbled into a bog."

How did we happen to get mired for a decade in the Vietnam bog? Perhaps I can help answer this historic question. The two men who called the shots during this crucial period, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, discussed their decisions with me off the record. I have found my notes of these conversations.

In the early 1960s, the Pentagon tried to pressure President Kennedy to send combat troops to Vietnam. A combat force was needed, the Joint Chiefs urged, to defend U.S. facilities and to bolster the South Vietnamese.

Kennedy told me he had no intention of sending a military expedition to Vietnam. The Bay of Pigs had taught him, he said, not to trust the Pentagon's advice. Vietnam could become a Sea of Pigs, he feared, sucking the U.S. deeper and deeper into the maelstrom.

He was troubled, nevertheless, by the infiltration of North Vietnamese regulars into the south. He described this movement of troops and arms across international boundaries as "a new form of aggression."

But the way to fight a guerrilla war, he suggested, was with guerrilla tactics. He wanted to develop the best counter-insurgency force in the world and send them to Vietnam to train the South Vietnamese in anti-guerrilla warfare, he said.

Kennedy rejected the Pentagon's call to send combat troops to Vietnam, but as a compromise, he sent over more military advisers and technicians.

He became increasingly skeptical, however, of U.S. involvement in the Vietnam jungles. Shortly before his death, he indicated to me that he wanted to pull all American military people out of Vietnam. He asked me what I thought the political repercussions would be.

In more positive language, he told Senate Democratic leader Mike Mansfield in mid-1963 that he had made up his mind to end the American presence in Vietnam. "He felt we had made an error. He was going to order a gradual withdrawal," Mansfield told me.

Lyndon Johnson was cautioned against escalating the Vietnam War. The most urgent warning came from Under Secretary of State George Ball. "The South Vietnamese are losing the war to the Vietcong," he told the new President. "No one can assure you that we can beat the Vietcong or even force them to the conference table on our terms, no matter how many hundred thousand white, foreign troops we deploy . . .

"The decision you face now, therefore, is crucial. Once large numbers of U.S. troops are committed to direct combat . . . we will have started a well-nigh irreversible process. Our involvement will be so great that we cannot—without national humiliation—stop short of achieving our complete objectives.

"Of the two possibilities, I think humiliation would be more likely than the achievement of our objectives—even after we have paid the terrible price."

Tragically for the United States, Johnson preferred the advice of the military brass who assured him that a show of force would prevent a Communist takeover of Vietnam.

Johnson spoke to me about Vietnam on three or four occasions. Each time, he repeated two statements. "They're not going to say Lyndon Johnson lost Vietnam," he would declare. He would also interject: "Lyndon Johnson isn't going to be the first American President to lose a war."

The Republican charges in the 1950s that the Democrats had "lost China" clearly had left a deep impression upon Johnson. He was determined not to be the victim of another "soft on communism" campaign.

Thus the United States, the mightiest military power the world has ever known—supreme on the seas and invincible in the skies—was out-mancuvered in South Vietnam by ragtag guerrillas, most of whom were simple peasants.

Armed with crude weapons manufactured in makeshift jungle arsenals, they fought a war of improvisation. Some of their heaviest weapons were mortars that could be dismantled and carried in three parts. They marched on sandals hacked from old truck and airplane tires, slept in hammocks made from the nylon of our parachutes. Wicks enclosed in the metal of used cartridges provided just enough light to tread jungle trails at night. And they could survive for days on packets of rice.

Although substantially surpassed in manpower and firepower, the Vietcong's crude style of warfare, not unlike that used by our own forefathers to wrest independence from the British, often confounded those who fought by the book.

Worse, the U.S. buildup played into the hands of the Communist propagandists who were able to portray the war as a struggle between the American "imperialists" and Vietnamese "people." Intensive anti-American indoctrination gave point and purpose to the Communist jungle fighters.

Of course, their real support came from North Vietnam, which smuggled troops and supplies over the network of jungle paths. This infiltration approached the dimensions of a backdoor invasion after the United States began pouring troops into South Vietnam.

The American people not only gave 56,226 lives to the South Vietnamese cause; they also poured an estimated $150 billion into South Vietnam. In contrast, North Vietnam's allies furnished no troops and contributed less than $10 billion to Hanoi.

But once the U.S. pulled out, the South Vietnamese surrendered without fighting a major battle.

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The Washington Merry-Go-Round THE WASHINGTON POST *Monday, May 5, 1975.*

Ford Stuck With Saigon Rhetoric

By Jack Anderson and Les Whitten

President Ford has been trying delicately to extricate his foot from his mouth ever since the Saigon surrender.

The sudden collapse of South Vietnam caught him with some bygone rhetoric stuck in his throat. He has been obliged to make some quick revisions, to wit:

•The President had persistently sounded the warning that the United States would lose credibility with its other allies if more military aid wasn't rushed to Saigon. The new line, according to our White House sources, is that U.S. credibility remains high and that our allies can depend upon U.S. commitments.

•The President had preached that a Communist victory in Vietnam would cause its Asian neighbors to fall like dominoes. Now he is spreading the word that he doesn't believe the domino theory after all.

•Mr. Ford had implied that Congress was to blame for South Vietnam's military reverses because of its refusal to vote more aid. This line was eagerly adopted by Saigon leaders looking for a scapegoat for their own mishandling of the war. Now the President is trying to correct the impression that the United States was responsible for the fall of South Vietnam.

•Mr. Ford had called for an emergency appropriation of $700 million in military aid to save Saigon. Simultaneously, the Joint Chiefs of Staff urged that billions of dollars' worth of military equipment should be hauled out of South Vietnam before it fell into Communist hands. It would have made the President look silly, however, to remove weapons while he was pushing for more military aid.

Therefore, American Ambassador Graham Martin blocked U.S. forces from salvaging an enormous arsenal, which the Communists have inherited. The irony is that the North Vietnamese now possess far more U.S. equipment than they ever received from their Russian and Chinese allies. This contradicts the administration line that Hanoi got more military assistance than did Saigon. # # #

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WASHINGTON STAR
2 MAY 1975

Mary McGrory

Israel Case Really Differs From Vietnam

By Mary McGrory
Washington Star Staff Writer

If the Israelis really believed the terrible accusations recently heard about our inconstancy as allies, they must be nervous.

The sources were the best, the President and the Secretary of State. In the frantic days when they were trying to deny the inevitable in South Vietnam, the two authorities practically told the world that America had lost its soul because it was unwilling to provide $722 million more aid to the dying client state in South Vietnam.

The President completely understood President Thieu's retreat and the flight of the troops. Our failure had "demoralized" them.

The Secretary of State depicted the imminent collapse as a "grievous blow" to our prestige and credibility.

"We cannot abandon friends in one part of the world without jeopardizing the security of friends everywhere," he said ominously.

ISRAEL, WHICH depends on us for survival, may have regarded all this as the irrational protests of officials trying to handle this nation's first defeat. Or they may have regarded it as a threat. The President has since retreated from Valhalla, and the Secretary of State declared that we are "fully committed to the survival of Israel."

The Israelis are under a cloud with the Secretary of State for their contribution to the failure of his personal diplomacy in the area. Although at the time he assured the Jewish leaders that he understood perfectly their refusal to accept a settlement without Egyptian guarantees of non-belligerency, he later "on background" deplored their inflexibility.

Point of View

Step-by-step diplomacy having failed, the next step is a conference of all parties at Geneva, with the U.S. and the Soviet Union at the head of the table.

The leader of the largest Israeli opposition coalition, Menahem Begin has been visiting here, and at a National Press Club speech went to great pains to point out that there is no resemblance, beyond a common reliance on the U.S. — now concluded in one case—between Israel and Vietnam. Usrael asks only for arms, not men.

THE DIFFERENCE had already been noted here. Richard Nixon used to complain about the "hypocrisy" of the Vietnam doves who were Israeli hawks, but they were never self-conscious about it. Israel is a democratic state, for one thing, and the U.S. commitment is not only moral, but emotional as well. The oil crisis did not seriously alter that perception although it complicated the equation.

Despite its failure to burnish Kissinger's reputation, Israel might be, in the end, the beneficiary of the setback in Vietnam. It could provide the first test of what Kissinger calls "the global perception of our will."

Both he and the President have been telling the Soviet Union not to conclude from their gains in Indochina that they can take advantage of us elsewhere. Israel could be used to refute their own claims of our untrustworthiness as an ally.

The new "abrasiveness" which Kissinger is alleged to believe should characterize our world stance in the post-Vietnam era could be demonstrated in behalf of Israel.

THE ISRAELIS, who argue a great deal among themselves in the way of democratic societies, are divided over the proposals they will take to Geneva. The Rabin Government has declared its willingness to abandon 1967 territorial gains in the Sinai and on the West Bank. The opposition according to Begin, is unwilling to give up the West Bank.

Congress, which is increasingly assertive about its foreign policy role, may press Kissinger for some statement of the U.S. position and intentions before the conference convenes. This goes against his grain, but secret personal diplomacy having taken its lumps in both the Middle East and the Far East, is increasingly in disrepute.

All sides may want to know where they are going before they start out.

Sen. George McGovern, (D-S.D.,) was told during his recent tour of Israel and the Arab states that "step-by-step" diplomacy didn't work because it required a step in the dark.

One Arab official told him, "You can't climb a ladder when there is no house to lean it against."

WASHINGTON POST 3 MAY 1975

Clayton Fritchey

Egypt: Guns *and* Butter?

In the process of reorganizing the Egyptian government, President Anwar Sadat has just vowed to stamp out corruption, check inflation and concentrate on prosperity and social justice for all—in keeping naturally with the doctrine of the late Gamal Abdel Nasser, his predecessor.

If only Sadat really meant this it would be the best news of the year, for it would signify that Egypt at last was about to put its long-postponed war against domestic poverty ahead of its war with Israel. But don't count on it.

As 23 years of bitter experience under the leadership of Nasser and Sadat have time and again shown, Egypt can't simultaneously whip both poverty and Israel. In fact, up to now, it hasn't been able to whip either one, although it has made four unsuccessful military efforts against Israel.

In contrast, no consistent, sustained effort has ever been made to win the war against poverty, which continues to blight the existence of the vast majority of Egyptians. Even with outside help, this poor underdeveloped country cannot possibly build a prosperous economy while at the same time building and maintaining an enormously costly military establishment.

It has been estimated that the overall military and economic cost of Egypt's long-continued state of belligerency against Israel exceeds $50 billion, an astronomical sum for a country that has been so chronically bankrupt that it has to live off handouts from much smaller but richer Arab nations.

In a remarkably frank interview with Philip Geyelin, editorial page editor of The Washington Post, President Sadat recently acknowledged that "we have spent $10 billion on our armed forces which should have been used for domestic purposes." Egypt, it should be noted, also owes Russia $7 billion more for arms.

Yet there is no evidence that Sadat is now prepared to take the necessary steps—and risks—to reverse Egypt's priorities by subordinating military expenditures to domestic development and reform.

It is a sad and depressing perversion of the socialist dreams that distinguished the Nasser revolution more than two decades ago but were sidetracked when Nasser became obsessed with personal dreams of glory as leader of the Arab world and leader of the crusade against Israel.

Nasser always promised guns and butter, but delivered only guns. With his death in 1970, and the advent of Sadat, fresh hopes were raised, for the new president, less vainglorious and more politically supple than his predecessor, looked for a while like a leader who was clever enough to produce the butter without losing the support of his generals and the backing of his Arab allies.

Nobody, it now appears, is that clever. Sadat of course, would like to enjoy arms from Russia, cash from Saudi Arabia, military co-ordination from Syria, real estate from Israel, goodwill and grants from the United States and deference from the Palestine Liberation Organization.

It's a balancing act that is probably beyond the skill of even a virtuoso tightrope walker like Sadat. He's still dancing around on the high wire, but the net had better be kept handy. To put it another way, it's going to be increasingly difficult for him to keep playing one interest off against another.

The coming Geneva conference on the Middle East could last a long time, particularly if the principals want to avoid a showdown, but it's a good bet that in the end Sadat will never put Egyptian peace and prosperity ahead of belligerence toward Israel if it means alienating his old Arab and Soviet patrons.

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Weekend Edition -- 4 May 1975

WASHINGTON STAR 2 MAY 1975 (4)

Portugal's Election and Detente's Future

SMITH HEMPSTONE

The course of events in Portugal during the next six months will indicate just how serious the Soviet Union is about detente with the United States.

Last week, in their first free elections in 50 years, the Portuguese demonstrated conclusively — by a 4-1 majority — that they have not the slightest interest in coming under Communist rule.

In elections for a 247-member constituent assembly that will draw up a new constitution, Mario Soares' Socialist party picked up 38 percent of the vote, the center-left Popular Democratic party was a strong runner-up with more than 26 percent of the vote and the Communists, by far the richest and best-organized of Portugal's 12 legal parties, finished a distant third with less than 13 percent of the 5.5 million votes.

Despite all manner of harassment, the only mildly conservative party allowed to field candidates, the Social Democratic Center, received 7.5 percent of the vote. Three small Communist-front parties picked up a total of 6.4 percent.

Portugal's leftist military government, which a year ago ousted the right-wing dictatorship that had run the little Iberian nation for nearly half a century, did everything possible to discourage the electorate from taking the election seriously.

Early in March, leftist elements apparently provoked and then easily crushed an abortive anti-government coup, in the aftermath of which moderate elements were purged from the armed forces elective councils. Many moderate and conservative civilians also were jailed.

The Communist-dominated High Revolutionary Council, after banning conservative parties from the elections to the constitutent assembly, then forced all parties participating in the election to sign a pact giving the military the right to dictate the general lines of the new constitution, to retain ultimate power for a period of from three to five years and to choose the president, prime minister and defense and economic ministers.

Having created a heads-I-win, tails-you-lose situation, the radical military leaders then urged the voters to cast blank ballots as votes of no-confidence in all the parties. Precisely 7 percent of the ballots cast were found to be blank or spoiled.

Prime Minister Vasco Goncalves, a leftist general who is reported by some to be a clandestine member of the Communist party, told newsmen after the election that the results would not alter the government's drive to build a socialist state.

But — and this is where the Soviet Union comes in — the extent to which the Portuguese Communist party and its leftist allies are able to impose their will in contravention to that of the people will depend largely on the Kremlin.

The Portuguese party, which reportedly received more than $40 million from the Russians in the past year to finance its activities, is more subservient than most Western European Communist groups to the dictates of Moscow.

The United States, in the interest of detente, did not intervene in 1968 when the Soviet Union imposed its will on Czechoslovakia, a member of the Warsaw Pact. It is at least possible that the Kremlin will understand that it stands to lose more than it might gain by permitting the Portuguese Communist party and its allies to abrogate the will of the people of Portugal, a member of the NATO pact.

A Communist coup d'etat in Portugal or an attempt to rig or postpone the legislative elections scheduled within the next six months would prove conclusively that detente is but a cruel illusion.

WALL STREET JOURNAL 5 MAY 1975 (4)

Power Play in Portugal

By Bowen Northrup

LISBON—Ah, sweet victory. And how fleeting it can be.

Portugal's Socialist Party took a solid 38% of the vote in the April 25 election, and another more or less "centrist" party took 26%, while the Communists got a paltry 12.5%. It was a clear endorsement of moderation. Socialist style, and a rebuff for the Moscow-oriented Communists.

Alas, power in Portugal doesn't necessarily reside in the political parties, and the military men who are governing apparently don't feel bound to pay much heed to the voice of the voters. Within a week of the election, the Communists have scored several triumphs while the Socialists have been dealt some smarting blows.

In frustration thousands of Socialists marched through central Lisbon Friday night, shouting "Socialism yes, dictatorship no" and "The Socialist Party won." Watching warily were 300 heavily armed troops on trucks and armored cars—a force rarely seen even during the height of last month's heated electioneering demonstrations.

Most significant of the Communist moves was the announcement of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) that official government endorsement was being given to the Communist-run trade union group called Intersindical. It is to be the country's only authorized trade union confederation.

Centralizing the trade unions has been in the offing for some time. Some kind of control was urgently needed; labor agitation since the "Revolution of the Flowers" a year ago has brought chaos to much of the economy.

Intersindical really was the only plausible claimant for the central role. The Socialists fought the concept of a single authorized confederation. But a government decree, issued on May Day to boot, confirmed the selection of the Communist group.

The Communists, naturally, have been grounded in worker support since the Portuguese Communist Party was founded in 1921. During the Fascist decades when the Communist Party went underground, party members moved into positions of power in the old state-organized unions.

The selection of Intersindical gives the well-organized Communists another powerful weapon. They already are strong in the printing unions, among bank clerks, and in other sectors; now they can hope to expand and consolidate, particularly among such unions as those in shipbuilding and steel that have been favoring unions to the left of the Communists.

Intersindical is bound to be a powerful tool for future political campaigns. Institutionalized, its role could be major in negotiating wage rates and working conditions and in speaking for the bulk of the nation's working people. Proportionately, Intersindical could hope to have more influence than the big Communist federations in Italy and France.

It all left the Socialist leadership, and the sizable bloc of Socialist workers, angry and frustrated, and the scornful treatment of Mario Soares, the Socialist leader, at a May Day rally only served to fan their frustration. The event seems to have been skillfully choreographed by the Communists.

Intersindical organized the rally, and the prime minister, Brig. Gen. Vasco dos Santos Goncalves, was on the platform with Communist leader Alvaro Cunhal, emphasizing that the government imprimatur was on the Communist group.

Socialist leader Soares, attempting to enter the rally with his entourage, was held up by Communist marshalls at the gate although several thousand Socialist workers already were inside the rally. Mr. Soares finally managed to work his way into the rally and exchanged hot words with the military leaders present. There were reports that he might be carpeted later for the episode.

Mr. Soares, who has ties with the Labor Party in Britain and West Germany's Social Democrats, has been in increasingly bad repute with leftist MFA leaders in any case. Prime Minister Goncalves has made sardonic remarks about the Socialist's European connections.

Mr. Soares has the right credentials. He was in exile for many years and received a hero's welcome when he came home after the revolution. "He is the Socialist Party," says a Lisbon observer. Mr. Soares may be the best known politician in the countryside.

But he faces formidable obstacles, not least among them the skillful maneuvering of Communist leader Cunhal (who once was his instructor at school). About two weeks ago Mr. Soares was asked about the extent of Communist influence in Portugal.

"It has been exaggerated," he said.

Will he soon be ready to revise that estimate? Mr. Cunhal (who has even better credentials, with more than a decade each in Salazar prisons and in exile) gives the impression of moving inexorably along a path that was charted carefully during all the years in the wilderness.

He follows adroitly the current Communist tactic of working within established parliamentary systems. The Communists have managed to make their programs seem almost indistinguishable from that of the government. This hasn't hurt Mr. Cunhal's standing with leading members of the military.

The Communist strategy functions smoothly on many levels, according to students of the party. For instance, one of the occupational groups they have courted most assiduously has been the bank clerks. Alliances with the lower middle class are favored and the bank clerks play a role in the financial institutions (now nationalized) that were a pillar of the old regime.

There also has been an effort to woo small businessmen, who are the bulwark of the economy and therefore a force to be reckoned with. And overall the party has sought to convey an image of moderation and respectability, playing down its Soviet connections and emphasizing its Portuguese nationalism.

The election results suggest that the electorate hasn't been swayed. But in a fluid situation like Portugal's there are other ways to power than through the ballot box. And there is time; Mr. Cunhal, having spent decades in waiting, isn't likely to spoil his chance by intemperate haste now.

Mr. Northrup is a member of the Journal's London bureau.

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CURRENT NEWS

PART I - EARLY BIRD EDITION - 0730

PART II - MAIN EDITION - PUBLISHED AT 1130

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WEDNESDAY, MAY 7, 1975

WASHINGTON POST 7 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

U.S. Halts Plane Pullout in Thailand

By Bruce Palling
Special to The Washington Post

BANGKOK, May 6—The U.S. embassy here agreed today to a "temporary suspension" of the withdrawal American-supplied aircraft flown into Thailand last week by fleeing south Vietnamese pilots.

The agreement follows the removal of all of the more sophisticated jet fighters and cargo planes in the past two days to the carrier Midway in the Gulf of Siam and to Clark Air Base in the Philippines.

The U.S. embassy here has refused to disclose any details of the plane withdrawal even though the Pentagon announced the move yesterday in Washington.

Newsmen on a press tour of the Utapao Air Base today saw about 40 to 50 aircraft on the base which had presumably come from South Vietnam.

(See PULLOUT, Pg.4)

BALTIMORE SUN 7 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Soviet held ready to offer missile cuts after talks

By MICHAEL PARKS
Moscow Bureau of The Sun

Moscow—The Soviet Union is offering to negotiate reductions in the numbers of missiles allowed under strategic arms agreements with the United States once a new arms treaty is concluded, according to sources here.

The Soviet offer apparently is intended to improve prospects for fast agreement and ratification of the next treaty, whose broad terms were set in November at the Vladivostok summit meeting.

As the Kremlin sees it, the Ford administration would be able to use a public Soviet commitment to reduce the two superpowers' arsenals in order to overcome extensive criticism in the U.S. to the limits agreed upon at the Far Eastern Soviet port.

What Moscow hopes to gain beyond reduced opposition to the new agreement and to Soviet-American detente in general is not clear, however; some diplomatic sources have suggested, though, that the Soviet Union is seeking U.S. concessions on several highly technical but important issues in current negotiations on a treaty implementing the Vladivostok agreement.

The Soviet offer meets a key U.S. demand, which was incorporated in negotiations, to begin immediately after the conclusion of the next arms agreement to set lower ceilings on the numbers of strategic weapons and to curb development of new weapons.

The sponsors of the resolution—Senators Edward M. Kennedy (D., Mass.), Walter F. Mondale (D., Minn.) and Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. (R.,

(See SOVIET, Pg. 4)

NEW YORK TIMES 7 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Standing by Commitments, Ford Assures U.S. Allies

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 6 — President Ford, declaring that the United States had learned the lessons of Vietnam, said tonight that he would pursue a vigorous leadership "on a worldwide basis."

He acknowledged, in a nationally televised news conference, that United States allies had doubts, following the loss of Cambodia and Vietnam to the Communists, about this country's commitments.

But he said such doubts were "not a reality" because the United States would remain strong militarily and economically.

"We want our friends to know that we will stand by them and we want any potential adversaries to know that we will stand up to them," Mr. Ford asserted.

He also pledged "forward movements in foreign policy that will be beneficial to peace," including efforts to strengthen United States ties to South Korea and to reassure such Asian allies as Nationalist China, Indonesia and the Philippines of continuing support.

The President said that the "atmosphere is good" for a strategic arms limitation agreement with the Soviet Union, although the negotiations would be "hard."

(See FORD, Pg. 2)

WASHINGTON POST
7 MAY 1975 Pg.1

Pentagon Budget Slashed

By Michael Getler
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House Armed Services Committee yesterday voted a record $3.7 billion cut in the Defense Department's $29.8 billion request for new weapons but Pentagon critics on the committee called much of the reduction "phony."

Included in the cuts is $1.3 billion the Pentagon wanted in the next fiscal year for military aid to South Vietnam.

Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wis.), one of a handful of members on the traditionally pro-Pentagon panel who frequently challenge defense programs, said the Vietnam aid request is now "a moot point and shouldn't be considered as part of the overall cut."

(See BUDGET, Pg. 2)

GENERAL NEWS SUMMARY

FROM THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MAY 7, 1975

World-Wide

FORD ASKED AMERICANS to welcome refugees from Indochina.

The President told a news conference he is "very upset" at reports of resistance to the refugees. He said he understood economic misgivings about the influx but added that only 35,000 of the estimated 120,000 refugees are likely to seek jobs and noted that the AFL-CIO yesterday urged union members to welcome them. Ford said the lessons of Vietnam have already been learned and a congressional inquiry would be divisive.

The U.S. will continue to be involved in Asia and will keep its commitments to Taiwan, the President said.

Ford reaffirmed his intention to run for the presidency in 1976 and said a GOP group led by Dean Burch will begin work on his campaign "in a very informal way." He said he thought Republican foreign achievements since 1968 and an expected economic upturn give him a good chance of winning.

Ford opposed registration of guns or their owners and said he isn't committed to

(See NEWS SUMMARY, Pg. 5)

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NEW YORK TIMES
7 MAY 1975 Pg. 30

President Assures Congress on Curbs For Nuclear Arms

WASHINGTON, May 6 (AP)—President Ford assured Congress today that his Administration was giving "priority concern" to preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons or the acquisition of nuclear explosive material for possible nonpeaceful uses.

In a message to Congress, the President said, "Whatever efforts are needed to allow the United States and other countries to enjoy the benefits of nuclear power, without fear, will be taken by the Government of the United States."

Mr. Ford said the United States was taking the lead in proposing measures to prevent terrorist groups from capturing or sabotaging nuclear materials and facilities.

The President included with his message a report on United States laws and regulations governing nuclear exports and safeguards.

"Current laws provide ample authority to control the export and re-export of nuclear-related material, equipment and technology," Mr. Ford said.

But, he said, existing policies and regulations were constantly being reviewed and "changed as appropriate" to make them more effective.

He also said the United States was encouraging the strengthening of international safeguards through participation in international discussions and through the adoption of an internation l agreement.

FORD ... CONTINUED

The President declined at the outset to entertain the suggestion that a Congressional inquiry might somehow determine where the policy of five Presidents and six congresses had erred in Indochina. And he urged the nation to look ahead rather than back as it began the post-Vietnam era.

"It sees to e that it's over," Mr. Ford said of the Vietnam experience.

He said that the war had been "sad and tragic in many respects" and that it would merely foster continued divisiveness to "rehash allegations as to individuals that might be to blame, or administrations that might be at fault."

"I think the lessons of the past in Vietnam have already been learned," Mr. Ford declared "Learned by Presidents, learned by Congress, learned by the American people, and we should have our focus on the future."

The news conference, in the spacious theater in the Executive Office Building next to the White House, was Mr. Ford's first since the fall of Phnom Penh on April 17 and the surrender of Saigon Last Wednesday. As a result it was dominated by the causes and consequences of the two events, which Mr. Ford said last week "closes a chapter in the American experience."

The President, evidently pursuing domestic unity as a prelude to efforts at strengthening United States diplomacy, had set the tone for his appearance tonight by proposing that "reconciliation, not recrimination" be the theme of the post-Vietnam era.

The President was said to believe that if he did not rally Americans behind his policies allies and potential foreign opponents might conclude that the political instability that has marked the last decade in the United States was likely to continue.

At his last full-dress news conference, on April 3 in San Diego, Mr. Ford noted the refusal of Congress to supply military assistance to South Vietnam and Cambodia and said it was "up to the American people to pass judgment on who was at fault and where the blame may rest" if those two nations should fall.

More recently, however, the President has led the Administration away from such suggestions. Secretary of State Kissinger told a Washington audience that the Congressional verdict on military aid would be accepted "without recrimination or vindictiveness."

And Mr. Ford, in a speech at Tulane university in New Orleans on April 23, proposed "a great national reconciliation." The time has arrived, he said, "to look forward to an agenda for the future, to unity, to binding up the nation's wounds and restoring it to health and optimistic self-confidence."

To Confer With Premiers

The President will begin specific discussions on diplomatic relations tomorrow in a series of private meetings here with Prime Ministers Harold Wilson of Britain, Gough Whitlam of Australia and Wallace E. Rowling of New Zealand. On Thursday, he will confer with Prime Minister Lee Kwan Yew of Singapore.

Later this month Mr. Ford will embark on a European trip, his first as President, during which he will meet with Western leaders at a conference of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Brussels. He will later to Spain, Austria and Italy, and confer during the trip with President Anwar El-Sadat of Egypt.

Mr. Ford will meet her next month with Premier Yitzhak Rabin of Israel.

BUDGET ... CONTINUED

Another $1 billion was trimmed from the Navy's shipbuilding program, but no ship projects were actually cut back. The committee instead voted to defer a Navy request for money to cover anticipated contract claims and inflation on ships under construction.

"We're going to have to come up with that money and maybe more next year," Aspin said. "They just put it off, not cut it."

According to Aspin's arithmetic, the actual cuts in the panel's annual weapons procurement and research and development authorization bill amount to about $1.3 billion, not $3.7 billion.

The committee gave its full support to the $749 million Air Force request for its top priority B-1 bomber development project, and made a $45 million cut in the Navy's $2 billion request for its top-priority Trident missile-firing submarine.

The panel cut $260 million from Air Force plans to build a fleet of new radar-packed aircraft known as AWACS intended to warn of enemy air attack. The reductions limit the Air Force to the purchase of three rather than six planes next year.

The panel trimmed $185 million from another new plane the Air Force and White House want as a new airborne command post for the President in a nuclear emergency. The reduction keeps the project in development rather than allowing it to move into production.

The House committee—as in previous years—inserted an extra $115 million in the Defense budget to buy 24 more Texas-built A-7D attack planes for the National Guard. The Pentagon did not request these craft.

The House panel also denied a $300 million request by the Pentagon to set up a new fund that would allow quick replacement of weapons taken out of stockpiles for overseas sales.

In the Senate, the Pentagon also appeared to be avoiding, at least at this point, the major slashes in new weapons projects that some defense officials feared would be forthcoming from a new and more liberal Congress.

The Senate Armed Services Committee, meeting behind closed doors, voted 11 to 4 to approve five projects intended to improve the accuracy and lethality of long-range U.S. missiles

In so doing the full committee overturned an earlier 3-to-2 vote by a subcommittee to kill these projects, which some critics say could stir up the arms race by threatening to knockout an opposing missile force in a surprise first strike.

The Senate panel, it was learned, also voted 9-to-6 to cut $222 million out of the B-1 project. But this reduction continues the B-1 in development and cuts out only the funds related to tooling up for actual production. The decision on whether to mass-produce the new plane is not scheduled to be made until November, 1976.

Because the government is moving toward a fiscal year that will eventually begin annually on Oct. 1, this year's budget request includes both the 12-month period from July 1, 1975 and an additional three-month transition period running from uly 1, 1976, to Oct. 1, 1976.

Thus, in the house committee action yesterday, a total of $1.7 billion was cut from the new authorization request of $28.2 billion for the 12 months of fiscal 1976. The Vietnam money and $300 million stockpile fund brought the total fiscal '76 request to $29.8 billion.

In addition, $390 million was trimmed from the $5.8 billion requested for new weapons procurement and development for the three-month transition period.

Aside from its fiscal actions, the House committee also tabled an amendment that would allow women to enter military academies and go into combat. Rep. Sam Stratton (D-NY) said he would take his academies campaign to the House floor but would probably drop the combat provision.

NEW YORK TIMES
7 MAY 1975 Pg. 67

Army on Airwaves

The Army, which like the other branches of the Armed forces is forbidden to use paid full-time advertising in recruiting, this week started its second test of the airwaves. Its a small one—$600,000 for 13 weeks on radio in 15 markets—and its being done by N. W. Ayer ABH International. The first test, in 1971, used both TV and radio by all accounts was very successful.

WASHINGTON POST
7 MAY 1975 Pg. 46

Spain Said to Want NATO Membership

According to an authoritative source in Washington, the Spanish government remains very much interested in NATO membership but recognizes that it continues to be unobtainable because of opposition from Denmark, Norway, Belgium, and to some extent, the Netherlands.

Spain wanted a firm bilateral defense guarantee from the United States but Washington balked at that, an American source said. The United States preference, is to obtain for Spain a direct NATO acknowledgment that U.S. access to bases in Spain contributes to NATO defense. This is the present focus of discussions, it was said.

It is questionable whether this can be arranged in time to be added to the NATO communique to be issued at the end of the forthcoming NATO summit conference in Brussels, however.

Events in Portugal are said to have underscored the importance of Spain to Western defense in the American perception. American diplomats have been telling their Spanish counterparts that European attitudes in time are likely to become more syimpathetic to Spanish participation in NATO.

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WASHINGTON POST - 7 MAY 1975 Pg. 46

Ford, Franco Seek to Heal Rift on Bases

By Miguel Acoca
Special to The Washington Post

MADRID, May 6—Wide differences between Washington and Madrid over continuation of U.S. military bases in Spain will be the key topic when President Ford visits here late this month for talks with Generalissimo Francisco Franco, informed sources said today.

While Spain is anxious to continue its military relationship with the United States, "We are not in the mood for just another piece of paper," a senior Spanish official said.

The Spanish bases are considered vital to the Western defense system particularly the U.S. nuclear submarine base at Rota in Southern Spain.

Pro-Arab Spain, however, has steadfastly refused to allow American use of the bases here to resupply Israel. It does not recognize Israel and there are no indications Spain intends to change its policy.

The hardened Spanish positions has become clear after four months of negotiations here and in Washington. The two countries, sources said, are far apart on the following:

- Continued American use of Torrejon, the big joint U.S.-Spain base in Madrid's suburbs. Spain also wants the Americans to giving up the mothballed Moron Air Base.
- A mutual security treaty.
- Modern military hardware for the Spanish armed forces.
- Contracts to manufacture U.S. weapons and components in Spain under licensing arrangements.

Coloring official Spanish attitudes toward the U.S. and a new agreement on the bases are such related matters as U.S. support of Morocco in its dispute with Spain over the Spanish Sahara and U.S. refusal to back Spain's case against Britain for the return of Gibraltar.

Franco, who at 82 sees his 36 years of authoritarian rule coming to a close, presumably would like to see these problems settled with American help before he fades from the scene.

Another thorny issue involves American strategy to link Spain to NATO. Spain has been excluded from the alliance because of Franco's association with the Axis powers in World War II.

Reflecting the view of the Spanish military, the air minister has declared publicly that Spain is not interested in joining NATO. The military also resent U.S. efforts to structure a "backdoor" NATO association for Spain through a joint declaration signed last summer. It said that the bilateral defense relationship "is complementary to that of existing security arrangements in the Atlantic framework and that equal treatment should be accorded to all the countries of the region."

Franco and the Spanish military were reportedly outraged by a recent U. S. weapons sale to Morocco, which is seeking to annex the phosphate-rich Spanish Sahara territory in northwest Africa and to oust Spain from two enclaves in Morocco.

Spanish officials are said to feel that the United States must recognize that Spain has been a faithful ally and that the bilateral relationship must be sharply upgraded to reflect present power realities in Europe and the Mediterranean.

It is felt that this is especially necessary following the U.S. setbacks in Indochina and political changes in Greece, Turkey and Portugal affecting the American military presence.

Franco invited President Ford upon learning that negotiations were proceeding so badly that they might not be finished by September, when the present agreement expires. He made it clear that, while he is eager to conclude a new bases agreement, any new accord must be rewarding not only politically but economically.

Spanish thinking has also been affected by the left-wing military government in neighboring Portugal. Spanish officials fear that if the worst predictions of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger come to pass and Portugal becomes a Communist-dominated country, Spain will become a target for subversion and guerrilla activities from Portugal, and they want guarantees of U.S. help.

Although Spain remains a politically restricted society, Spanish negotiators are conscious that Spanish public opinion is opposed to foreign military bases here. A newspaper yesterday criticized what it called plans to expand the joint Spanish-American air base at Zaragoza, which would become the main air facility if Torrejon is abandoned.

See RIFT, Pg. 4

BALTIMORE SUN - 7 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

House panel trims little from Ford military bid

By CHARLES W. CORDDRY
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—The House Armed Services Committee approved yesterday a $32 billion military procurement bill —$3.7 billion less than President Ford asked—after sidelining a proposal to let women attend the service academies and become combat officers.

At the same time, the Senate Armed Services Committee dealt the Pentagon a sharp blow by striking from its version of the bill a $222 million sum requested to make preparations for production of the B-1 supersonic bomber.

The Senate panel left intact $726 million to continue research and development with four prototypes of the B-1, but its action on the advance production funds reflected increasing congressional concern about the prospective production cost—more than $80 million a plane—of the bomber.

In its action on the bill, in which it made no cuts in B-1 funds, the House reduced the administration's requests considerably less than the nominal $3.7 billion cut indicated.

For example, the cut included $1.3 billion that had been sought for military aid to South Vietnam, a matter now academic. Another $300 million that was disallowed would have been used to stockpile weapons for sales abroad.

A slash of about $1 billion in ship construction requests was mainly a cut in expected escalation of costs—in money, that is, that would not be spent until later years. The committee said it could not accept the Pentagon's escalation estimates at this time.

The House and Senate panels' proposals are for a 15-month period starting July 1 —instead of the usual 12 months—because the government next year is shifting the beginning of fiscal years to October 1. The Senate committee has not yet completed action on its version.

Representative Samuel S. Stratton (D., N.Y.), who tried unsuccessfully in the committee to win entry to the service academies for women, said he planned to take the battle to the House floor.

On a motion by Representative Lucien N. Nedzi (D., Mich.), who heads a manpower subcommittee, the Stratton proposal was tabled, 24 to 22. The Maryland committee member, Marjorie S. Holt (R., 4th) voted with Mr Nedzi, who said there were issues other than sex discrimination, such as suits to establish quotas, that might have to be faced.

Mr. Stratton said the idea of combat conjures up pictures of women in foxholes, but that, in fact, they could serve in such roles as ship's officers and pilot instructors after leaving Annapolis, West Point or Colorado Springs.

Mr. Stratton told a reporter the General Accounting Office has made a study showing as many as 10 per cent of academy graduates do not get combat assignments anyway. He hopes to get a measure passed that will admit women to the academies and then let the controversy over combat duty be resolved at another time.

The annual procurement measure fixes ceilings on sums the services may spend on weapons research, development and production and military manpower. Except for certain increases in Army and Navy reserve strength (about 32,000 in all), the House committee approved Pentagon manpower proposals.

The panel voted for a 5 per cent limit on military pay raises for the January 1, 1975-June 30, 1976 period, provided that a similar kept on civilian raises in the federal establishment. It said that limit would save $828 million in 12 months, whereas a prospective 9 per cent increase would have added more than $2 billion to defense costs. Its net saving was arrived at after taking account of its ruling that proposed increases in military commissary prices be suspended.

The House committee shaved requests for several weapons systems, but in one case—A-7 attack planes for the National Guard—it added $115 million.

Originally yesterday, the Senate committee voted a $338 million cut in the B-1 request. On a motion of Senator Robert A. Taft, Jr. (R., Ohio), it restored $116 million by a 9-to-6 vote.

The Air Force had wanted the advance production money to buy materials and save time if it decided next year that the B-1 should go into production. Opponents argue that such action might have committed Congress prematurely to production.

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WASHINGTON POST - 7 MAY 1975 Pg. 43

U.S., Soviets Back Nuclear Pact Again

GENEVA—In a message to the 60-nation conference reviewing the five-year-old nuclear nonproliferation President Ford said yesterday that support for it "is a major tenet of American policy."

The Soviet Union also reaffirmed support for the treaty but the Mexican delegate accused the two major nuclear powers that signed it of dragging their feet on disarmament.

U.S. delegate Fred C. Ikle said that "we have to concern ourselves seriously with the threat of theft and other criminal seizure of nuclear materialm" The Soviet representative also called for international measures to prevent nuclear thefts by criminals and terrorists.

SOVIET ... CONTINUED

Md.)—said their support of any new treaty would depend on acceptance of this condition.

Soviet negotiators at the Geneva talks, which are due to recess shortly, made the Kremlin offer, according to sources here, and it is now being conveyed to congressmen and others outside the administration who are interested in strategic arms limitations.

Over the past weekend, a leading Soviet specialist on American affairs, Georgy Arbatov, said in a Radio Moscow broadcast to the United States that conclusion of the treaty agreed upon at Vladivostok will make it possible "to effect a transition from arms limitation to their reduction."

Dr. Arbatov, director of the Institute for U.S. and Canadian Studies and a Kremlin adviser on foreign affairs, endorsed the resolution proposed by Mr. Kennedy, Mr Mondale and Mr. Mathias as "a very realistic approach to the problem."

Moscow is willing to make this pledge to negotiate reduced ceilings on strategic weapons, multiple warhead missiles and new weapons systems explicitly when the next treaty is concluded, sources here said, if necessary to insure congressional ratification of the pact without full-scale controversy.

Moscow is concerned that Soviet-American rapprochement might be endangered if the treaty is widely criticized.

"What would be very damaging to detente would be a repetition of the trade agreement affair," a Soviet source said, referring to the collapse of the 1972 trade agreement after Congress severely restricted Soviet-American trade terms to force increased emigration of Soviet Jews in a move Moscow interpreted as aimed primarily at undermining detente.

Dr. Arbatov's comments, putting on the record what is being said privately, were viewed as significant because of their timing just before a recess in the Geneva talks for consultations.

But Dr. Arbatov was reported to be speaking not only on behalf of these circles, often described as the doves in distinction to the Kremlin's military and ideological hawks, but on behalf of the whole Soviet leadership following a meeting two weeks ago of the Communist party's policy-making central committee.

That meeting firmly supported the Vladivostok agreement. The party leadership declared firmly that "political detente must be supplemented by the relaxation of tension in the military field and used for the reduction of armaments and the struggle for disarmament."

Presumably, the central committee overrode objections not only to the Vladivostok agreement—the meeting was followed by calls in *Pravda*, the party newspaper, to follow the party's foreign policy line—but also approved the proposed follow-up negotiations for the affirmation of the need for reductions in arms levels as an unexpected note of the committee resolution.

WASH. POST 5/7/75

By Jack Anderson and Les Whitten

Washington Whirl—President Ford has told subordinates that he will press Congress for a full $100 billion military budget, as evidence to the world that the United States isn't planning any more pullbacks . . . Before Congress votes more military money, some legislators intend to ask tough questions about the billions worth of equipment abandoned in South Vietnam. . .

RIFT -- CONTINUED

Recently a member of the rubber-stamp Parliament presented a plea asking the government to evict the United States from all the bases.

Ford will be arriving in Spain at a time of widespread speculation that Franco is preparing to yield power to Prince Juan Carlos de Borbon, 37, his designated successor. Reports that Franco's retirement is imminent have even slipped into the controlled Spanish press. Important establishment personalities have gone so far as to write articles suggesting Franco's retirement.

PULLOUT ... CONT'D

Sources on the base said that about 20 aircraft were carried from Utapao to the Midway by giant helicopters Sunday and Monday. At least two aircraft were reported seriously damaged when they fell from the helicopters—one on the Utapao runaway and one on the Midway.

The aircraft already removed include F-5 jet fighters, A-37 jet fighter-bombers and also C-130 cargo planes which were reported to have been flown direct to the Philippines.

The Thai government's request for a suspension followed contradictory statements by various members of the Cabinet, with some declaring that the affair was solely an American problem while others considered that the aircraft should be held by Thailand until the government decided their fate.

Hanoi radio has claimed that the aircraft are the property of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and warned Thailand that any hesitancy about returning the planes could jeopardize relations between the two Vietnams and Thailand.

Thai Foreign Minister, Chatichai Choonhavan called the acting American ambassader, Edward Masters, in for a 25-minute talk on the matter today. Masters refused to answer any questions after the meeting.

Observers here consider it impossible that Thai military authorities did not know that the United States was taking the planes out of Thailand.

However, the armed forces are considered opposed to giving the aircraft to the Provisional Revolutionary Government. They are known to view the two Vietnams as posing the greatest military threat to Thailand. Additionally, the military leaders would be extremely reluctant to commit any hostile act towards the United States out of concern that U.S. military assistance program to Thailand be maintained at a high level.

Cynics say that the present situation is the best possible one for Thailand, with all of the sophisticated aircraft already gone and the Thai government now taking a "tough stand" to give the impression of surprise and anger at the unilateral action taken by the Americans.

There are, however, government officials who are genuinely angry at the United States for taking such action apparently without formal consultation.

To avoid the risky move of returning the other aircraft to South Vietnam, Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj said the remaining aircraft will stay in Thai custody until peace and order have returned to South Vietnam and the ownership question can be determined.

Foreign Minister Chatichai has also asked to see the United States and South Vietnamese agreement on military aid, saying that if there is an agreement about the title reverting to the United States Thailand would not interfere. Chatichai also requested that a delegation from the Provisional Revolutionary Government come to Bangkok to negotiate the return of the aircraft and other military supplies brought in by fleeing Saigon government forces.

Such contradictory statements highlight the dilemma in which the Thai government now finds itself, in its efforts to be accomodating to both sides.

[Foreign Ministry sources said today that a five-member North Korean delegation will fly to Bangkok Wednesday for talks on establishing diplomatic relations, AFP reported from Bangkok.]

NEW YORK TIMES
7 MAY 1975
Pg. 22

U.S. SHIP WITH 200 REACHES SUBIC BAY

SUBIC BAY NAVAL STATION, The Philippines, May 6 (Reuters)—The Stoddert, last of 46 American Evacuation ships to leave South Vietnamese costal waters, reached the Subic Bay Naval Base today with 200 South Vietnamese refugees, 19 of whom had been rescued from a sinking boat.

The Stoddert, a guided missile destroyer, was expected to be followed into port by five other ships carrying more than 5,000 people.

The ships include a chartered South Korean ship and two South Vietnamese vessels.

A Subic Bay spokesman said that more than 40,000 refugees had been funneled through here in the last four days. Most were flown out in transport planes, to Guam to be processed for entry to the United States.

WASHINGTON POST
7 MAY 1975
Pg. 48

Japan-China Pact

Agence France-Presse

TOKYO, May 6—Japan and China exchanged verbal notes in Peking today on their intergovernmental shipping agreement, clearing the way for its implementation starting June 4.

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WEDNESDAY MORNING, 7 MAY 1975

WASHINGTON STAR - 6 MAY 1975(7) Pg. 11

Schlesinger Reinforces View of CIA Role as Passive

By Jeremiah O'Leary
Washington Star Staff Writer

The finality of Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger's declaration that the CIA has never resorted to assassination could be construed as reinforcing the contention of administration sources that the agency discussed and knew about political murder plots but never was involved in a successful one.

Schlesinger made his statement late yesterday after testifying before the Rockefeller commission investigating illegal domestic activities of the CIA.

He emerged from his closed-door appearance and, unlike some former CIA officials, appeared almost eager to set the record straight. He said, "Let me make it very clear now that assassination has not been used as a tool by the CIA at any time, and I don't think that applies prospectively any more than it does retrospectively."

THE FORMER CIA director was even more emphatic in denying CIA involvement in the slaying of President John F. Kennedy.

"The suggestion of any CIA involvement is preposterous," Schlesinger said. "It is psychologically and intellectually impossible that the CIA could in any way be involved in the tragic event."

Analysis

He said any such suggestions could only emanate from sick imaginations. The agency's whole role, he said, has been to serve and protect the United States and its leaders.

Schlesinger refused to comment directly on reports of CIA involvement in plots to assassinate foreign leaders, but he said appropriate review bodies such as the Rockefeller commission and the congressional committees will want to review those issues.

THE SUM of Schlesinger's declarations are strongly supportive of statements to The Star by White House and CIA officials that the agency knew of, and even discussed, political murder but never was involved in a successful one.

This leaves open the implication that the CIA may have had direct involvement in plots for political murder that did not succeed — for example, perhaps plots against Fidel Castro, whose death was certainly desired by many Cubans. It is even more suggestive that the CIA knew of such plots but was not directly involved.

Commission officials said yesterday that the group, appointed by President Ford and headed by Vice President Nelson A. Rockefeller, is nearing the end of the labors it began last February. The hearings will be completed Monday, and then the commission will begin writing its report and recommendations for the President.

THE REPORT is to be handed to Ford on June 4 and will be released publicly soon after that. At that stage, the Senate Intelligence Committee, headed by Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho, will commence its hearings into the activities of all American intelligence agencies. Its House counterpart is almost totally dormant.

Also testifying yesterday was Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger. He denied having any knowledge or involvement in either alleged CIA domestic spying or foreign assassination plots.

"Since I have been in Washington, the National Security Council or the NSC staff, or the assistant to the president for national security affairs (Kissinger's other title) did not concern themselves with domestic intelligence; nor were they informed about domestic intelligence," Kissinger declared.

Asked about allegations of CIA assassination plots, Kissinger said none of those allegations pertain to the period of his service in Washington from 1968 until the present.

ANOTHER WITNESS yesterday, former CIA Director John A. McCone (1961-1965) said, "During my term of office, there was no, absolutely no assassination plot against Castro or any other foreign leader.

McCone said such plots were not consistent with the moral values of the United States or the CIA.

NEWS SUMMARY -- CONTINUED

Attorney General Levi's proposal for a handgun ban in high-crime areas. Ford said his coming meetings with Egyptian and Israeli leaders won't be part of any new U.S. negotiating effort in the Mideast.

* * *

A WEAPONS BUDGET $3.7 billion below Ford's request cleared a House panel.

Besides eliminating a $1.3 billion budget request for military aid to South Vietnam, the House Armed Services Committee reduced by $260 million the authorization for Boeing's AWACS early-warning plane and cut $186 million of procurement money for the flying command post that U.S. officials would use during a nuclear attack. The total authorization approved for July 1, 1975, through Sept. 30, 1976, was $26.1 billion.

That could be cut further on the House floor or when appropriations are voted. But the sentiment for defense cutbacks is being cooled by unemployment and the fall of two U.S. allies in Indochina.

The House panel tabled an amendment that would have let women enter military service academies and go into combat.

The Senate Armed Services Committee voted to cut $222 million in production-related money for the B1 bomber in fiscal 1976 and the following three months.

* * *

The U.S. removed from Thailand at least 25 of the estimated 125 warplanes flown there last week by fleeing South Vietnamese pilots. But then the removal was suspended in response to a request from the Thai government, which wants to evaluate U.S. claims to the planes. Vietnamese Communists have demanded that Thailand send them the planes.

* * *

Jordan's King Hussein said the Arab states are willing to make a final peace with Israel recognizing its right to exist on condition that Israel vacate all occupied territory and "recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinians in their homeland."

* * *

Secretary of State Kissinger said that the U.S. "definitely isn't tilting toward the Arabs" and that "fairly large quantities" of arms have been shipped to Israel in the past month. It probably was a mistake, he said earlier in an NBC interview, to have made Vietnam a test case for U.S. policy.

* * *

Home-mortgage lenders reject almost twice as many applications from minorities as they do from whites, a Federal Reserve Board study of six metropolitan areas indicated. But the 1974 data aren't sufficient to determine that discrimination exists, the Fed said.

A bill to bar discrimination on the basis of age, race, religion or national origin in granting credit was passed unanimously by the House Banking Committee.

* * *

State and local governments plan to increase taxes $3.6 billion this year while reducing construction spending $1 billion and expenditures for services $3.3 billion, a congressional survey made public by Rep. William Moorhead (D., Pa.) indicated. Nearly half of state and local governments are cutting payrolls, eliminating about 140,000 jobs.

* * *

San Francisco anesthesiologists' strike to protest soaring malpractice-insurance rates spread to Los Angeles and San Diego, where a dozen hospitals were forced to cancel all but emergency surgery.

* * *

Mexico attacked the nuclear disarmament policies of the U.S. and Russia at a 56-nation Geneva conference that is reviewing the five-year-old treaty banning the spread of atomic weapons. But U.S. support for the treaty was reaffirmed in a message from President Ford.

* * *

A dozen tornadoes struck eastern Nebraska, killing at least two persons in Omaha and injuring scores more. Gov. James Exon mobilized the National Guard.

* * *

The nomination of Lt. Gen. Louis H. Wilson Jr. as Marine Corps commandant was approved by the Senate Armed Services Committee.

* * *

A Commonwealth of Nations summit meeting ended in Kingston, Jamaica, with presidents, premiers or chief delegates of 34 former British colonies warning of a race war in Rhodesia unless the majority blacks there are allowed to enter the government.

* * *

Sen. George McGovern (D., S.D.) called for an end to the U.S. trade boycott against Cuba as he arrived in Havana for an "educational" visit.

* * *

Saudi Arabia banned contraceptives after the World Moslem League ruled that birth control violates Islamic law.

* * *

Died: Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty, 83, former primate of the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary who was convicted of treason in a Communist trial in 1949, and later spent 15 years in asylum in the U.S. embassy in Budapest, in Vienna, of a heart attack following surgery; **J. G. Underwood,** 80, president and chief executive officer of Harsco Corp., in Harrisburg, Pa.

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 7 MAY 1975 Pg. 19

Canada's air defense commitment

To stick with U.S.— but for how long?

By Don Sellar
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Ottawa

This week Canada is expected to renew its participation in the 18-year-old North American Air Defense Command (NORAD) agreement with the United States for at least five more years.

Defense Minister James Richardson, an enthusiastic NORAD supporter, will announce the decision to continue sharing with the U.S. in continental defense sometime before the current pact expires May 12.

The only uncertainty surrounding the new NORAD arrangement is the length of Canada's commitment. Mr. Richarson favors an unlimited term, but has been under pressure to opt for a five-year package.

A Parliamentary committee, dominated by members of the ruling Liberal Party, recently did some deep soul-searching about NORAD and concluded another review after five years would be in order.

Cabinet must decide

However, the cabinet, led by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, will make the final judgment on the matter. If it decides on an indefinite term, Canada would want the option to withdraw on one year's notice.

NORAD, a sophisticated surveillnce system, currently costs about $1.4 billion a year to operate. The U.S. foots the bill for 90 percent of the command, whose headquarters are at Colorado Springs, Colorado.

Only once since NORAD was formed did Canada not sign a minimum five-year deal. That was in 1973, when the Trudeau Government, then a minority in Parliament, angered some American officials by settling on a two-year term which is now expiring.

Some of NORAD's critics have described the $140 million Canadian component of the system as a waste of money, although its proponents reply that an all-Canadian defense system would cost a great deal more than that.

Military picture changed

There is also the military-strategic argument which contends NORAD was designed to counter a Soviet manned bomber attack — a threat seen now as minimal at best.

But NORAD planners already have recognized the validity of that criticism, to some extent, by reducing the number of interceptor aircraft in the system to 500 from 2,000. At the same time, they have upgraded NORAD communications and tracking systems, and broadened its role.

Another line of attack against NORAD is the political-ideological argument which holds that Canada relinquishes its sovereignty by participating. At present, Americans are responsible for NORAD flights across vast tracts of Canadian landscape.

Canada has only one regional control center, at North Bay, Ontario, but this base is charged with responsibility for watching over part of the northeast U.S.

Edmonton base planned

The sovereignty argument against NORAD, however, may diminish further in the next two or three years, when Canada assumes responsibility for its own air space.

Last week, as a prelude to the renewal of NORAD, Mr. Richardson announced construction of a second Canadian regional base, at Edmonton, Alberta.

This $25 million installation will cover western Canadian air space previously handled from an American one. Under the new zone format, North Bay will assume responsibility for eastern Canadian air space and relinquish its role in the northeast U.S.

Defense Department sources in Ottawa say it could take two years or more before all the NORAD zones of responsibility are redrawn and the new Canadian installation at Edmonton is operational.

Had Canada failed to continue its NORAD obligations, officials here admit relations with the U.S. would have been dealt a stunning psychological blow.

But such a change in attitude by the Trudeau government would be startling, since only four years ago it declared the defense of North America to be its No. 2 priority in defense, behind only that of Canadian territory itself.

WALL STREET JOURNAL
7 MAY 1975 Pg. 24

Suit To Bar Vietnamese Asks Environment Data

Special to THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

SAN FRANCISCO—A federal district judge will hear a request today that no more South Vietnamese citizens be given refuge in the U.S. until an environmental impact statement is filed.

The suit was filed by Delta Citizens Group and James Shanks and William Shauer, two Sacramento businessmen, against Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, the Interior and Defense Department secretaries, and against the Immigration and Naturalization Service. It was transferred here from Sacramento.

The suit notes that an estimated 50,000 to 75,000 refugees will be immigrating with State Department help of up to $500 million. The suit says, "this is a major federal action with extensive national and local consequences," requiring an environmental impact statement under the National Environmental Policy Act.

It says the refugee program is a "monumental undertaking," with considerable consequences on U.S. citizens and that incoming refugees haven't been fully screened for communicable and contagious diseases.

The suit asks federal Judge Spencer Williams to issue a temporary restraining order that would halt any further entrance of South Vietnamese citizens into the U.S. and also halt further issuance of immigration permits to them.

NEW YORK TIMES 7 MAY 1975 Pg. 23

SAIGON SAYS CITY IS NORMAL AGAIN

HONG KONG, Wednesday, May 7 (Agence France-Presse) —The Saigon radio said yesterday that life had returned to normal in the South Vietnamese capital, with telephone lines functioning as before and well-stocked markets crowded with shoppers.

Thousands of Saigonese who had fled the city last week when the Communists took over were now said to be returning by bus.

Meanwhile, preparations were reported under way to celebrate the victory of the revolution.

Teachers belonging to patriotic associations were asked to meet yesterday afternoon to arrange a reception at which civilian and military leaders would presumably be presented to the people. Students were scheduled to meet last night.

It appeared that the celebration might be held some time today, one week after the city was surrendered to the Communists.

The radio said workers were busy at their jobs, noting that this was especially the case at the Sicovina textile factory, which has 1,000 employes.

Saigon bookstore owners were said to have tossed out all books that were regarded as useless or offensive.

Television Resumes

Among the indications that life had returned to normal, the radio said, was that a television station in the capital resumed operation Friday. In addition, an official newspaper published its first issue last Sunday.

A new administrative and moral order was reportedly being established in Saigon through the mobilization of volunteers, divided into several groups.

Medical aid was reported being handled by a group of 100 people, among them doctors and nurses.

Two groups of 50 volunteers each were said to be responsible for public order, while 120 people, divided into 17 teams, wearing civilian clothes and red armbands and carrying guns, were reported directing traffic.

The radio also mentioned a weapons reception group, staffed by 23 volunteers. They were said to have collected or requisitioned 4,323 guns of all kinds and undetermined quantities of grenades and ammunition.

Still another group of volunteers was said to be assigned to the distribution of revolutionary propaganda.

For the first time mention was made in a Vietnamese Communist broadcast of activities of Western journalists still in the city. They were said to have been present at Tan Son Nhut airport Friday to watch the first plane with the insignia of the Revolutionary Government to land there.

However, Western newsmen who last filed dispatches from Saigon last Wednesday, the day of the surrender, continued to be forbidden to send news out.

Broadcasts from both Saigon and Hanoi yesterday said a total of 13 South Vietnamese islands from the Gulf of Tonkin to the Gulf of Siam had been "liberated" in recent days, among them the prison islands of Son and Phu Quoc.

Some of the islands were in the Spratly group 200 miles or more east of the southern part of South Vietnam. But there was no mention of the Paracel Islands, which are east of Da Nang. This archipelago was occupied by Chinese forces in 1974 after brief fighting with South Vietnamese troops.

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WASHINGTON POST
7 MAY 1975 Pg 8

Radio Jingle To Promote Army Career

United Press International

After a four-year hiatus, the Army is seeking recruits again with paid radio jingles.

The 13-week campaign began in 15 cities Monday. Because the service is limited to a $600,000 budget, the ads will appear only on radio. In the spring of 1971 the Army had $10.6 million and advertised on television as well as radio.

The services have long asked radio and TV stations to broadcast free ads, but they usually appeared after midnight.

The 1971 campaign and the current one are both designed to attract volunteers for the infantry, artillery and armor. There is also a financial inducement because each volunteer for the combat branches gets a bonus of $1,500 to $2,500.

The 1971 ad campaign was considered a success by the Army, which got 10 times as many volunteers in the last month of the campaign as in the same month of the preceeding year. But in the first eight months of the current budget year, the Army reached only 76 per cent of its combat needs.

NEW YORK TIMES
7 MAY 1975, Pg 23

News Blackout May End

PARIS, May 6 (UPI)—Officials of the Revolutionary Government's mission here said today that foreign newsmen would soon be permitted to file dispatches from Saigon again.

WASHINGTON STAR 6 MAY 1975, Pg 3B (7)

'Politics' Charged in Plan To Shift P.G. Navy Office

By Brad Holt
Washington Star Staff Writer

"Keep My Chevy Off The Levee," proclaimed the sign held by an employe of the Naval Oceanographic Center.

About 1,300 center employes expect the Navy to transfer their Suitland office to the area of Bay St. Louis, Miss. and thus disrupt their lives—because of the move south itself, or because they will quit their jobs to stay in this area and then face the task of trying to find comparable work.

LAST NIGHT the employes, who perform scientific, engineering and environmental studies for the Navy as well as other federal and civilian agencies, had their chance to protest to the Navy. About 800 appeared at the Suitland High School cafeteria for a hearing on an environmental impact draft statement on the proposed move published by the Navy.

Among the 58 speakers who testified before a Navy hearing board were Maryland politicians from Congress, the state Senate and House of Delegates and the Prince Georges County government.

The politicians of the Free State were solidly behind their constituency—about 57 percent of those threatened by the move live in Prince Georges County.

U.S. Rep. Gladys N. Spellman, D-Md., told the crowd, "It disturbs me that the Navy thinks it can move people around like pieces on a chess board. They're dealing with disrupting families.

"For what reason?" she asked. "Politics," she answered.

BOTH THE oceanographic employes and the Maryland politicians pointed out that the center's annual payroll is about $25 million, which would leave Maryland along with the center. The proposed site, located in Mississippi close to the Louisiana state line, is sponsored by Sens. John Stennis, D-Miss., and Rusell Long, D-La., chairmen respectively of the Senate Armed Services and Finance Committees, last night's meeting was told.

Francis B. Francois, chairman of the Prince Georges County Council, said county officials "have been opposed to the move and that strong opposition still stands. The county executive and the County Council are ready to use every legal weapon available."

REP. MARJORIE S. HOLT, R-Md., read a letter written to Defense Secretary James Schlesinger from Reps. John M. Murphy, D-N.Y., and Charles A. Mosher, R-Ohio, respectively the chairman and ranking minority member of the oceanographic subcommittee of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. The letter announced oversight hearings on the proposed move to begin May 21 and asked for postponement of a "final decision on this transfer" until the hearings are completed.

THE NAVY STUDY, under the heading of "Adverse Environmental Effects," noted that "blacks, who comprise about 14 percent of the work force, may be reluctant to transfer to the proposed relocation site." The study notes that as many as 80 to 90 percent of the blacks may refuse transfer and that those who go "must consider the general attitudes of the majority populace toward minorities..."

Louise Driscoll, a deputy equal employment opportunity officer for the center who toured the area recently, said that "along the Gulf coast, everything is fine, but when you go inland, it's the old South. In the movie theaters, blacks are on one side and whites on the other; a black cop can't arrest a white man....It's very separate and very unequal."

Members of the Navy hearing board agreed with Mrs. Driscoll in her estimation of the racial situation but disagreed with statements about the availability of housing and the quality of education.

AT THE CLOSE of the hearing, members of the board told a reporter that there was adequate housing available near the Mississippi site.

WASHINGTON STAR 6 MAY 1975, Pg 11 (7)

Army Moving Its Prep School

Associated Press

Secretary of the Army Howard Callaway said Monday that the U.S. Military Academy Preparatory School will be moved this summer from Ft. Belvior, south of Washington, to Ft. Monmouth, N.J.

Involved are 325 students and 65 civilian and military instructors and administrators.

The Army said the shift will provide the shcool improved permanent facilities by the beginning of the 1976 session a year from August.

The Army said the transfer of the school to Ft. Monmouth will permit expansion of the Defense Systems Management School at Ft. Belvoir before January. The U.S. Military Academy Preparatory School prepares regular and reserve soldiers to qualify for entrance to West Point.

WASHINGTON POST 7 MAY 1975, Pg 43

For the Record

• Soviet Communist Party chief Brezhnev and Premier Kosygin will visit West Germany this year, the ruling Social Democratic Party announced in Bonn. The Soviet news agency Tass, meanwhile, said in Moscow that Kosygin will visit Libya the first half of this month.

LOS ANGELES TIMES 4 MAY 1975 (7)
Pg 6B

Californians Pressured Navy to Buy F-18, Critic Charges

DALLAS (AP)—The U.S. Navy has been pressured to spend $6 billion for a deficient fighter plane just to ease California's unemployment problems, according to U.S. Rep. Dale Milford (D-Tex.).

Milford said Saturday in a statement issued from his home that the Navy was pressured "in a demanding letter" to choose the F-18 fighter built by McDonnell-Douglas and Northrop in California. He said the plane is inferior to the LTV F-16 which the Air Force chose in January. Congress earlier had recommended the Navy and Air Force adopt the same new fighter plane.

"This letter clearly stated the demand that the award should go to Northrop because of California's high unemployment factor," Milford said. He said the letter was written by "the entire California (congressional) delegation."

Milford said the Navy's decision, which still requires congressional approval, is indefensible on the basis of the F-18's performance, economy or as the best combat plane available for Navy use.

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WEDNESDAY MORNING, 7 MAY 1975

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DEBATE 5-7
DAY LD
BY JOHN MILNE

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE HAS VOTED IN FAVOR OF THE "COUNTERFORCE" STRATEGY OF FIGHTING NUCLEAR WARS, WHICH SUPPORTERS SAY WOULD GIVE THE PRESIDENT MORE FLEXIBILITY IN RESPONDING TO CRISES.

OPPONENTS CONTEND "COUNTERFORCE" WOULD ADD NEW, DANGEROUS ELEMENTS OF RISK AND INSTABILITY TO RELATIONS BETWEEN NUCLEAR POWERS. THEY SAID TODAY THEY PLAN TO FIGHT THE DECISION IN THE WHOLE SENATE.

SOME SENATE SOURCES PREDICT A CONFRONTATION SIMILAR TO THE RECENT FIGHT OVER THE ANTIBALLISTIC MISSILE.

THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE MET BEHIND CLOSED DOORS TUESDAY ON THE PENTAGON'S $10.2 BILLION RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT REQUEST. IT IS EXPECTED TO ANNOUNCE FINAL DECISIONS SOON, PERHAPS TODAY.

SOURCES NOT WISHING TO BE QUOTED BECAUSE THE COMMITTEE HAS NOT YET MADE ALL ITS DECISIONS SAID THE VOTE WAS 11-4 IN FAVOR OF $109 BILLION IN RESEARCH FOR FIVE "COUNTERFORCE" PROPOSALS. AN EXAMPLE OF ONE IDEA IS MARV, A NUCLEAR WARHEAD THAT CAN BE GUIDED TOWARD A TARGET AFTER IT IS FIRED. THE IDEA BEHIND "COUNTERFORCE" IS TO HAVE A MISSILE SO ACCURATE AND POWERFUL THAT IT CAN DESTROY AN ENEMY MISSILE BEFORE IT IS FIRED.

THE COMITTEE REVERSED THE RESEARCH SUBCOMMITTEE, HEADED BY SEN. THOMAS MCINTYRE, D-N.H., WHICH HAD ELIMINATED THESE PROJECTS. MCINTYRE IS ONE OF THE OPPONENTS WHO CALLS "COUNTERFORCE" DANGEROUS, IN HIS PHRASE, "PUTTING A HAIR TRIGGER ON NUCLEAR WAR."

THEY SAY IT IS ONLY A MATTER OF TIME UNTIL BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION GET THIS CAPABILITY, AND IF A CRISIS COMES BOTH SIDES WILL ITCH TO PUSH THE NUCLEAR BUTTON FIRST -- BECAUSE THE SECOND ONE COULD HAVE ITS NUCLEAR ARSENAL DESTROYED.

SUPPORTERS, WHO INCLUDE SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER AND SECRETARY OF DEFENSE JAMES SCHLESINGER, SAY "COUNTERFORCE" GIVES THE PRESIDENT ANOTHER MILITARY OPTION BETWEEN DOING NOTHING IN A CRISIS OR RISKING ALL-OUT NUCLEAR WAR.

THE SOURCES ALSO SAID THE COMMITTEE VOTED TO CUT $222.3 MILLION FROM THE $672 MILLION REQUEST FOR THE B1 BOMBER PROGRAM, AND PERMIT ONLY CONTINUED RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, NOT PRODUCTION. THE SUBCOMMITTEE ORIGINALLY CUT $160.8 MILLION, AND THE COMMITTEE VOTED NARROWLY TO KEEP THE CUT. A LATER COMPROMISE CUT MORE, THE SOURCES SAID, AND IT PASSED 10-4.

CONSERVATIVES MAY ASK THE FULL SENATE TO RESTORE FUNDS FOR THE B1, DESIGNED AS THE NATION'S MAJOR HEAVY BOMBER FOR NUCLEAR WAR. THE HOUSE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE WAS KINDER TO THE CONTROVERSIAL PLANE, VOTING TUESDAY TO AUTHORIZE ALL THE PENTAGON ASKED.

UPI 05-07 03:42 AED

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(BANGKOK) -- A REPORT BY THE SAIGON RADIO, MONITORED IN BANGKOK, SAYS A HUGE CROWD GATHERED AT THE FORMER PRESIDENTIAL PALACE TODAY. THE RADIO SAYS THE COMMANDING GENERAL OF THE SAIGON AREA PROMISED LENIENCY TO FORMER FOES OF THE VIET CONG AND RESPECT FOR LIVES AND PROPERTY OF FOREIGN RESIDENTS -- PROVIDING, HE SAID, THAT "THEY EARN AN HONEST LIVING THROUGH CLEAN BUSINESS" AND OBEY LAWS AND ORDERS.

GENENRAL TRAN VAN TRA, WHO LED THE ATTACK ON SAIGON IN THE 1968 TET OFFENSIVE, ALSO WARNED OF SEVERE PUNISHMENT AGAINST THOSE WHO -- AS HE PUT IT -- "SEVER THEMSELVES FROM THE PEOPLE" AND "SERVE AS HENCHMEN FOR FOREIGN COUNTRIES."

03:24AED 05-07-75

WALL STREET JOURNAL 7 MAY 1975, Pg 7

IBM Permits Army To Cancel Orders Without Any Penalty

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WHITE PLAINS, N.Y. — International Business Machines Corp. said it has allowed the Army to cancel three remaining computers on a nine-computer contract without paying scheduled penalties of $9.6 million.

But IBM acknowledged — after a statement was issued by Rep. Jack Brooks, (D., Texas), chairman of the House government operations committee—that the Army was paying $6 million over current market prices for the six computers it is buying from IBM, and that the Army had violated federal law by signing the original contract.

"The Army has acknowledged a procedural error," an IBM spokesman said, commenting on a charge by Rep. Brooks that only the General Services Administration has legal authority to buy data processing equipment for the government.

IBM explained the $6 million price differential by noting that in 1973, when the agreement was reached, the price to the Army of $2.7 million for each of the six system 360, model 65 computers was "competitive" in the market. Since then the going price has dropped to $1.7 million, the spokesman said, because of "dynamics in the market" rather than any change in production costs.

IBM said the original contract, which was for up to 24 computer systems, was awarded by competitive bidding in 1967 but was revised by the Army and IBM in 1973 when Army requirements were reduced. Under that agreement, the Army was to pay $4.3 million for each computer if it purchased fewer than nine.

Rep. Brooks said the Army would purchase the other three computers on the open market, presumably at the lower price.

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CURRENT NEWS

PART II - MAIN EDITION - 1130

THIS SUPPLEMENTS PART I-EARLY BIRD EDITION

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TUESDAY, MAY 6, 1975

BALTIMORE SUN
6 May 1975 Pg. 1

Phnom Penh said to order executions

By DEAN MILLS
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—The State Department said yesterday that the new rulers of Cambodia have ordered the execution of all top political and military leaders of the old regime, down to the local level.

The order, if carried out, would mean the death of thousands of Cambodians who served under the defeated government of President Lon Nol.

American officials indicated that a program of mass reprisals would make the United States hesitant to recognize the new regime in Phnom Penh. Henry A. Kissinger, the Secretary of State, said in an interview televised yesterday that "very tragic and inhuman and barbarous things are going on."

"We don't regret not having recognized Cambodia immediately," he added.

Robert Anderson, the State Department spokesman, confirmed at a department press briefing reports of the execution orders given in radio transmissions intercepted by American intelligence.

And he said the United States has "information that in one outlying area this order was carried out and this involved 80. . .leaders and their wives."

But Mr. Anderson said information available to the United States is too fragmentary to indicate whether the execution orders have been carried out on a wide scale. There were solid indications, however, that the new leaders have been harsh in establishing their authority.

Western journalists who remained in Phnom Penh for the Communist takeover and who arrived in Thailand over the weekend have hinted darkly of severe measures taken by the new government, although they have foresworn writing directly on the subject for now for fear of harming those left behind.

PHNOM PENH...Pg. 2

WASHINGTON POST
6 May 1975 Pg. 1

Refugee Critics Shock Ford

By Carroll Kilpatick
Washington Post Staff Writer

Congressional and public criticism of administration policy on the admission of Vietnamese refugees has shocked and disturbed President Ford, White House sources said yesterday.

The President is expected to express himself on the subject in strong terms at a televised news conference at 7:30 tonight, the first he has held since the surrender of Saigon.

The President was quoted by one source as having said "it is not the America I know" when informed of what some public figures and citizens have said about not wanting the Vietnamese to come to this country.

The President also is expected to discuss in public for the first time the consequences for this country of the Communist victories in Cambodia and Vietnam.

He asked Congress yesterday for $507 million to care for the Vietnamese refugees until they can find homes and jobs, and he is expected to defend his position that they should be welcome and that the United States owes them refuge.

Last week, through his press secretary, Mr. Ford said he was "proud" of what he had done to help evacuate Vietnamese who wanted to leave their country.

Yesterday, press secretary Ron Nessen, asked about reports of criticism of Graham A. Martin, ambassador to South Vietnam, quoted the President as strongly defending the ambassador and hailing the success of the evacuation.

"The President feels that Ambassador Martin accomplished an extraordinarily

CRITICS...Pg. 2

BALTIMORE SUN 6 May 1975 Pg. 8

Kissinger denies links to any CIA death plots

Washington (AP) — The Secretary of State, Henry A Kissinger, yesterday denied having any involvement in alleged Central Intelligence Agency domestic spying or foreign assassination plots.

"Since I have been in Washington, the National Security Council or the National Security Council staff or the assistant to the President for national security affairs did not concern themselves with domestic intelligence or were informed about domestic intelligence," Mr. Kissinger told reporters after a two-hour-closed-door session with the Rockefeller commission.

Asked about allegations of CIA assassination plots, Mr. Kissinger chuckled and said, "None of those allegations pertain to any period of which I have personal knowledge."

The Defense Secretary, James R. Schlesinger, who headed the agency briefly in 1973, also testified and later told reporters that "assassination has not been used as a tool by the CIA at any time."

However, Mr. Schlesinger said he would have "no comment on allegations regarding [the assassination of] foreign leaders" and added that "there are questions here that the commission and the appropriate congressional bodies may wish to review."

Asked whether the CIA had undertaken domestic surveillance in response to White House pressure, Mr. Schlesinger said, "My recollection ... is that indeed there were expressions of interest on the part of senior officials of the government."

Asked if these expressions came from Mr. Kissinger, who ordinarily would direct CIA covert activities, Mr. Schlesinger indicated that the requests for domestic surveillance "came through channels other than national security channels."

Vice President Rockefeller, the commission chairman,

KISSINGER...Pg. 2

NEW YORK NEWS
6 May 1975 Pg. 2

U.S. Taking Viet Planes From Thais

Washington, May 5 (News Bureau) — Despite official Thai objections, the United States has begun removing the 125 U.S.-supplied military planes flown to Thailand by fleeing South Vietnamese pilots, the Pentagon said today.

Meantime, it was announced that the U.S. would reduce by about 25% the number of American troops and planes in Thailand. The number of troops will be cut from 25,000 to 19,500, mostly Air Force personnel.

Scheduled for removal next month are two squadrons of U.S. F-111 fighter-bombers (36 planes) and three squadrons of F-4 fighters (72 planes). The total of American planes currently in Thailand is 340, including 176 fighters; 16 F-4s configured for reconnaissance duty; 17 B-52 bombers; 12 AC-130 gunships, and a number of other aircraft of the liaison, spotter or utility types.

The U.S. troop reduction, disclosed earlier today in Bangkok, was described in a Thai Foreign Ministry statement as the first step in an effort to phase out the American military presence in Thailand by March 1976.

The decision to bring the South Vietnamese aircraft to the United States had not been disclosed previously.

The announcement came as Thai Foreogn Minister Chatichai Choonhavan said in Bangkok that the Thai Government would aorctian the planes for the time being. He indicated that he wanted to discuss the matter with u.s. officials.

North Vietnam and the new Communist government of South Vietnam have demanded the return of all planes and ships

VIET PLANES...Pg. 2

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NEW YORK TIMES 6 May 1975 Pg. 1

Kissinger Denies Involvement In Domestic Spying by C.I.A.

By NICHOLAS M. HORROCK
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 5—Secretary of State Kissinger said today that he and the National Security Council had had no involvement in any domestic operations of the Central Intelligence Agency and that he had never "transmitted" to the agency any feeling of concern about domestic security on the part of President Nixon.

His statement was made to reporters after he testified before the Rockefeller Commission, which is investigating the C.I.A.

Richard Helms, former director of Central Intelligence had said in January that domestic operations were conducted in response to Presidential concern that foreign influences were controlling the domestic antiwar movement.

Mr. Kissinger's statement raised the question of whether the C.I.A.'s operations were outside the chain of command suggested by the National Security Act of 1947, which calls upon the C.I.A. to "perform such other functions and duties related to inelligence affecting the national security as the National Security Council may from time to time direct."

The present C.I.A. chief, William E. Colby, said in January that the agency conductec domestic intelligence gathering from 1970 until 1973 as an outgrowth of Presidential concern over radical activities.

This concern was expressed in the so-called Tuston plan, a proposed attack on radical movement that included burglaries, electronic surveillance and mail covers, which was prepared in 1970 but not implemented. The C.I.A., Mr. Colby has said, continued to gather information and maintain files on Americans even though the plan was not adopted.

The National Security Council, a national security advisery body, and the 40 committees are the normal conduits for commands to C.I.A. for instance, covert activity abroad is conducted either with the express approval of the 40 Committee or under the power of executive orders issued through the council. (The 40 Committee includes representatives from the major agencies of the intelligence community, Mr. Kissinger and members of the council.

But today, under questioning, Mr. Kissinger said that "since I have been in Washington, the National Security Council or the National Security Council staff or the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs did not concern themselves with domestic intelligence or, were not informed about domestic inteligence.

Mr. Kissinger has directed the council since 1969 and his tenure covered the years 1970 until 1973, during which Mr. Colby sai dthat part of the domestic intelligence operation took place.

Vice President Rckefeller said today that there were other channels of cammand between the White House and the C.I.A. outside of the National Security Council and that these channels could have included President Nixon himself.

Mr. Kissinger also disavowed today any knowledge of alleged assassinations b ythe C.I.A. Each of the day's other witnesses—a former C.I.A. chief, John A. McCone, Secretary of Defense James M. Schlesinger, and a former White House aide, Walt Rostow — were asked about assassinations.

All denied direct knowledge, Mr. McCone said that during his term of office there was "absolutely no assassination plot or authorized assassination plot against Castro by the Cuban Premier, [Fidel Castro] or any other foreign leader."

Today's session was one of the last two in which the commission will hear witnesses. It has begpn to prepare its report, which is scheduled to be given to President Ford on June 6.

Mr. Schlesinger said what he recalled, from his internal investigation of C.I.A., indicated that what authorizations came in the summer of 1971 came through "channels other than the N.S.C."

The concern of the Nixon Administration with domestic radicals was synthesized in a plan written by John Charles Huston, then a White House aide, in the summer of 1970. The plan had been contributed to by members of the major intelligence agencies. It would have authorized, with Presidential approval, the use of burglaries, mail covers and electronic surveillance, to gather intellegence about the domestic radical movement.

The plan was in effect for five days, but was rescinded when the late J. Edgar Hoover refused to allow the F.B.I. to be involved. It was not the only period in which the C.I.A. has conducted domestic intelligence, according to Mr. Colby, the agency head.

KISSINGER...Continued

briefing reporters on the day's session, confirmed that "there were many channels from the White House to the CIA" but refused to supply details or state where requests for domestic surveillance had originated.

Walt W. Rostow, Mr. Kissinger's predecessor as national security adviser, also appeared before the commission but declined any comment on his testimony.

John A. McCone, the central intelligence director during the early 1960's, also testified before the eight-member commission investigating allegations of CIA domestic wrongdoing.

Mr. McCone later told reporters he had to "plead ignorance" in response to questions about alleged plots against the life of Cuban Premier Fidel Castro. "During my term of office, there was no, absolutely no assassination plot or authorized assassination plot against Castro or any other foreign leader," Mr. McCone said.

Mr. Kissinger was asked by reporters about the future of a former CIA director, Richard M. Helms, now Ambassador to Iran. "Helms will remain ambassador to Iran," Mr. Kissinger said. "I have complete confidence in him."

Last January, Mr. Helms acknowledged publicly that a special counter-intelligence unit was set up within the CIA in response to presidential concern that domestic unrest was influenced from abroad.

VIET PLANES...Cont'd

bused by South Vietnamese to flee their country before it fell last week.

But Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger has said that the U.S. retained title to the planes.

In response to questions, a Pentagon spokesman said that some South Vietnamese C-130 transport planes were being flown from Thailand to Clark Air Force Base in the Philippines and that most of the other South Vietnamese planes were being removed by ship.

About 54 F-5 fighters and A-37 light attack bombers, formerly os the South Vietnamese Air Force — which was once the world's foruth largest — were being loaded on the aircraft carrier Midway off the Thai port of Sattahip, sources daid. Alos aboard the Midway were 48 U.S.-supplied helicopters, either from South Vietnam of Cambodia.

PHNOM PENH...Continued

Several officials speaking privately yesterday agreed with Mr. Anderson's observation that the information so far is too thin to judge whether mass executions have begun. But they said the execution orders given in the intercepted radio messages applied even to low-ranking political and military officials at local levels.

Given the insurgents' reputation for ruthlessness, some analysts here said, there was no reason to doubt that the orders were being carried out. Ronald H. Nessen, the White House press secretary, told reporters yesterday that "80 to 90 officers and their wives" had been executed in Cambodia. Mr. Nessen also said the United States has had "some reports" of executions of South Vietnamese officials.

CRITICS...Continued

difficult task under trying circumstances and did it well," Nessen said.

Declaring that Martin was responsible for the lives of Americans in Saigon and for maintaining the embassy to the end, Nessen said the President "thinks the results speak for themselves."

The Americans were evacuated safely as were, thousands of Vietnamese, Nessen said.

Nessen said Mr. Ford appreciated the support of Gov. Reubin Askew of Florida and Gov. David Pryor of Arkansas both Democrats, for refugee resettlement activities in their states.

Evacuees are being sent to Eglin Air Force Base in Florida, Ft. Chaffee in Arkansas and Camp Pendleton in California.

Asked if the President had thanked Democratic Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, Nessen replied, "Why should he" Brown has complained of the new immigrants at a time when many Americans are unemployed.

While there have been reports of heavy mail to members of Congress opposing the admission of Vietnamese refugees, Nessen said White House mail favored their admission.

Of 7,500 letters received on the subject in the last month, 4,456 supported the President's policy, 2,936 opposed it and the remainder commented but stated no firm position, Nessen said.

Asked about a suggestion by Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.) that some of the refugees would want to return to their homeland, Nessen said they left voluntarily and if some want to return they are free to do so.

Nessen confirmed earlier reports that the President has invited Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin to visit Washinton next month. The visit will take place June 11-12, Nessen said, for discussions of "matters of mutual interest and in order to further strengthen the friendly ties between the two countries."

Israeli officials were reportedly disturbed last week because the White House announced that the President would meet first with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat during Mr. Ford's trip to Europe.

The meeting with the Egyptian leader is scheduled for June 1-2 in Salzburg, Austria. The President will first attend a North Atlantic Treaty Organization summit meeting in Brussels May 29-30 and also visit Madrid and Rome before returning to Washington June 3 or 4.

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Part II--Main Edition--6 May 1975

WASHINGTON POST 6 May 1975 Pg. 1

Vietcong Wins First U.N. Recognition

From News Dispatches

The new Communist government of South Vietnam has released all prisoners from the Conson Island prison where inmates were held in notorious "tiger cage" cells, the Vietcong radio said Monday.

The move came as the Vietcong's Provisional Revolutionary Government continued to tighten its control over the country and won its first recognition from the United Nations as the successor of the former Saigon government.

The PRG ordered all officials of the former government to report to authorities by Thursday and extended to May 31 the deadline for members of the defeated armed forces to turn themselves in. Saigon Radio also reiterated its order for military equipment to be turned in immediately.

The Vietcong's Giai Phong Radio, monitored by the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug, did not give the number of prisoners released from Conson Island prison, but it said they would be reunited with their families.

Former U.S. Rep. William R. Anderson (D-Tenn.) once referred to the "tiger cages" of Conson island as "the most shocking treatment of human beings I have ever seen" after touring the prison where 10,000 persons were held, most of them for political reasons.

During the height of the U.S. opposition to involvement in the Vietnam war, reports on the "tiger cages" raised a furor in the United States. At one point, 116 South Vietnamese political prisoners claimed that they had been paralyzed from maltreatment on the island and from being kept in the "cages."

The radio also reported that former officials of the defeated Saigon government, including former President Duong Van (Big) Minh, had been returned to their families in Saigon.

The officials were told upon their release that it was hoped that they would contribute to rebuilding the country, the radio said. Minh responded by saying he "welcomed the victory of the liberation forces and said he was happy to be a citizen of the independent Vietnam," the radio said

Meanwhile, Saigons' new rulers ordered the immediate closure of all overseas missions set up by the previous government and indicated that the new envoys would be sent out soon to take over.

In a three-point directive, the Foreign Ministry ordered all heads of mission to cease operations and close their embassies and to draw up lists of documents, equipment and property for handover to new representatives who would be sent out soon, and warned that acts of sabotage and illegal removal of funds would be punished.

The directive was the new government's first order to the former government's dozens of embassies, the largest of which are in Washington and Paris.

Domestic proclamations by the PRG have dealt thus far with the reconstruction of the country and the establishment of administrative machinery. Essential services have reportedly been restored and many factories are said to be in full operation. Communications with the outisde world, however, have not been restored, and news has been confined to radio broadcasts monitored outside South Vietnam.

In Wellington, New Zealand, a U.N. official said that almost all the displaced persons in Vietnam are expected to be resettled in their villages by the end of May. The U.N. official said his agency, the U.N. High Commission for Refugees, is working closely with the new Saigon government to provide medicines, food, tools and seeds.

The North Vietnamese news agency in Hanoi reported that the television station in Hue has resumed broadcasting and Giai Phong Radio said a group of dancers from Hanoi performed in the former imperial capital on Sunday.

The radio also reported that Saigon citizens are scraping walls and cleaning up streets and market places. Old movie posters and posters of the Thieu regime have been replaced by revolutionary slogans, the radio said.

At the United Nations, the U.N. Economic and Social Council recognized the PRG as the successor government to the former Saigon regime yesterday, despite American "regrets" at the "premature" decision.

In a public debate on the recognition, other U.N. delegates suggested that the US. statement indicated that Washington would recognize the PRG "in the coming days."

U.S. representative Clarence Ferguson responded, "We will not recognize any government-in-exile, but that is not an either-or proposition. As of this moment, we do not recognize the authorities in Saigon."

Ferguson said the United States was "uncertain as to an eventuality of double representation."

The PRG's earlier application for membership in two U.N. bodies—the World Health Organization and the World Meteorological Organization—has indicated to some observers that the new Communist rulers in the South are preparing for a prolonged period of diplomatic activity independent of North Vietnam.

Yesterday's U.N. decision means that the PRG would succeed the government it defeated as an "observer" at the world body, but neither of the agency applications has been acted upon.

Monday's action at the United Nations was prompted by a request from Senegal that the PRG be invited to attend the U.N. International Women's Year conference in Mexico City in July.

Meanwhile, the Soviet news agency Tass reported that two Soviet ships had docked in Danang and brought 4,000 tons of food and fuel to the city. The Soviet vessels were the first ships to enter the port since the Communist government took control.

Western diplomats in Moscow said they expected the Soviet government to move quickly to supply the South Vietnamese Communists in a move to blunt Chinese influence in the area.

Neues Deutschland, the East German Communist Party newspaper reported from Saigon that the Danang harbor was reopened April 24.

Tass also reported that the new government's newspaper, Saigon Liberation, said that North Vietnamese and Vietcong forces killed or wounded more than 400,000 troops of the Saigon government in the final days of the war.

The Los Angeles Times quoted an American official as saying that 15 tons of gold remained in the vaults of the central bank when South Vietnam surrendered. The official said some efforts had been made to fly the gold out during the U.S. evacuation of the city.

NEW YORK NEWS 6 May 1975 Pg. 8

Says Egypt Fortifies Suez' Eastern Bank

By JOSEPH FRIED
Staff Correspondent of The News

Jerusalem, May 5—Israeli Defense Minister Shimon Peres charged today that Egypt had laid the military groundwork for a crossing of the Suez Canal, like the one that triggered the 1973 Mideast war.

Peres also disclosed for the first time that a Soviet spy ship had been operating off the Israeli coast for the last five years, using electronic equipment to monitor activities within Israel.

Peres told the Kresset that the Soviet Union had not only resumed the flow of weapons to the Arabs, but had considerably increased the numbers of shipments, including ammunition and spare parts for Soviet-made weapons already in Egypt.

Specifically, Peres said, the Kremlin was supplying Egypt with MIG-23 warplanes, surface-to-air missiles and spare parts for tanks and planes.

He said that Egypt had completed laying the groundwork for fortifications on the east bank of the Suez, where they could deploy forces to cross into Sinai.

Peres said that Egypt had been working on the east bank of the canal since the January 1974 signing of the separation-of-forces agreement with Israel following the Yom Kippur War in October 1973.

Peres said the new fortifications included gun emplacements, bunkers and ditches.

"They've set the stage for another invasion should Egypt decide to go to war again," sources said here. "So far, it appears to be a contingency effort, but all that could change overnight if the Egyptians decide to move their troops and weapons across the canal."

Peres' disclosure coincided with reports here that Egypt might shift additional troops to the east bank of the canal on grounds that they are required to protect the canal after it reopens June 5.

Others Aid Egypt

Israeli Transport Minsiter Gad Yacobi warned today that any such troop movement would "sabotage" efforts toward achieving a Mideast settlement.

Peres also disclosed that both Algeria and Saudi Arabia had bolstered Egypt's arsenal since the October 1973 war.

He said that Algeria had bought Soviet tanks and turned them over to Egypt and that the Saudis had transferred some of the Mirage jets it bought from France.

Peres added that Egypt was trying to buy military equipment in Western Europe, including France and Britain.

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Air Defense System

WASHINGTON POST 6 May 1975 Pg. 14

U.S. to Sell Arms to Jordan

By Murrey Marder
Washington Post Staff Writer

The United States has agreed to supply Jordan with an air-defense system including Hawk ground-to-air missiles, American officials said yesterday.

Confirmation that Jordan's King Hussein last week won a specific U.S. commitment for the air defenses he long has sought came in an unusual sequence yesterday.

Earlier, State Department spokesman Robert Anderson was asked if the United States still held to its position that there will be no new American arms commitment to Israel, or its Arab adversaries, during the current reassessment of Middle East policy. Anderson said that still is U.S. policy and he was "unaware of any commitments that were made to King Hussein" during his talks here last week.

Officials later disclosed the weapons arrangement with Jordan. To defend official credibility, they described this as confirmation of an earlier intention, rather than a new commitment.

Hussein has cited Jordan's lack of air defense as the reason why Jordan participated only symbolically in the October, 1973, Arab-Israeli war.

U.S. officials said an American survey team was sent to Jordan and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger last February told Hussein that the United States intended to supply the air-defense system. An official said "final agreement" was "reached on details" last week.

Components of the system, including Hawk missiles and antiaircraft guns, will not begin reaching Jordan until the fall, it was said.

Jordan is reported to have argued that if it did not get the air-defense system from the United States, it would have to go, through Syria, to the Soviet Union for arms help.

Before Hussein's visit to Washington, a report circulated that Syria and Jordan agreed to a joint military command, which would have access to Soviet weapons. U.S. officials expressed disbelief over the report and Hussein denied it in a television interview here on Sunday.

To counter charges of discrimination against Israel, U.S. officials emphasized that Israel continues to receive deliveries of American weapons from previous commitments. This includes, one source said, "quite a large number of tanks" in April.

Kissinger, in a "Today" show interview to be televised this morning (NBC, WRC), said President Ford had "set a tentative deadline" for the Mideast policy reassessment, but that was before Indochina events "took a great deal of our attention." It is "a mistake to believe that there will be some clear terminal date at which one can say from now on the assessment is completed," Kissinger said.

He said that "on the whole ... the final decision will not be made until President Ford has had an opportunity to meet with the leaders of the countries principally concerned."

Referring to the advanced F-15 warplanes which Israel wants, Kissinger said such aircraft, "in any event, would not be delivered until the end of 1977, early 1978."

WASHINGTON POST 6 May 1975 Pg. C-1

Navy Move Plan Scored

By Harold J. Logan
Washington Post Staff Writer

Almost 700 persons indicated through speeches, signs and applause last night that they think the Navy's plan to shift its oceanographic office from Suitland to the Gulf Coast is ill-considered, politically motivated, and technically unwise.

The crown that overflowed the cafeteria at Suitland High School, where a public hearing was held on a Navy-prepared study of the environmental impact of the proposed move was made up of mostly middle class professional employees of the office who would be directly affected by its proposed relocation to Bay St. Louis, Miss.

Many of them indicated that they felt, as did oceanographer Lewis J. Franc, that politics, rather than Congress's stated effort to reduce the Navy's presence in the Washington area, is "what appears to be the primary driving force of relocating to the proposed site."

"The proponents (of the move) have argued again and again that it is not politically motivated; that it was only an accident that the loss of Congressman F. Edward Hebert's chair on the House Armed Services Committee concided with the sudden demise of Michoud, La., as a viable site for relocation."

The relocation of the facility, which employs 1,300 workers, is being pushed by Sen. John C. Stennis (D-Miss.), chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee and Sen. Russell B. Long (D-La.), chairman of the Finance Committee. One of the things at stake is the oceanographic offices' $25 million annual payroll.

Other testimony at the hearing focused on the almost 200 black persons who work at the office, and who are expected to oppose a move to the deep South.

Louise Driscoll, the deputy equal employment opportunity officer at the oceanographic office, said "EEO (equal employment opportunity) is hard enough right here. We don't need to go to Mississippi."

Mrs. Driscoll said she was one of several oceanographic office employees who visited the Bay St. Louis area and reported, "On the coast it's fine (for blacks), but don't go a mile inland. It is just like it was 100 years ago."

The environmental impact study that was the subject of the public hearing asserts that "potentially, as many as 80 to 90 per cent of the blacks may refuse transfer."

It also predicts that "relocation will likely cause a number of individuals to exercise their retirement options earlier than previously planned." The study says 268 oceanographic employees are eligible for part or full retirement.

The study contemplates that about 800 of the institute's 1,300 employees would make the move if it is approved by the Navy.

It predicts that the influx of oceanographic office employees would seriously strain the housing and public school capacities of the Bay St. Louis area.

The study predicts no serious negative impact of the move on the natural environment of Bay St. Louis.

Only one person testified in favor of the move. Mrs. William King spoke highly of the fishing, golf, and other recreational benefits of the Guf area, and said its sunset "has been compared to those on the Riviera." She said the educational and cultural opportunities in the area 55 miles northeast of New Orleans are good.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
6 May 1975 Pg. 13

U.S. takes 'wait, see' Viet stance

WASHINGTON [AP]—Secretary of State Henry Kissinger says the United States will watch the actions of the new Communist regime in Saigon before deciding whether to recognize it diplomatically.

"We now have to see what the conduct of this government is internationally and partially domestically," Kissinger said in an interview with Barbara Walters Monday on NBC's Today show.

"For example, we know that in Cambodia very tragic and inhuman and impoverished things are going on," Kissinger said. "We don't regret not having recognized Cambodia immediately."

Kissinger also said he doubts that Hanoi would have staged its successful military drive on Saigon if Watergate had not sapped Presidential power and Congress had not passed the war powers act.

"IN JANUARY '73 we did not foresee that Watergate would sap the executive authority of the United States to such a degree that flexibility of executive action inherently would be circumscribed," Kissinger said.

"We did not foresee that the Congress would pass a law which prohibited us from enforcing the Paris agreement and while we probably might have done nothing anyway, it makes a lot of difference for Hanoi whether it thinks the United States probably will not or whether it thinks that we certainly cannot," Kissinger said.

"I do not believe that Hanoi would have sent 19 of its 20 divisions south if these two things hadn't happened," he added.

THE SECRETARY also defended the Ford administration's refusal to reveal the contents of a January, 1973, letter in which former President Nixon promised Thieu the United States would use full force to punish any violations of the Paris peace agreement.

"If we begin revealing the contents of letters, simply because a senator, on top of it a Presidential candidate, but quite apart from this, a senator alleges that there is something in these letters, then Presidential correspondence will lose its private character," Kissinger said.

Sen. Henry M. Jackson [D., Wash.] had demanded that the administration reveal the contents of any secret commitments Nixon made to Thieu.

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EDITORIALS

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
6 MAY 1975

Our best military customers

For a time, $722 million was a familiar figure. It was the amount that President Ford on April 10 asked Congress to appropriate promptly for military aid to South Viet Nam. About the same time, Sen. Gaylord Nelson widely distributed a list of military sales to foreign countries in the current fiscal year thru March 26 [almost nine months]. The list was prepared by the Defense Security Assistance Agency. It is of interest to note that cash sales to each of three countries so far in fiscal 1975 exceeded $722 million. These countries and the amounts of their military purchases are: Iran, $1.9 billion; Saudi Arabia, $1.1. billion; and Israel, $806 million.

There is a big drop to fourth place, Kuwait, $332 million; and another drop to a clump of three, West Germany, South Korea, and Greece. China [Taiwan], Turkey, and Italy round out the top 10.

Tho $722 million is a large sum, $1.9 billion is much larger. It is more than a little startling to realize that arms sales to Iran, a country not very high in the awareness of most Americans, are large enough to bring that many petrodollars back to this country in nine months. It is surprising, too, to find military sales to Saudi Arabia running appreciably ahead of sales to Israel. And it is a corrective to the popular preoccupation with Europe [when we think of foreign affairs at all] to note that less than 8 per cent of the dollar volume of military sales to our 10 best customers goes to Europe. The other 92 per cent goes to Asia, most of it to western Asia—Iran, Saudi Arabia, Israel, Kuwait, and Turkey. And only a geographical technicality prevents adding Greece to that list.

Southeast Asia's prominence in the news should not obscure the fact that western Asia, alias the Near East, is a most explosive part of the world. In a paradoxical way, the fact that the United States is supplying both Saudi Arabia and Israel, both Greece and Turkey, both Iran and [in nonstrategic goods] the Soviet Union, may discourage massive detonation of the arsenals in that part of the world.

U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT
12 MAY 1975 (6)

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The coming debate on funding for the controversial B-1 bomber is viewed on Capitol Hill as the main event in this year's congressional struggle over military spending. "It's going to be a now-or-never situation for the B-1," says one House strategist.

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR - 6 MAY 1975

Nuclear club: members only

How do the members of an elite and powerful club make everybody else happy not to join it?

This is a basic question posed to the countries already possessing nuclear weapons as Geneva talks begin in a renewed effort to prevent the potentially catastrophic spread of such weapons. How to deter the increasing number of countries developing a capability to "go nuclear" if they choose?

The answers lie in reducing the apparent advantages of belonging to the nuclear weapons club — and reducing the disadvantages of staying out of it.

Specific means to these ends are being discussed in the conference to review the 1970 nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) which began in Geneva yesterday. Though public interest has not exactly been galvanized by the treaty with the jaw-breaking name, progress at the conference is vitally important if the lid is to be kept on what has so often been called the Pandora's box of nuclear proliferation.

The good news is that there is hope for such progress on the basis of new cooperative efforts by the United States and the Soviet Union. These are signaled by the joint release of policy reports on the subject by a panel of Americans and a panel of Russians under the auspices of the respective United Nations Associations of the two countries.

There are differences along with much fundamental agreement. Particularly significant is an increased Soviet disposition to talk "seriously" about pressing ahead with carrying out the terms of the NPT, according to Prof. Lincoln Bloomfield of the Center of International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a panel member who met with the Russians in Moscow in March.

India's explosion of a nuclear device appeared to be one spur to the Soviet concern about further nuclear spread. With Israel, Brazil, and South Korea among several other nations discussed as potential nuclear powers, the whole world should share an urgency to answer that question of why any nonnuclear country should resist going nuclear.

The UN Association panel reports suggest various means of encouraging abstinence. For example:

• Internationally safeguarded help from the nuclear countries to the nonnuclear countries, including the use of peaceful nuclear explosions. This could remove pressure from countries to develop their own, perhaps less safe-guarded, efforts.

• Self-control by the nuclear countries in the development of weapons, while pursuing the NPT's provision for pushing toward a comprehensive test ban treaty. Salt II ought to be followed by a SALT III, suggests Professor Bloomfield, going beyond the limitation of strategic weapons to an actual cutting back on such weapons. Such steps could show the nuclear powers doing their part in reducing nuclear threat.

As the U.S. panel stated: "The most significant actions that the nuclear powers can take to discourage the spread of nuclear weapons will be major, prompt steps towards reducing their own nuclear capabilities. An international climate must be created in which the use of nuclear weapons in a military conflict is totally unacceptable and in which the political utility of possessing nuclear weapons steadily diminishes."

The steps are complicated, of course, so long as nuclear powers China and France remain outside the NPT. The review conference ought to work toward inducements to them to join in reducing arms. With all the danger of theft and misuse of spreading nuclear materials, the stricter safeguards recently proposed in a Vienna meeting of experts called by the International Atomic Energy Agency also need to be pursued.

The NPT review didn't make headlines yesterday. But its work is crucial to everybody's future.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR - 6 MAY 1975

Thailand and U.S. troops

Thailand is moving with characteristic alacrity to accommodate to the emerging communist dominance of Indo-China. The withdrawal over the next two months of another 7,500 American troops is a part of the process, begun long ago, of disengaging from the United States.

How far that process will be carried — some 19,500 U.S. troops will still remain — is not clear. Thailand's traditional, and shrewd, diplomacy has been to adjust to the realities of the moment in order to keep its independence. Hence Bangkok is trying hard not to offend the communists, which accounts too for its eagerness to be rid of the Cambodian refugees.

Treading the fine line between accommodation and independence will not be easy, especially in relations with Vietnam. Thailand also has a problem of communist insurgency, thought to be supported by the Chinese and North Vietnamese; serious battles took place only recently. The Thais may therefore wish to keep a certain American presence in their country.

One important factor in the equation is Peking. It is not known what the Chinese leaders really think, but comments made to foreign visitors suggest they look favorably on U.S. support for countries on the rim of Asia, including Thailand, in order to prevent Hanoi's domination of Indo-China and keep the Russians at bay. Peking would not, however, countenance the use of U.S. troops to fight domestic insurgencies.

Nor of course would the American Congress and public. Hence the question now is how American military power can best be used in Asia to keep the region stabilized and at the same time avoid local entanglements.

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ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH
16 APRIL 1975 (6 MAY)

It's Turkey's Move

One of the reasons given for Turkey's reluctance to compromise on the Cyprus issue was the unstable, interim status of the government in Ankara. Now, however, a new coalition has been formed by Premier Suleyman Demirel and it will be interesting to see if this results in making a small but meaningful compromise aimed at resuming the dialogue with Greece and the shipment of U.S. military aid to an important member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Compromise is possible by an announcement by Premier Demirel of intentions to resettle refugees uprooted as a result of Turkey's invasion of Cyprus and occupation of the northern one half of the island. It is possible by recognizing, at least in principle, the necessity of withdrawing the occupying forces and the desirability of unifying the island which would perhaps be given a federated status, but under a central government made up of Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

Without this sort of a compromise, Congress should reject pressure from the Ford Administration to lift the arms embargo from Turkey. Military aid would be resumed under a bill approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by a nine-to-seven vote. We hope the Senate does not fall for the Administration's argument that NATO's eastern flank is being undermined by the embargo. The resumption of aid would further antagonize Greece and thus leave the eastern flank undermined. It would also make a mockery of U.S. laws which prohibit such military assistance to countries using U.S. arms to invade other countries.

The only way to restore NATO's health in the eastern Mediterranean is to settle the Cyprus issue and this requires certain compromises from a country whose invading forces are on foreign soil.

NEW YORK TIMES 6 MAY 1975

U.S. Foreign Policy: After Vietnam

To the Editor:

There are a number of points that deserve comment regarding Secretary of State Kissinger's recent observations about Vietnam.

First, it is not helpful to blame Congress for the debacle. Recent Congressional rejection of Administration requests for military aid contributed something to the decline in ARVN's will to resist. But after all, the main Washington decisions have been made by successive Administrations. Future problems press so hard upon us that this is not the time for a post mortem on Washington's role.

Secondly, the breathtaking collapse in Saigon surely results mainly from the internal inadequacies of the Saigon regime itself—its inability to inspire; its corrupt, incompetent military leadership; its rigid, unresponsive political structure. No amount of American aid could have made up for these chronic deficiencies as Saigon faced its Vietnamese enemies.

Thirdly, the collapse of Vietnam should have come as no surprise. This development has been expected in most of Southeast Asia ever since the cease-fire sprung American troops and established a complicated "political process" neither party seriously accepted. Most governments in Southeast Asia long ago prepared for the present contingency. The surprise is only that Saigon lasted so long and that the collapse, when it came, was so abrupt.

Fourthly, the Secretary is right that there will be "consequences" following on the abrupt American withdrawal, particularly in Thailand, Malaysia and South Korea. But it is not correct that statesmen in Western Europe and the Middle East, where our interests are so much more substantial and direct, will look on our withdrawal from Vietnam as a guide to our likely reactions to crises in their area. Their principal response is one of relief that now Washington is at last free to tackle more central issues.

There are humanitarian imperatives the President and Secretary rightly seek to cope with. These will require urgent actions by many concerned Americans, including the Congress.

Finally, now the President, the Secretary and the Congress must turn their serious and nonpolemic attention to the agenda of foreign-policy challenges before us. These include (1) the continuing risk of war in the Middle East; (2) the troubling ambiguities of "détente"; (3) the stalled progress in SALT; (4) American relations with Europe, Japan and the Asian giants of China and India, and (5) reshaping an economic order accommodating the many profound changes since Bretton Woods. These are of far greater urgency and consequence to our national interest than how or why our entanglement in Indochina came to such an end.

We now have an opportunity to revitalize that gift of innovative attacks on complex international problems which made American leadership of the postwar nineteen-forties and early nineteen-fifties so remarkable—and so widely welcomed.

(Prof.) Howard Wriggins
Director, Southern Asian Institute
Columbia University
New York, May 1, 1975

WASHINGTON STAR - 5 MAY 1975 (6)

Candor in Correspondence

The administration, we think, has been a good deal less than candid about the correspondence between former President Nixon and South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu previous to the signing of the Paris peace agreement in 1973. The private assurances given to Thieu, revealed in two letters made public here by a former cabinet minister in the Saigon government, go well beyond the promises admitted by the White House, that the United States would "react vigorously" in case of violations of the agreements by Hanoi.

As it turns out, the pledges were considerably more specific. In November of 1972, Thieu received from Nixon "my absolute assurance that if Hanoi fails to abide by the terms of this agreement it is my intention to take swift and severe retaliatory action. In January of the next year, a recalcitrant Thieu was offered "my assurance of continued assistance in the post-settlement period and that we will respond with full force should the settlement be violated by North Vietnam". It is quite understandable that the Saigon government should have taken these assurances as a promise that the United States would intervene, at least with massive air attacks, if the peace accords broke down.

Why is the Ford administration touchy about these communications between two former presidents? The presumption must be that they were made in good faith by Nixon. The reports that he had every intention of retaliating against massive North Vietnamese violations of the peace accords have not been denied. Nixon's sudden loss of authority as the result of his Watergate problems in the spring of 1973 is a quite logical explanation of why the projected air strikes on North Vietnamese military installations in South Vietnam were cancelled. It is true, of course, that private correspondence between heads of state are not normally made public. But in the present circumstances, with both president's out of office and one of the two governments no longer in existence, the argument of confidentiality carries little weight.

Nor do we believe that the Congress or the American people were deliberately deceived. In many public statements early in 1973, Nixon threatened retaliation against the North Vietnamese in terms very nearly as specific as those in his letters to Thieu. It was the circumstances that made these warnings, as they say, inoperative. As Nixon's authority crumbled under the weight of Watergate revelations, Congress passed specific legislation prohibiting the kind of relatiatory action that Nixon had pledged. After that, it is incredible that Thieu should have expected any American intervention, and in fact, there is sound evidence that he did not.

So why all the pussy-footing about the letters, which, in any case are already in the public domaine? The administrations's qualms in this matter simply feed charges from Senator Henry Jackson and others that it is once again covering up. President Ford, it seems to us, has nothing whatever to lose in making all of the correspondence public, and we urge him to do so forthwith.

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PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER - 6 MAY 1975

Consent is the foundation of foreign policy success

We aren't sure that there are any new lessons to learn from the Vietnam debacle, but there certainly is an old one. It is that no foreign policy of the U. S. government can be successful without the informed consent of the American people.

That may sound like a truism, but it seems necessary to state it because even the brilliant Secretary of State Henry Kissinger does not seem to have grasped it. In an interview yesterday on the NBC "Today" show, Mr. Kissinger reiterated a favorable theme. Reflecting on the debacle, he saw it stemming from the inability of the Executive Branch to conduct foreign policy as it saw fit.

"In January '73," he said, "we did not foresee that Watergate would sap the executive authority of the United States to such a degree that flexibility of executive action inherently would be circumscribed."

And he went on to say, "We did not foresee that the Congress would pass a law which prohibited us from enforcing the Paris agreement . . . I do not believe that Hanoi would have sent 19 of its 20 divisions south if these two things hadn't happened."

Looked at one way, this is a roundabout way of saying that Congress is to blame for America's failure to meet its commitments, but there are deeper implications as well.

Mr. Kissinger's approach rests on two untenable assumptions—that the Executive Branch, which is to say the President and himself, not necessarily in that order of importance, know the right course to follow in foreign affairs and that their action should not be "circumscribed" by public opinion.

One must grant, of course, that public opinion can be wrong. Still, it seems to us that when the people make erroneous judgments it is usually because they have not been given the facts on which to make right judgments.

And that is the history of our involvement in Southeast Asia—a history of an Executive Branch which, over the years, operated in secrecy and insisted on public acquiescence, not to say acclaim, without telling the public the truth. Many of the crimes of Watergate were themselves rooted in President Nixon's obsession with secrecy—the wiretapping of newsmen and officials on Mr. Kissinger's staff, for example, and the attempt, by a burglary, to "get something" on Dr. Daniel Ellsberg, who had revealed the secret study of the truth about our Vietnam involvement.

Secrecy breeds deceit, and deceit breeds distrust. The War Powers Act was not immaculately conceived. It was born of a congressional determination, reflecting public opinion, that never again would an Executive Branch deceive the American people into another shooting war.

That may be an inconvenience to the administration. The necessity of obtaining public consent to policy may also seem to be an inconvenience. Yet the very process of obtaining public consent can save policy-makers from their more egregious errors, for there is no better way of testing policy than to debate it openly. That, after all, is what democracy is all about.

What went wrong in Southeast Asia was not the inability of the Executive to pursue a policy but the policy itself, and if one lesson of America's defeat is that the Executive Branch can also be wrong, surely another is, as Averill Harriman put it, that "no foreign policy will stick unless the American people are behind it." And they cannot be expected to give any administration "flexibility" unless the administration gives them the facts.

NEW YORK TIMES - 6 MAY 1975

Choice for Portugal

Portugal's chances for peaceful progress toward political democracy, social reform and economic development now depend critically on the answer to one question:

What do the country's military rulers mean when they speak of "Portuguese socialism" as the goal of the revolution they launched with the overthrow of the fascist regime a year ago?

If they mean social democracy in the Western European mold—social reform, free speech and press, economic planning, state intervention or ownership in some sectors, private enterprise in others—they can be assured of a relatively smooth passage.

This pattern was supported by more than 63 per cent of the voters who marked their ballots for the Socialist and Popular Democratic parties in the election of a constituent assembly a few days ago. This direction would win immediate sympathy and support for Portugal from many European governments and presumably from the United States as well.

If, however, the military leaders are bent on pervasive Marxist socialism with no political democracy—the socialism clearly favored by one of the most orthodox Communist parties in the world, as well as by radical spokesmen for the Armed Forces Movement—Portugal faces a bleak future. The Portuguese will find they have exchanged a dictatorship of the right for one of the Marxist left.

To its credit, the Armed Forces Movement ignored Communist pleas for a delay and carried out a remarkably free election. The response—a 92 per cent turnout—was magnificent. But if the people demonstrated above all their desire to participate in the democratic process, they also indicated clearly the direction they wish to go. The Communists, far better organized at the outset than any other party and lavishly financed from abroad, got only 12.5 per cent of the votes. Only 7 per cent took the advice of some military leaders and cast blank ballots.

The wiser military chiefs surely realize that to ignore such decisive results will risk unrest and opposition to the legitimate goals of the 1974 revolution. But others behave as though the election had no significance whatever.

There can be no effective challenge to the authority of the Armed Forces Movement. All major parties have agreed, albeit under pressure, to a dominant military role in Portugal's political life for at least three years. But the hope must be that after the long night of fascism the military rulers will not substitute the ideas of a radical minority for the clearly expressed will of the people.

What those people were saying emphatically last week is that Portugal can have social reform, structural change and economic advance within a framework of democracy and a climate of freedom.

NEW YORK NEWS - 6 MAY 1975

THE AMERICAN WAY

The Ford administration will ask Congress for $507 million to pay the cost of bringing 125,000 Vietnamese refugees to this country and helping them to start new lives. That is in keeping with this nation's tradition of compassion and hospitality.

Honoring another cherished American principle, the refugees will be given a free choice whether to remain here, return home, or settle in another land. That, we hope, will still the vicious Communist lie that these people were "kidnaped" by the U.S.

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BOSTON GLOBE - 4 MAY 1975 (6)

Lessons from Vietnam

The greatest disaster in American foreign policy has ended at last. This country's intervention in Southeast Asia cost us more than 50,000 American lives and $150 billion in tax money. And, in the end, we got nothing for our effort but pain and humiliation.

If there is a single lesson in this terrible experience, it is that America's foreign policy has been isolated from the will of the people at home and has become increasingly out of touch with the ideals and aspirations of the people we aimed to help abroad — not just in Vietnam, but in places like Greece and Portugal, Chile and the Middle East.

In large part our deafness has stemmed from a dangerous overdependence by two Presidents on a single brilliant and tireless Secretary of State who was given free rein to promote what he saw as the best interests of the United States.

This has resulted in short-term gains without long-range solutions. It has made waste of a large and extremely capable State Department. And it has not only led to the neglect of areas beyond Dr. Kissinger's personal scrutiny but it has closed the Administration to valuable outside advice.

As Mary McGrory suggested last week, it was not until our young people "took up arms in the McCarthy campaign" and "evicted a President" that the ordinary citizen began to question our activities abroad. With the young people and their parents of the World War II generation in rout, grass roots resentment began to penetrate Congress.

American foreign policy has too often been regarded as the exclusive province of the President and his Secretary of State. Today Congress is taking an active interest in foreign policy. It should be a long time before any Administration is again allowed to lead the nation down the road of military intervention.

And, with the people still casting a suspicious eye on everything that happens in Washington, there is a fair chance that a consensus foreign policy can evolve.

It may be a dangerous process. The temper of the country is more isolationist than internationalist these days and, as James Q. Wilson points out in the Spring issue of "The Public Interest," there is a continuing decline in the people's trust in their government.

This could manifest itself in a Congress which substitutes obstruction for consideration and result in a foreign policy that is timid rather than cautious. Recent polls seem to suggest that the average citizen would just as soon forget Asia and the Asians and focus entirely on domestic matters.

But we cannot forget Asia — or Europe or Africa or Latin America or the Middle East. Americans must not give unwitting credence to the domino theory by reacting so strongly to the failure in Indochina that we abandon our commitments to the rest of the world rather than creatively modifying them. As President Kennedy once put it, "Domestic policy can defeat us; foreign policy will kill us."

Overall, our goal must be to get back to the point where the United States is respected for what it is, not for the power it wields.

What this country needs now is a new type of commitment. No longer can we rely on threats of arms and economic reprisal to get our way. In fact we should work to reduce the reliance on arms everywhere. And this process might well begin with a review of all of the 50 to 80 bilateral treaties now in existence that require the United States to use force on behalf of a perceived ally, regardless of our lasting national interest.

Our new commitment should be based on openness and on respect for the rights and interests of other nations as well as our own. Economic, technical and humanitarian aid should be based on mutual interest but they should not be used to curry favor with one people while letting another people become our enemy.

It will not be easy to change a foreign policy which has undergone little modification since the days of John Foster Dulles' brinksmanship. But change it we must, if we are to survive in a changing world.

BALTIMORE NEWS AMERICAN - 1 MAY 1975 (6)

The Taste Of Ashes

So it has ended at last, this Vietnamese war of more than 30 years, and perhaps the strongest first reaction was a sense of numbed surprise that the end came so quickly in the final cataclysm.

It is literally difficult to grasp that it really is all over, that unconditional surrender was given by the Saigon government to its Communist invaders, that it would do so with such meekness after so much suffering by its people over so many years.

The brutal fact is that Saigon was beaten and had absolutely no hope of victory left. In the face of forces armed by unlimited supplies from the Soviet Union and Red China, South Vietnam was doomed when the 74th Congress withheld similar aid from the United States.

It is unfair to blame Congress. Its members are elected to represent the views of the American public. And that public — in no uncertain terms—had signalled the hell with Vietnam and any further involvement in that country's troubles.

You have to face it. Following a generation of trying to help the south, a collapse of American will occurred when we got our own fighting men out of there through the Paris "peace" accords. The war had cost us over 50,000 dead, 300,000 wounded, some $140 billion and all kinds of damaging domestic divisions. Enough was enough.

Along with Saigon's surrender, a tragic chapter in this country's history thus has ended. Because of our failure to carry through in support of South Vietnam, a new and uncertain chapter in our future remains to be written.

The outlook is not encouraging, but the taste of ashes from our Vietnam defeat need not be as important as it may seem.

We can recapture lost credibility with our allies by keeping ourselves militarily strong — and henceforth living up to commitments made with the same kind of selective care taken by pragmatic bosses of the Communist world.

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FEATURES COLUMNISTS

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR - 6 MAY 1975

CIA view proved right Last days of Saigon:

By Daniel Southerland
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor
Hong Kong

Graham Martin, the U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam, is the target of much criticism for the hasty and disorderly way in which the last Americans and some of their Vietnamese friends were evacuated from Saigon.

But as time moves on, the critics are likely to focus increasingly on the more weighty issue of Mr. Martin's entire Vietnam policy and what embassy insiders began to describe openly in recent days as the Ambassador's "illusions" and "overoptimism."

Prominent among those insiders were Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) officials, who were painting a gloomier picture of Saigon's prospects for survival several weeks ago than Mr. Martin was.

Even well after the fall of the city of Da Nang at the end of March, the Ambassador persisted, according to embassy officials, in thinking that Saigon could hold the line at some point on the military front. The CIA, on the other hand, was convinced soon after the fall of Da Nang that the war was lost.

Last-ditch hopes held

With much of the country in Communist hands, Mr. Martin argued that the Communists actually held little more than "deficit," or nonproductive, areas, and that Saigon still had a hope of defending the more productive areas.

According to well-placed embassy sources, the CIA at that point saw the need to encourage the establishment of a new and more conciliatory leadership in Saigon. But Mr. Martin and some of his subordinates were advocating the formation of a "fighting cabinet" in Saigon under President Nguyen Van Thieu.

As it was, the "fighting cabinet" was ineffective, the CIA's pessimism over Saigon's prospects for survival seemed justified by further government retreats, and the CIA station chief in Saigon apparently had some success in helping persuade Mr. Martin that President Thieu's leadership was a liability.

It may remain one of those "ifs" of history, but some CIA officials are convinced that if Mr. Martin had foreseen more clearly the defeats that lay ahead of Saigon, he and Washington might have been able to move quickly enough to set up conditions for at least a gradual, phased Communist take-over, and a more graceful American exit, instead of the outright military take-over that eventually occurred.

Saigon bickered to the end

By the time Mr. Thieu resigned in late April and Saigon did shift to a negotiating posture, there was still much bickering among the Saigon politicians as to how power should be transferred from the old Thieu regime to a new "peace government."

The Communists began hardening their public position on negotiations, and, after halting major attacks for four or five days,

See CIA VIEW, Pg. 2-F

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER - 6 MAY 1975

Thais Want U. S. to Go, Not Afraid of Dominoes

By JAMES McCARTNEY
Inquirer Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Pentagon announced a 28 percent slash in U. S. troop strength in Thailand yesterday, raising new fears about tumbling "dominoes" in Southeast Asia.

The announcement, made jointly with the Thai government, cut authorized troop levels from 27,000 to 19,500 by the end of June. The announcement did not say how many of the 350 U. S. military planes remaining from the armada that bombed Cambodia and North and South Vietnam would be allowed to remain.

The new figure represented a sharp increase in the speed of U. S. troop withdrawals from Thailand, on the Indochina frontier, and could signal the beginning of the end of a U. S. military presence in Thailand.

The announcement, forced by Thai officials who have publicly demanded a total U. S. troop withdrawal by next March, could hardly have come at a more awkward time for the United States.

It came only a week after a total U. S. pullout from nearby South Vietnam, at a time when President Ford, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and other top officials have been attempting to reassure the world that U. S. commitments remain unaltered.

Thailand has long been considered the next major country that might be threatened with a Communist takeover, if the Communists won in Indochina, as they have now. It has been considered the next potential threatened "domino" in the much-discussed "domino theory."

But officials here do not believe that Thailand is under immediate military threat from Communists in Indochina. Instead, pressure on the United States to withdraw troops is coming from a shaky conservative government, under domestic political pressure to get rid of unpopular foreigners and pursue a more neutral policy.

In the classic "domino" theory, as first explained by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, the United States was supposed to give military assistance to threatened "dominoes." Now the Thais are not asking for U. S. help — they are asking the United States to leave.

The United States first sent major

See THAIS, Pg. 2-F

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
6 MAY 1975

U.S. looks beyond Vietnam

By Dana Adams Schmidt
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor
Washington

The shape of U.S. foreign policy in the Far East — how will it emerge after the Vietnam experience?

U.S. leaders are groping for new plans for American influence and power — where to use it and to what ends.

The effort might be described as one intended to stop the trend that set in with Vietnam, to limit the damage, and make sure that other American commitments remain firm; to avoid future overcommitment without lapsing into isolation.

The President, who intends increasingly to take key policy decisions into his own hands, has made a commitment to maintain American strength. And Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger has talked about making a stand on a chain including Taiwan, Japan, and South Korea.

Now Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and his Undersecretary for Political Affairs Joseph J. Sisco offer new insights into what they feel should lie ahead for the United States.

Dr. Kissinger in an appearance on the NBC "Today" show asserted that the major objectives of the United States "dictated by our history" remain unaffected.

"They are more difficult as a result of our setback, but we can master them and we will master them," he said. Recalling that "almost every great initiative in the postwar period has either been initiated by America or has been carried out with our strong support," he declared that "if we want to avoid a world of chaos, if we want to achieve a world of progress, the American role is absolutely imperative."

The problem, he said, "is to gear American commitments to American capabilities."

A major step toward cutting back on these commitments, meanwhile, was indicated by agreement between the United States and Thailand to reduce the American presence

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PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER
6 MAY 1975

The war machine: expensive

By WILLIAM VANCE
Inquirer Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Throughout the war years we have been counseled by officialdom to look at the bright side and rejoice in the economic wonders wrought by high defense spending.

The multi-billion dollar defense budgets, we were led to believe, had a happy and healthy spinoff in terms of new jobs rippling through the economy.

Well, would you believe that those $80 billion military budgets actually were creating unemployment instead?

Would you believe that between 1968 and 1972, Pennsylvania and New Jersey were being robbed of an average 180,000 jobs a year because of the "negative impact" of defense spending.

That, at least, is the premise of an intriguing study that has just arrived here from the Public Interest Research Group in Michigan (PIRGIM).

The report relies heavily on the research and methodology employed by Yale Professor Bruce Russett, who analyzed 30 years of military spending for a book on the burdens of national defense.

Russett found that, yes, military spending does have a stimulative effect on some specific localities. But nationally, when spending on military goods goes up, spending on consumer-oriented items—clothing, food, cars, houses and the like — goes down.

For example, $1 billion spent on the military means $187 million will not be spent on civilian services, $163 million will not be spent on durable goods and $114 million will not be spent on housing, the analysis showed.

The study shows that military spending creates fewer jobs per billion dollars than any other government spending except the space program.

The real stunner here is in the translation to lost jobs.

Pennsylvania suffered the fifth worst negative employment impact in the nation, the study shows, with 127,000 "foregone" jobs, on an annual average, from 1968 to 1972. New Jersey was eighth with a minus 53,000 jobs, and Delaware was 24th with a minus 1,000.

In the five hardest-hit states — New York, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio and Pennsylvania — the number of jobs foregone because of high Pentagon budgets "averaged 85 percent of their total unemployment for 1968-72," the study says.

In all, 26 states lost jobs because of high military spending, including every major industrial state except Texas and California.

And despite defense-related job gains in the other states, the bottom line in PIRGIM'S analysis shows a net loss of 844,000 jobs for the U.S. as a whole.

THAIS -- CONTINUED

combat units to Thailand in 1962 and began a major buildup of air power for the Vietnam war on Thai bases in 1964.

U. S. troop strength reached a peak of 48,000 in 1969, under former President Richard M. Nixon. Major withdrawals began after the signing of the Vietnam peace accords in 1973.

U. S. officials apparently would like to maintain about 10,000 U. S. troops in Thailand, but the Thais apparently are under heavy pressure from student groups and others to force the United States out.

Thais also would like to improve relations with North Vietnam, now that North Vietnam has established itself as the dominant power in Indochina.

Thailand is not part of Indochina. The term refers to countries that were colonized by France, now known as Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Thailand is one of the few nations in the area that was never a colony for anyone. It maintained itself as a buffer state between British and French colonial interests in the area, often playing one great power off against another, with some success.

It is still a largely undeveloped country, operating under a so-called "constitutional" monarchy. People still fall on their knees before the king.

Only last week, Thailand's foreign minister angrily denounced the United States as a country without morals and vowed to expel U. S. servicemen within a year.

The foreign minister Chartichai Choonhavan, responded to remarks made in Washington by Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger, about a U. S. "obligation of a moral nature" to defend Thailand.

"Moral?" asked Choonhavan. "The United States does not have any morals at this point. They have already pulled out from Cambodia and South Vietnam, so we are going to have to depend on ourselves."

While State Department officials do not talk in terms of "moral" obligations to Thailand, they point out that the United States has had a mutual defense treaty with Thailand and other so-called "SEATO" countries in Asia since 1954.

The treaty requires that the United States come to the aid of Thailand in the event of "common danger" in "accordance with its constitutional processes."

In 1962, Secretary of State Dean Rusk embellished this obligation by stating publicly that the United States accepted a responsibility for defending Thailand regardless of what other SEATO nations might do.

Another matter causing tension between the U. S. and Thailand involves disposition of about 125 U. S.-built aircraft flown to U. S. bases in Thailand by fleeing South Vietnamese airmen.

The United States insists that it has title to the planes. Some Thai officials favor returning the planes to the new Communist government in South Vietnam. U. S. officials say the matter will be "negotiated." The Communists insist that they own the planes.

The Pentagon reported yesterday that it already had started to remove some of the planes, according to the Associated Press. A spokesman said the larger C-130s were being flown out and smaller aircraft such as helicopters were being loaded onto the carrier USS Midway off the Thai port of Sattahip.

CIA VIEW -- CONTINUED

they grew impatient and began pressing again militarily. The demoralized Saigon Army crumbled rapidly in the face of more concerted thrusts. And as senior Saigon Army officers began sending their families out of the country and then fleeing for their own lives, the smell of victory apparently became overpowering for the Communists. There was little left for them to do but walk into Saigon.

By late Monday, April 28, Ambassador Martin still thought the Communists probably would go through the motions of negotiating a final settlement that would amount to little more than a disguised surrender for Saigon but would permit the presence of a reduced U.S. Embassy staff in South Vietnam.

This view still prevailed at an embassy meeting that ended around 2 a.m. Tuesday. But by late that morning the risk that the Communists might soon overrun the city became apparent to all and the final evacuation was ordered.

Evacuation started late

Mr. Martin earlier had feared moving toward a complete evacuation of Americans, because he thought that it would amount to "pushing the panic button," and would undermine any further "will to resist" on the part of Saigon. A staged evacuation had been going on for weeks, but it had been orchestrated to give the impression that not all the Americans were leaving.

One mistake, in the view of many critics, was not to have evacuated earlier, along with their families, more of the Vietnamese who had worked for the Americans. But Ambassador Martin had thought he had more time to get them out. As it was, an undetermined number of these Vietnamese were left behind.

The irony was that some of the Vietnamese the Americans considered the most "deserving" were left behind, while quite a few corrupt officials and military officers, as well as bar girls and prostitutes, got out on the basis of personal friendships with Americans and hastily contrived "marriages."

About 180 Vietnamese, comprising employees of the U.S. Information Service (USIS) and their families, had gathered at the USIS offices in Saigon Tuesday to be taken to the airport. When buses for the airport began to load, people from the streets poured onto them, the employees were pinned inside the USIS compound, and left behind.

BEYOND VIETNAM -- CONTINUED

there by one-fourth, from 25,000 to 19,500. Some 350 aircraft, which once spearheaded American bombing of North Vietnam and Cambodia, are expected to be reduced proportionately

The reduction is a first step toward total withdrawal with 12 months demanded by the Thai Government.

That will leave the main American military presence in the form of the Seventh Fleet with its five aircraft carriers, about 40,000 men in South Korea, and a Marine division on Guam. The Philippines has asked for renegotiation of U.S. air and naval bases, Indonesia's anti-communist regime has shown signs of nervousness, and Japan is seeking to draw tighter the strands of the United States mutual defense commitment.

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U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT 12 MAY 1975 (6)

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE MARINES?

There's unrest in the ranks, key weapons are short, career leathernecks are fed up. It's enough to raise fresh worries about the Corps' future.

Signs that the U.S. Marine Corps is fading as the nation's elite fighting force is a matter of deepening concern in Washington—and in the Corps itself.

The quality of the men who serve is a matter of widening debate. Desertions and court-martial convictions are climbing. Crime inside the barracks is rampant. Many career Marines are fed up and are getting out.

Key equipment is in short supply. Marines still lack the latest antitank missiles, though they already are being made available to Mideast nations. The Corps' own tank forces are approaching obsolescence.

Marine generals are wracked with dissension over the future of their service. A bitter fight over selection of a new Commandant was dampened only by President Ford's earlier-than-usual nomination April 30 of Lt. Gen. Louis H. Wilson Jr., to become the top Marine.

Lean and hard, or—? The Marines' top leadership agrees that the service has problems brought on by post-Vietnam stresses. But it maintains that corrections are under way and that the Corps is lean, hard and ready to meet any crisis. A growing number of Marine officers disagree.

Talks with high-level Marines both at headquarters and in the field as well as with other defense officials reflect the widespread alarm.

A chief concern is evidence that the quality of the men in the Corps has been sliding.

In an effort to reduce on-base thefts and fights, for instance, staff noncommissioned officers have returned to living in barracks as policemen, according to Marine officers.

A senior colonel relates that on Okinawa, "We have two fully armed sentries on duty at all armories at all times. Who are they protecting the armories against? Our own men."

"Disorder squads." The Marines on Okinawa, the colonel continues, were forced to form "disorder squads," which come on duty at 4 p.m. daily, equipped with night sticks, body armor and face protectors.

Figures provided by the Marines and the Department of Defense show this about changes in the Marines since the Corps quit drafting men in 1972:

- The Marine desertion rate per 1,000 men is more than double that of the Army—89 to 41. In 1971, rates were nearly reversed—Army, 73; Marines, 56.
- The U.S. Army is nearly four times the size of the 196,000-man Corps, yet 1,328 Marines were convicted of major crimes in federal and State courts in 1974, only slightly fewer than the 1,697 convictions of soldiers.
- On a percentage basis, the Marines led all the services in 1974 in issuing bad-conduct, undesirable and dishonorable discharges. This has been generally true since 1970. In previous years back to 1950, less-than-honorable discharges were about the same for the Marines and Army, with the Marines often showing fewer. In mitigation of these figures, Pentagon officials point out that the other services are more prone to release men who will accept discharges in lieu of a trial.
- At two Marine installations with a total Marine population of 43,931—Camp Lejeune, N.C., and Camp Pendleton, Calif.—court-martial convictions for felonies jumped from 91 during 1972 to 184 in 1974.

Public complaints. So troublesome have discipline and other personnel matters become that some Marines have begun complaining publicly.

Said former 1st Lt. David E. Kelly, who once served on Okinawa, in a recent magazine article that received wide attention: The Marine Corps has "antiquated equipment, living conditions far below those of the other services, poor training facilities and lack of discipline." He added:

"Too many of the quality Marines get out."

Over all, the Marines report few difficulties in meeting their goals in numbers of recruits. Men completing their first tour of duty are re-enlisting at a rate of 19 per cent, 7 percentage points higher than in 1972.

However, re-enlistment among career Marines is off, a fact that worries many officers. What's more, Marine officials have expressed concern over having to dip deeper into groups of men who have been high-school dropouts, in order to meet enlistment quotas.

No magic number? Several generals told *U.S. News & World Report* in private that they fear the Corps has become hypnotized by numbers at the expense of quality—that there is no magic in 196,000 Marines, the number supposedly needed to maintain three divisions and three air wings as required by law. Perhaps, they said, the solution lies in letting manpower levels drop to where the Corps winds up with only 150,000 "really good men."

Racial integration poses problems, too. Though only 20 per cent of the Corps is black, the combat and combat-support groups are 38 per cent black. Headquarters explains that blacks are generally less well educated and thus do not qualify for many specialist ratings.

Black-white relations have taken a turn for the better recently, with the introduction of compulsory race-relations studies. Clashes based on race have been halved in the past two years.

Equipment shortages. As if personnel problems were not enough, there are equipment shortages.

For one: Wire-guided TOW antitank missiles and shoulder-fired Dragon missiles are in the Army's inventory—and even those of some Middle Eastern nations. But the Marines have none. They still depend on recoilless rifles, their own tanks and air support to defeat enemy armor. Latest antiaircraft weapons, such as those used in the 1973 Israeli-Arab war, are making the air-support operation costly, however.

Modern tanks are in short supply. The Marines are authorized 408 M-60 tanks, which are heavily armored and mount a 105-mm gun. By the end of June, the Marines hope to have 120—which looks unlikely since they have only about 60 on hand and production lines are slow.

As the backbone of their armored forces, the Marines have 431 M-48 tanks with 90-mm guns.

Such tanks "are not considered viable battlefield opponents for Soviet tanks," states an Army report.

The Marines have two antiaircraft-missile battalions, but only one is equipped with the faster, more-accurate and improved Hawk missile, designed to hit low-flying planes.

In aircraft, the Marines are well supplied by their standards with fighter-bombers, such as the F-4 Phantom, and ground-attack planes—the A-4 Skyhawk and the A-6 Intruder. The marines are also up to strength in helicopters and in amphibious-landing vehicles.

Even if the Marines had the most advanced equipment available, they would have difficulty getting where they wanted to go.

Fewer transports. The Navy, which had 157 amphibious-warfare ships in 1968, now has only 66, scattered from Okinawa to the Mediterranean Sea.

There are some estimates that to assemble the ships, embark an assault force of 25,000 Marines and transport them to a distant point—say the Persian Gulf—would take at least 45 days.

It is a decision to buy an advanced weapon that has touched off one of the Corps' hottest disputes.

A number of generals are angered by a move to acquire four squadrons—48 planes—of Navy F-14 Tomcat fighters, costing 18 million dollars each.

The F-14, built by Grumman Aerospace Corporation, is an extremely fast and agile interceptor designed to shoot down enemy planes at great distances from aircraft carriers. It now is being modified to carry air-to-ground weapons although, as a manufacturer's representative noted, it would not have the accuracy of much cheaper planes.

The generals are questioning the wisdom of sending an aircraft with an 18-million-dollar price tag to do a job that is done better by one that costs less than 4

(See MARINES, Pg 4-F)

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WASHINGTON STAR 5 MAY 1975 (6)

The Credibility of U.S. Commitments

CROSBY NOYES

The question before the world in the wake of the debacle in Vietnam is the credibility of the American commitments. And for just about everyone, friend and foe alike, it is a very important question indeed.

There are three major elements involved. The first is how our adversaries — notably the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China — view our performance in Vietnam.

The second is how those who depend on American power for their security view it. And finally, there is the question of how we view it ourselves.

So far as our adversaries are concerned, there probably is less to worry about, in the view of many diplomatic experts, than with the other two groups. The Chinese and Russians being somewhat cautious types, no very sweeping conclusions are likely to be drawn about Vietnam.

To be sure, the Americans intervened in the war and their allies were ultimately defeated. On the other hand, neither the Russians nor the Chinese intervened, except with military and economic aid, even when their allies were most hard-pressed.

The Russians, for their part, allowed the Arab armies to be defeated in 1967, without seriously impairing their credibility in Eastern Europe.

The general guess is that our adversaries will be cautious in pressing their luck. They may even be somewhat concerned that the United States could overreact to a new challenge in order to re-establish its credibility as a world power.

The attitude of our friends and allies obviously is ambiguous.

They are making the calculation that our real national interests were not involved in Vietnam and (hopefully) that they are involved in Western Europe, Japan, Israel and other areas.

The most confident are those with whom we have formal security commitments, such as NATO and the Japanese-American mutual security treaty. The least confident are those nations who rely on American power (like, say, Yugoslavia) but with whom we have no formal commitments of any kind.

Other countries with whom we have commitments, like Thailand or Taiwan, or even an American military presence, as in South Korea and the Philippines, are betraying a growing anxiety as the result of the outcome in Vietnam.

For them, the really critical question is how the American public itself will react to the defeat. And they suspect that they have something to worry about.

I can hardly blame them. They, like everyone else, have access to polls which show that the majority of Americans would intervene militarily to protect no foreign country in the world except Canada (which also happens to be one of the least-threatened areas in the world).

They, too, can read the endless pronouncements of our most eminent political leaders about the "lessons of Vietnam," the mistake that will never be repeated, the myth of American power, and so on.

To them, it adds up to a powerful new mood of isolationism in this country that leaves them feeling suddenly and uncomfortably naked. And that also is understandable.

MARINES -- CONTINUED

million.

Atop all this, the Corps' leaders are in turmoil over its future mission.

This furor burst out in the form of a bitter struggle over the successor to Gen. Robert E. Cushman, Jr., as Commandant later this year.

Inside war. "Old breed" Marines with 20 to 30 years of service said the infighting was the fiercest in their memory, fragmenting the upper echelons of the Corps.

Selection of General Wilson to take over as the next Commandant is expected to calm, though not necessarily end, the differences.

"We can live with him," said one general who has been critical of present leadership.

Many Marine generals considered the selection of the new Commandant more important at this time than in any other period since the 1930s when the Corps pioneered in amphibious assault. The reason lies in the fact that the new chief will play a major role in charting the course of the Corps for four years during a period of transition.

Since the Boxer Rebellion and U.S. intervention in China at the turn of the twentieth century, the Marines have been oriented toward operations in the Pacific Ocean basin and, closer to home, the Caribbean area.

An about-face. Now the Marines are beginning to look across the Atlantic, convinced that the nation is turning its back on most of Asia for the foreseeable future.

Many Marines believe their new areas of interest will stretch from Norway through Central Europe to the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf—from the Arctic to the deserts.

> These are all high-risk areas in which heavy loss of men and material is a very real possibility if fighting comes about. It will be the new Commandant who will lay down guidelines for combat doctrine there, thus affecting training, as well as type and quality of material.

Despite the headaches facing the Corps, General Cushman believes the Marines are still the crack force they are designed to be.

Liking for violence. The Commandant told *U.S. News & World Report* he thought the personnel problems are being tackled properly; that most recruits who complete training go on to become good Marines.

The general noted that the Corps is "afflicted with all the ills that plague big cities."

He added that the Marines "no longer get the big strapping farm boys" but the ones who are street wise.

They come, the general felt, with problems of drugs, racial prejudice and "a greater propensity to violence."

One general, rated as a possible future Commandant, said: "Stability is a matter of great importance. When you have high-quality men, all the other problems take care of themselves—drugs, discipline, race and crime. . . .

"We need to reinvigorate ourselves. Overriding all else is something not really quantifiable, but it is a fact. That fact is that we can develop men who will go into battle and win—or they will die in the attempt."

The foregoing was reported by Bem Price of this magazine's staff, himself a Marine for 12 years.

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U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT 12 MAY 1975 (6)

THE CASE FOR MORE NUCLEAR CARRIERS

By Adm. Hyman G. Rickover, Authority on Atomic Warships

The Navy on May 3 commissioned the U.S.S. *Nimitz*, our second nuclear-powered aircraft carrier and our seventh nuclear-powered surface warship.

The *Nimitz* has a length of 1,092 feet, a flight-deck width of over 250 feet, and a combat-load displacement of nearly 95,000 tons, and can operate and provide sustained support for a naval air wing of about 100 aircraft. Her initial nuclear cores will provide her with enough fuel to carry out operations for the next 13 years, thus making her truly independent of propulsion-fuel logistic support. These cores contain energy equivalent to over 2 million tons of coal or 11 million barrels of oil—enough oil to fill a train of tank cars stretching from Washington to Boston.

Freedom from oil. The *Nimitz* marks the renaissance of a modern nuclear-powered surface Navy. Nuclear power in surface warships gives them the ability to operate continuously at high speed: this affords them protection not available to nonnuclear ships. This could mean the difference between victory and defeat in battle. As the number of our advance bases decreases and the size of the fleet continues to shrink, the need for ships independent of the logistic umbilical cord for oil will continue to increase.

Next to providing the major deterrent to all-out nuclear war, I believe that the most important mission of our Navy is to insure that our first-line naval striking forces can carry out their mission against threats potential enemies are presently developing. A significant portion of our major surface warships must be nuclear-powered or we may end up without a credible deterrent to aggressions which do not warrant escalation to a nuclear war.

For the foreseeable future, the aircraft carrier will be the principal offensive striking arm of the Navy in a nonnuclear war. No other weapon system under development can replace the long-range, sustained, concentrated firepower of the carrier air wing. Nuclear submarines and nuclear surface ships with antiair and antisubmarine capabilities are all needed to supplement and augment the capabilities of the nuclear carrier.

The U.S. Navy currently has 14 active aircraft carriers: the *Enterprise;* eight oil-fired *Forrestal*-class, large-deck carriers built in the 1950s and 1960s; three post World War II *Midway*-class carriers, and two World War II *Essex*-class carriers, the *Oriskany* and the *Hancock*. This is about half the 24 carriers the U.S. Navy had at the beginning of the Vietnam War.

It will be necessary to start building replacements for the eight *Forrestal*-class carriers soon just to sustain a 12-carrier force. With the declining number of overseas U.S. bases and the decreasing number of carriers, it is important that the new carriers we build be as capable as possible. The *Nimitz* and her sister ships are such carriers.

Our carriers are vulnerable to attack by Soviet sea-based cruise missiles—as are all surface ships. However, the first line of defense our surface ships have against such missiles and their launching platforms is carrier-based aircraft. Without carriers and their aircraft, other surface warships, replenishment ships and amphibious forces would be all much more vulnerable.

The nuclear-carrier task force with its capability of unlimited operation at high speed is the most powerful, least vulnerable surface-ship force in the history of naval warfare.

Some have objected to nuclear warships on the basis of higher initial-investment cost. In this regard, it should be borne in mind that the initial cost of conventional ships does not include the cost of oil. Recently, oil costs have risen dramatically.

It costs more than $25 a barrel to buy, store and deliver oil to Navy ships. At that rate, it would cost about 270 million dollars to provide the amount of oil for a conventionally powered carrier equivalent to the nuclear fuel in the *Nimitz*. That is almost three times the comparable cost of nuclear fuel for this type ship.

Nuclear ships are often compared in cost with cheaper conventional ships of much less military capability, the argument being that we should build more of the cheaper conventional ships rather than fewer of the nuclear ships. Yet study after study has shown that when *all costs* are considered, nuclear warships cost little more than conventional warships having the same weapons systems—and the nuclear warships are far superior militarily.

Further, the cost of war itself far exceeds any cost needed to be prepared to prevent a war. The best warships we can build are those which are never used in combat because they have served to prevent war.

At stake: "our survival." With the heavy military and nonmilitary demands on its budget, the United States must only spend where it is necessary and where the value received is clear. But the *real* value of having a Navy capable of countering the Soviet threat cannot be measured in dollars alone: our survival may also depend on it.

The Soviets recognize the importance of becoming the world's strongest sea power. We have now chosen not to challenge them with numbers of ships. For this reason, it is essential that the ships we do build are the most powerful and effective weapons we know how to build. This means nuclear propulsion for major warships. The penalty for any other approach is the steady erosion of our conventional military forces, with the consequent reduction in our influence and in our "options" in world affairs.

The alternative is to rely for our security on nuclear weapons. Their use could mark the supreme failure of mankind.

DEFENSE SPACE BUSINESS DAILY 5 MAY 1975 (6)

TUNNEY URGES SUPPORT FOR B-1. Sen. John Tunney (D-Calif.) has called on the Senate Armed Services Committee to provide the full funding requested for the B-1 bomber, asserting that the B-1 is necessary "to maintain the strategic arms balance and to demonstrate our willingness to support our commitments abroad by bolstering our defense at home."

He said that the B-1, which is an indispensable part of America's strategic deterrent, will provide the U.S. with "bargaining power" to encourage detente.

"It is important to demonstrate to the Soviets, the Chinese and whoever else might doubt the fiber of our determination that this country has not abandoned its role of world leadership and its dedication to a stable balance."

Tunney cited the major strategic advances made in recent years by the Soviets, including development of four new missile systems and a potentially strategic bomber (Backfire), and discounted the "many myths" brought up about the reliability cost-effectiveness and usefulness of the B-1. "Study after study has demonstrated those concerns are unfounded," he said.

In addition to its strategic value, the senator reminded the committee, the B-1 will provide 41,300 jobs directly and another 62,000 indirectly to California, whose economy has been sagging. (see page 20, for Rep. Les Aspin's charges against the B-1 program)

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DEFENSE SPACE BUSINESS DAILY 5 May 1975 (6)

ASPIN SAYS AIR FORCE HIDES B-1 COST OVERRUNS

Pentagon Denies Charges

Declaring that: "Whether to continue the B-1 program or not is one of the major issues facing the Congress in consideration of this year's defense budget," Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wis.) says the Air Force B-1 bomber has incurred "a cost overrun" of $225 million in its research program.

He cited a special General Accounting Office report which also said that General Electric, producer of the aircraft's engines, is expected to have "a cost overrun" of $75 million to $100 million.

Aspin has also charged that the Air Force "has attempted to gloss over cost increases" on the B-1 by "claiming the increases are caused by inflation and delays in the program." He noted that the Pentagon "blamed" economic escalation, schedule delays, estimated changes, and the inclusion of component improvement costs for the $1.9 billion cost increase during the final quarter of 1974.

A Pentagon official said the Air Force has not attempted to play down the cost increases in the B-1 program and has admitted before Congress that there has been cost growth in the program. It was pointed out that Air Force Secretary John McLucas recently told Congress that the Air Force expected a cost growth of 10-12 percent in the B-1 program, not including inflation.

As the official explained it, "if the Pentagon and the rest of the nation cannot keep up with inflation, how can the contractor keep up?"

Aspin was referring to the most recent Selected Acquisition Reports summary for Dec. 31, which the Pentagon released in March, which explained there had been an increase of $1.939 billion in the cost of the B-1 reflected during the final quarter of the year (Defense/Space Daily, March 26). Although Aspin does not break this cost increase down, the Pentagon reported in March that $1.007 billion was due to inflation, $375 million for increased lead time requirements and procurement schedule impact resulting from delayed start; $407 million for estimating changes, and $143 million for component-improvement costs.

The Wisconsin congressman, frequent Pentagon critic, says the Air Force "has never publicly acknowledged there are direct cost overruns on various contracts." He said the "cost overruns are the direct result of mismanagement" on the part of General Electric and Rockwell International.

Aspin said the GAO report also states that "no minimum performance requirements" have been established for the B-1 -- "there is no way for Congress to know if the B-1 degrades below an acceptable performance."

GAO said there have been reductions in the supersonic and subsonic ranges, and an increase of about 5000 pounds in gross takeoff weight, with the current estimated gross takeoff weight 395,000 pounds-- "the maximum load the landing gear can tolerate."

Another charge made by the GAO is that the number of technical changes made in the B-1 that will be incorporated in the actual production "may be so significant that the test results will not be meaningful" or representative of the production aircraft.

The Air Force has admitted that it has had to reduce the speed capabilities of the B-1 as the aircraft has developed, but has emphasized that these reductions "did not degrade the capability of the B-1 to complete its mission."

It was explained that the gross weight of the B-1 was increased from the 360,000 pounds for the original vehicle to a planned 395,000 pounds, but the landing gear system has been redesigned to accommodate this increase. As for design changes, these are said to be less than 10 percent, "and not significant."

WASHINGTON POST 6 May 1975 Pg. B-11

The Federal Diary

By Mike Causey

* * *

Naval Oceanographic Office: Another hammer-lock has been placed on the Navy which is trying to move its Suitland-based unit to the Mississippi Gulf Coast.

The House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee has agreed to oversight hearings (via its Oceanography Subcommittee) into the move, which has been pushed by the powerful Mississippi-Louisiana congressional delegations. Washington area members of Congress got a boost two weeks ago when Sens. Warren Magnuson and Henry M. Jackson, both Democrats of Washington state, said they wanted the Suitland outfit to stay where it is.

The Navy has been looking, for many years, for a new locale that would please the politicians who control its budget as well as a succession of admirals who prefer sunny climates. When the Bay St. Louis, Miss., site was proposed by Armed Services Chairmen Sen. John Stennis and Rep. F. Edward Hebert (then House Committee chairman), it seemed to fit Navy's requirements perfectly.

It is rare that Navy has a chance of making three powerful legislators (Sen. Russell Long of the Appropriations Committee likes the idea, too) happy, at the "minimal" cost of disrupting the lives of only a few thousand employees and their families. So Navy studies were made and each concluded that the move should be made.

Rep. Marjorie Holt (R-Md.) has been punching the Navy goliath all along. She is the one responsible for getting a General Accounting Office probe of the move, and the upcoming hearings. She hopes the subcommittee (first meeting is May 21) will tell the Navy to delay any decision on the move until the GAO study is in. That is likely to be the end of September, and could knock Navy's secret timetable which calls for a go-decision within the next few weeks, so that the first workers can be transferred and in place by August.

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WASHINGTON REPORT - APRIL 1975(6 MAY)

Is It Safe to Be an Ally of America?

Early this month I had lunch with Tran Kim Phuong, Saigon's Ambassador to the United States. The morning news had featured the fall of several leading cities in South Vietnam. The reports had told of the armies of South Vietnam in desperate retreat, as they sought to find positions where they might be able to use their ever-decreasing supplies of arms to greater advantage against the armies of the north.

As you might imagine, Ambassador Phuong was very discouraged. He found it almost impossible to believe the turn of events. As we talked, he sought a tactful way to express his disappointment at the decision of our Congress to abandon his country to the communist enemy. It was beyond his comprehension -- as it is beyond mine. With deep emotion, he spoke of the sacrifices in blood and resources his countrymen had made to defend themselves and to preserve their right to choose their own form of government. He recalled the clear and unmistakable pledge of our national leaders to supply his people with the military weapons necessary to defend themselves in order to get their approval of the inequitable Paris agreement negotiated by the U.S. and imposed on South Vietnam.

And he spoke, as best he could, about the terrible slaughter which was already taking place as the communist conquerors took over the land. In particular, he stressed that the first group of people being rounded up were those who had worked directly with the Americans -- from the chauffeurs to government officials.

After lunch, I found myself mulling over his remarks and thinking back to a preceding week when Tran Van Lam, the president of the South Vietnamese Senate, had come to the United States to try to tell our officials and the American people what lay ahead for South Vietnam if it did not receive the promised military aid from the U.S. [See WR 75-3 for report of press luncheon cosponsored by ASC and the Vietnamese-American Council for the Honorable Tran Van Lam.] On several occasions, U.S. Senators had left Mr. Lam and several of his colleagues from the South Vietnamese Senate cooling their heels in the anterooms for inexcusable periods of time. On one occasion, a senior U.S. Senator finally stormed out of his door after a long delay and shouted at the South Vietnamese group that he planned to vote against further aid and that he did not want to hear their side of the issue.

I also found myself reflecting on the many arguments being used to justify cutting off aid to South Vietnam. I was most offended by the argument that the South Vietnamese army did not have the courage to stand and fight. I was especially struck by the fact that the Members of our Congress making this charge were the same who were choking off the supplies essential to that army's survival. I could not help wondering how much courage those Members would have displayed if they had been faced by a horde of tanks and rocket launchers while all they had were a few bullets for their rifles -- and no hope for new supplies.

It Was Predictable

On our Washington Report radio program, General John E. Murray, top U.S. military representative in South Vietnam in 1973 and 1974 and one of America's foremost diplomatic authorities on Indo-China, recently conceded that Congress's refusal to provide the one-for-one replacement of arms and equipment provided by the Paris Peace Agreement led directly to the weakening and collapse of Saigon's morale. The North Vietnamese were badly beaten in 1972, General Murray noted, but we have thrown away all this and surrendered by default. What could have been a shining example of freedom in Southeast Asia has turned to ashes, and we cannot escape our role in it at all.

As General Murray said to our radio audience, "The tragedy was entirely predictable. It was predicted and was reported. My remarks have appeared in the press. My official reports have been passed through the Pentagon. Congressmen that I talked to would be upset about the situation. But it was like dropping a rose petal down the Grand Canyon and waiting for the echo. Nothing happened. Now everyone seems to be surprised.

"The Vietnamese were on a starvation diet. We cut their ammunition more than half, we cut their fuel back 85%, we stopped giving them combat rations, even their medical supplies were shorted. Batteries for communications -- things they needed to move, shoot and communicate -- they simply did not have. Their GI's, for example, used to have ten grenades pinned on them when they went into battle in the Delta. Now they were only permitted two and effectively that is only one, because they always keep one as a last resort. This end is, as I say, entirely predictable."

Our Vital Interests

The other argument that came to mind was the one that America's vital interests are not involved in Vietnam. This is the key argument. It has strong popular appeal. Saigon is a long way from Washington. But a moment of serious thought will show that the argument is supported by geography, not political reality. It is precisely this argument, however, which must be answered. If the answer is "yes," then there is some justification for our policy of abandoning Vietnam. If the answer is "no," then we are not only aiding and abetting in a tragedy of mammoth proportions, we are being foolish as well.

Recently I was talking with a distinguished U.S. diplomat regarding the far-reaching implications of our policies in Vietnam. He gave me some insight into their effects in the Middle East and Western Europe. He noted Dr. Kissinger's remarkably candid explanation of his recent failure to arrange a peace between Egypt and Israel. The solution Dr. Kissinger had proposed called for an Israeli withdrawal from much of the Sinai desert coupled to a pledge of support by the U.S. in the event that Egypt's minimum declaration of non-belligerency proved to be temporary. But, Dr. Kissinger admitted, Israel did not see a pledge by the United States as enough, in light of our failure to support our ally, South Vietnam.

In regard to Western Europe, he told me of a telephone conversation the day before with a colleague of his who was representing the United States at a major capital in Europe. His friend had relayed the amazement of the NATO diplomatic corps at the reaction of both the Congress and the Chief Executive to the events in Vietnam. The leading political figures in Western Europe, he reported, simply could not understand how the Chief Executive could enjoy a golfing vacation and the Congress an Easter recess while a country the United States had pledged to support was being destroyed by an invader. The political leaders of Europe were astounded that the President had not rushed back to Washington and convened the Congress in an emergency session.

In light of the makeup of the Congress these days, the President's request for $722 million in military and humanitarian aid was quite bold. But in view of the

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circumstances in Vietnam and throughout the world, his request was totally inadequate.

Hanoi Thanks Americans Who Helped

There is also no question that communist leaders had gotten the message -- and a long time ago. The telegram from Dinh Ba Thi of North Vietnam, which caused the furor at the Academy Awards ceremony by expressing gratitude to those Americans who had contributed to the communist success in "liberating" South Vietnam, certainly indicated that the communists understood the realities -- including the fact that the Americans who had participated in producing and distributing the propaganda film "Hearts and Minds" had served the communist cause well.

One of the difficulties with Vietnam is that it has caused many Americans to focus on an immediate event and lose valuable perspective. From time to time, we need to drop back in time and broaden our view. As a starting point, it would be wise for us to remind ourselves that 20th century technology has compressed the globe, forced interdependence on independent states, and made all the nations of the earth neighbors -- for better or for worse. This condition means that every nation can be infected by a disease anywhere in the world body politic. All systems are interconnected. An anti-freedom malignancy anywhere will eventually affect us here.

National Self-Determination

In the interest of a politically healthy and stable world order, the United States has long advocated the self-determination of nations. First expressed by President Wilson at the conclusion of World War I, the principle holds that each nation has the right as an aspect of its sovereignty to select its own form of government. Wilson called for the creation of the League of Nations primarily as a means of providing for collective action against any aggressor nation which sought to impose its form of government on any other nation by force of arms.

In one sense, World War II was fought to reestablish the principle of self-determination. And it was the Soviet breach of that principle in Eastern Europe which started the Cold War.

In pursuit of the right of self-determination, the United States committed its military forces to combat in Korea -- far from America's shores -- because our leaders knew that if we failed to halt aggression there, we would legitimatize it by acquiescence. That is, we knew that if we did not act to stop aggression by North Korea, we would signal acceptance of it. In the instance of Korea, we participated with other allies under the flag of the United Nations.

In the case of Vietnam, we acted unilaterally to defend South Vietnam against military attack and to prevent North Vietnam from imposing on the South an unwanted political regime. Former Secretary of State Dean Rusk said it simply one time: "The trouble with North Vietnam is that it will not let its neighbors alone."

The Policy of Gradualism

Because our purpose in entering the war in Vietnam was not to destroy North Vietnam but to preserve South Vietnam's right of self-determination, we acted on the battlefield with great restraint. The official word was "gradualism." While we fought essentially a holding action, we urged North Vietnam to cooperate with us in a political solution to the problems of Indo-China, one which would in no way challenge the existence of North Vietnam -- even its preeminence -- but would respect the sovereignty of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

In the early years of the war, before the Soviets supplied North Vietnam with anti-aircraft missiles (SAMs) and supersonic interceptors, we could have physically destroyed North Vietnam in a few weeks with a fraction of our force of tactical and strategic aircraft using conventional bombs. But instead, we employed our sea and land based airpower against easily repaired supply routes -- primarily the Ho Chi Minh trail -- following a policy of tactical interdiction. And we used our considerable seapower in largely unproductive patrols along the coast of North Vietnam.

Some people have made the mistake of assuming that because our airpower did not destroy North Vietnam, it was incapable of doing so. In August 1967 the Senate Armed Services Committee released a study showing that only two percent of the targets for our bombers in North Vietnam recommended to the White House by the Joint Chiefs of Staff were approved. Instead of the JCS-recommended targets, others were substituted by a team of "experts" in the White House -- targets which had very little military significance -- "gradualism" targets.

I recall a story to illustrate this point which goes back to an early period in the war. The story was relayed by an Air Force friend. It appears that the Air Force recommended and the JCS approved as targets three airfields, all fairly close to Hanoi. They were: the main commercial field for Hanoi, a training base that had just received a new supply of Soviet MIG fighters, and a new airfield still under construction. The one the White House approved was the airfield under construction. And, one should remember, that target would have been among the two percent counted by the Senate Committee. You can imagine how unimportant militarily some of the targets must have been that were substituted by the White House selection team.

Never a Civil War

What makes our policies in Vietnam so incredible is that the war there was actually fought within the larger framework of the balance of power between the communist and free worlds. The war in Vietnam was never a civil war, in our eyes or in the eyes of Moscow and Peking. In their eyes, the war in Vientam was the test case for their new concept of "Wars of National Liberation." To us, the war was originally intended to signal to world communist leaders that we could not accept the right of communists to impose their form of government on a non-communist nation by military force.

In short, the location of the war was never a determining factor in its importance. To return to the figure of speech about disease in the world body politic, the aggression in Vietnam was simply the place where the political malignancy was erupting.

Our failure to fight in Vietnam in such a way as to destroy the malignancy means now that other outbreaks will surely take place elsewhere in the course of time. And everywhere the political health of the free world has been undermined.

A Policy of Phased Surrender

As Sir Robert Thompson, one of Britain's leading experts on Southeast Asia and guerrilla warfare, observed: "We are all becoming dominoes. The American retreat before Moscow, like that of Napoleon, is beginning to litter the route with corpses."

Sir Robert's graphic statement raises the question again which has troubled me for years, that our actions in Vietnam and elsewhere in the world have added up to a policy of phased surrender. I remember the blunt declaration by Dr. Slobodan M. Draskovich, a Serbian

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 6 May 1975

Joseph Kraft

WASHINGTON POST - 6 MAY 1975

Letting Go of the Vietnam Issue

A puzzle tinges the overwhelmingly hostile reaction of ordinary Americans to the Vietnamese refugees. The puzzle is why so many intelligent and well-educated Americans find the reaction puzzling. For the whole history of the war testifies that most Americans don't care beans about Vietnam.

Not because of what are called "racist" reasons. On the contrary, the true background lies in the strong, autonomous inner beat of American life.

The attention of 200 million throbbing operators is not readily gained by remote people in faraway places. Europe matters to the United States because so many Americans have roots there. Russia and China count because of sheer size and the impact of Titanic revolutions. So do the Japanese because of a sneaking suspicion they know how to build better mousetraps.

But Vietnam? New York, Chicago and San Francisco combined probably have fewer Vietnamese restaurants than Paris. The main point of perhaps the best American book on Vietnam—"Fire in the Lake" by Frances FitzGerald—is that Americans aren't into Vietnamese customs or culture. Even Miss FitzGerald had to rely on a French authority—Paul Mus—for her insights into the Vietnamese character.

American indifference to Vietnam shaped the two central features of the war—its massive and enduring character. In the early 1960s a group which I have called the "piano-wire hawks" argued that the Vietnam war—which they wanted to win—could only be won by following the lead of the insurgents. They felt the United States had to adopt guerrilla tactics—knife in the teeth and piano wire in the hand.

But that argument was always a non-starter. The American army and the American people were not about to change themselves into Vietnamese. So this country fought the war—as it was bound to fight the war—with planes and tanks and aircraft carriers and big battalions.

Connected reasons explain why the fighting went on so long. As early as the 1966 elections, I believe, and certainly by 1968, the majority of Americans were fed up with pouring out blood and taxes in Vietnam. If allowed to proceed unhampered by outside events, the Vietnamization program pushed by Defense Secretary Melvin Laird would probably have seen the United States out of the war long before 1973.

What got in the way was the anti-war movement—or at least that element of it which used Vietnam as a stick to beat the United States. Ordinary people may have had it with the war. But they didn't think the United States was a rotten country. They weren't that much down on the President, the military, the party system, the concept of loyalty and other features of American life which the war critics brought under fire.

So President Nixon was able to rally what he called the "silent majority." The antiwar movement was more than canceled. The war went on and on and on, even though hardly anybody wanted it.

The underlying reality, however, was that hardly anybody wanted it. The country, long sick of Vietnam, got sicker and sicker as events ground to their inevitable end.

So now more than ever the country wants to wash its hands of Vietnam. Hence the hostility to the refugees. It may not be a generous attitude. But it is not puzzling. It is natural and logical. Even healthy.

For the basic fact is that the Vietnam experience is not powerfully relevant to the present problems of the United States. Our difficulties did not lie in an all-powerful executive or an unruly military or an uncontrolled intelligence community—least of all in an imperial-minded people.

To harp on these matters is another form of the self-delusion expressed in the constant replaying of Watergate and the Kennedy assassination. It is a way of not facing up to the prime present problem—the unglamorous and morally neutral problem of making the domestic and world economy work.

Everybody knows the trouble laid up by the true believers who refuse to abandon the Vietnam war. Worse I think will ensue if the war critics prove as unwilling to let go of the Vietnam issue.

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IS IT SAFE? -- CONTINUED

scholar of communism, who wrote in his book, *Will America Surrender?*, "Our policy of no-victory in Vietnam and our recent advances to China and Russia have made it unmistakably clear that the U.S. is pursuing a policy of historical surrender to communism." He explained, "There is no other name for a policy which rejects U.S. national interests as its permanent basis, and shuns the idea of asserting U.S. rights and will in the world as a danger to peace. . . . Only surrender and suicide can designate a policy which rejects and penalizes U.S. friends and allies, and helps and supports U.S. enemies in the world."

There is still another aspect about Vietnam which has received little attention. We are now in the act of acquiescing in a breach of an international agreement by a minor communist nation – not an agreement between a communist nation and some other free world nation – but one involving the United States of America. We negotiated and signed the Paris Peace Accord. And we are allowing North Vietnam to breach that Accord with impunity. The massive invasion of South Vietnam was a tearing up of that Accord and a direct challenge to the U.S.! We have not only failed to respond militarily. We have also failed to act diplomatically. Neither the U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. nor the Secretary of State has demanded that the U.N. impose sanctions against North Vietnam for its direct challenge to peace and to the sanctity of international agreements. Our President failed to ask the Congress for the right to use military power, if necessary, to force North Vietnam to comply with the terms of the Agreement. (Nor did he ask for further assistance to Cambodia.)

From the Far East, a valued friend of the U.S., President Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines, declared recently that Congress's refusal to extend additional aid to our Indochina allies suggests strongly that the United States no longer considers Southeast Asia vital to its interests. Philippine authorities are now looking carefully at our bilateral defense pact and at our military base agreements to see whether they were mutually beneficial.

If our national leaders did not understand the importance and the implications of the tragedy in Vietnam, the policy-makers in the Middle East, Far East, and Western Europe certainly had no difficulty.

Our failure to take action against North Vietnam is especially significant to our allies around the world. Ambassador Phuong made the point clearly in a television interview recently when he said: ". . . the United States has not lived up to the Paris ceasefire agreement and the world probably would conclude that it is safer to be an ally of the Communists than the Americans."

If it can be argued that we do not have the military strength to follow any other policy than that of acquiescence in Cambodia and Vietnam, then we must ask, Why do we not have the sufficient strength?

If we are going to allow North Vietnam to breach the Paris Peace Accord, then why should Moscow not feel free to violate the SALT Agreements?

The clear answer to whether or not the communists can be trusted to keep other Detente agreements, such as the SALT Agreements, can be found in Vietnam!

The only remaining question is: what can we still do to prevent the tragic effects of our naivete in believing that the communists want a true Detente from being felt in our own land?

I am asking our National Strategy Committee to review our crumbling and discredited foreign policy and to make recommendations as to what must be done.

In the meantime, please note the recent assessment by the Foreign Policy Task Force of the Liberal Coalition for a Democratic Majority which is excerpted in the pages following.

John M. Fisher
President
American Security Council

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NEW YORK TIMES 6 MAY 1975

Feuds and Bad Planning In Saigon Exit Recalled

By FOX BUTTERFIELD

Special to The New York Times

MANILA, May 5 — Although more than 100,000 Vietnamese successfully escaped from Saigon, the evacuation was marred by what diplomats and newsmen now recall as bad planning, bitter feuding between sections of the United States Mission and often an every-man-for-himself attitude.

As a result, many key Vietnamese officials and others who had long worked for the Americans were left behind. Many fearing reprisals from the Communists.

Moreover, the selection of those to be evacuated often seemed arbitrary. Dozens of prostitutes, for example, were taken out by American contractors and officials who listed them as wives or fiancées. But the chief spokesman for the Saigon Government and his staff, who would be major Communist targets, were apparently not helped despite repeated pleas.

In addition, same officials in the United States Embassy and Consulate — partly because of panic and partly out of concern for their own Vietnamese staffs —are known to have deceived each other or failed to notify subordinates about the final evacuation on Tuesday, endangering many lives.

In the end, no American officials are known to have been left behind, and the loss of life in the evacuation was minimal.

But the series of mix-ups and the haggling that accompanied the final American exit angered many American officials, and on the evacuation ships that carried them here they talked of their bitterness toward Ambassador Graham A. Martin.

It was Ambassador Martin, they say, who by delaying evacuation until the last possible minute — to avoid throwing Saigon into chaos — was responsible for the failure to rescue many endangered Vietnamese.

Some officials go further, accusing Mr. Martin of having been so isolated inside his walled embassy that he was blind to the inevitability of the Communist victory. The Ambassador, an aloof, secretive man who strongly supported former President Nguyen Van Thieu, became ill with pneumonia in the last few days before Washington finally ordered him, last Tuesday, to "pull the plug."

Leaving Saigon among the last American evacuees, the Ambassador boarded the Seventh Fleet flagship, the carrier Blue Ridge, and—except for a chance encounter with a few newsmen — remained unavailable to the press. He could not be asked about criticisms of his role.

According to knowledgeable diplomatic informants, when some American officials began to push for evacuation planning after the loss of the northern two-thinds of the country in March, Mr. Martin's opposition delayed it.

As a consequence, some parts of the United States Mission— composed of the embassy, the Agency for International Development, the United States Information Service, the Defense Attaché's Office and the Central Intelligence Agency — privately began their own withdrawal scheme.

This worked best for those institutions with their own air transportation and money to bribe Vietnamese officials and guards — namely the Defense Attachés office and the C.I.A. But the embassy and the aid and information agencies, which did not have their own "assets," in the popular term, were much less successful in getting their staffs out.

General Is Dismissed

On April 12, with North Vietnamese troops beginning to tighten around Saigon, Brig. Gen. Richard M. Baughn, the senior Air Force officer in the Defense Attaché's Office, was abruptly dismissed and transferred out of Vietnam by Ambassador Martin. According to military sources, he had angered the Ambassador by beginning to fly Vietnamese employes in the office to the Philippines aboard Air Force planes.

It was not until April 20, after the siege of Xuan Loc had begun 40 miles northeast of Saigon that Ambassador Martin on orders from Washington assented to the first legal evacuation flights by Air Force C-141 planes.

Thereafter the evacuation was pushed hard, with the embassy pressing the Saigon Government to accelerate granting exit permits and special passes for Vietnamese dependents and employes of Americans. In some cases the embassy actually helped in secretly taking Vietnamese out of the country without officials permission.

But there appeared to be little coordination or careful planning to separate cases of Vietnamese seriously endangered from those who merely wanted to leave.

Thus, for instance, a Vietnamese who had worked 10 years for the C.I.A. in Pleiku in the Central Highlands, before it was abandoned to the Communists, discovered no one in the embassy would help him when he managed to flee to Saigon. All his friends from the agency had already been transferred out of Vietnam and there was no one who recognized him.

But by contrast, on Saturday, April 26, a blue compact car of the type used by the embassy pulled up in front of Annie's Bar on Tu Do Street and took away three bar girls carrying suitcases.

Perhaps the worst case of confusion involved the United States Consulate General in Can Tho, the center of Military Region IV in the Mekong delta.

Officials from the consulate say they were never given any notice at all to evacuate their Vietnamese personnel until 11:30 Tuesday morning, when they were suddenly ordered to withdraw only their remaining Americans. By that time, the last emergency evacuation had already begun in Saigon.

As a result, the Con Tho office acting on its own at the last minute was able to get out only 42 of 573 Vietnamese employes, and 312 of over 3,000 Vietnamese dependents.

One Can Tho official who made three special trips to Saigon to discuss evacuation was reportedly turned away with the answer that Ambassador Martin would not accept puling out the Vietnamese employes

Another Can Tho official who was dispatched to Saigon over the last weekend to try to press for help in evacuating Vietnamese staff, was in the office of Donald Anderson, the embassy administrative officer in charge of pulling out field staff, on Tuesday morning when the order for final evacuation was given.

"Anderson got up and left his office with some of his own Vietnamese without telling our men anything," recalled a furious Can Tho official. "He just went out to get on an airplane with his people, leaving our man sitting there."

The Can Tho consulate at its own initiative had prepared several evacuation plans, including its main one using four Air America helicopters stationed in Can Tho. However, at 8 A.M. on Tuesday the local C.I.A. officials asked to borrow the four Air America helicopters for their own personnel and flew off to Saigon without returning the aircraft.

DEFENSE SPACE BUSINESS DAILY 5 MAY 1975 (6)

BILL PROPOSES REVIEW OF DOD CIVILIAN MANPOWER CHANGES

A 25-member, high-level commission which would seek to mitigate the economic effects resulting from the cutback of Defense Department civilian personnel employed at various military bases would be established under legislation introduced by Sen. Hirman Fong (D-Hawaii.).

The proposed Advisory Commission on Future Civilian Manpower Requirements at U.S. Military Installations, which would include the secretary of defense, would not be authorized to prevent closing or cutbacks at military bases directed by DOD. However, it would be authorized to find out what military installations are to be eliminated or cut back and to recommend "new ways to effectively utilize the changed status of the affected bases." It would also be authorized to: 1) Study the trends regarding the use and employment of civilians at U.S. bases and implications for the future use of such manpower. 2) Determine and project the impact that the withdrawal of U.S. troops from overseas bases and the reduction of the armed forces will have on various states and communities. 3) Make recommendations for lessening the economic impact of base closing; channeling the skills of those laid off into new fields of employment; retaining those laid off; and notifying the state and local communities at the earliest possible date of layoff plans.

In addition to the secretary of defense, the commission would include the secretaries of commerce and labor, the director of OBM, the chairman of the Civil Service Commission, five governors, five mayors, five country officers and five nongovernmental leaders.

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 6 May 1975

WASHINGTON POST 6 MAY 1975

Israel Expects New U.S. Effort on Mideast

By John M. Goshko
Washington Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM, May 5—Israeli observers are convinced that America, now relieved of its responsibilities in vietnam, will soon launch a more intensified effort to defuse the Arab-Israeli conflict.

President Ford and Secretary of State Henry A. kissinger will meet Egyptian President Anwar Sadat in Europe the first week of June, and Israeli Premier Yitzhak Rabin will be Mr. Ford's guest in Washington on June 11 and 12.

Relations between Israel and the United States have been strained since March,when Kissinger's shuttle-diplomacy effort to mediate a further interim agreement between Israel and Egypt on troop pullbacks in the Sinai Peninsula failed.

Kissinger and Mr. Ford let it be known that they placed the main responsibility for the breakdown of those talks on Israeli inflexibility, and they ordered a complete "reassessment" fo U.S. policy in the Middle East. Since then; the Ford administration has continued to show annoyance at what it characterizes as Israel's shortsightedness and failure to recognize its own long-term interests.

Among other things, Washington has suspended negotiatios on supplying new arms to Israel and leaked word that Israel's pending request for $2.5 billion in military and economic aid during the coming fiscal year will be cut back substatially.

All this has caused great dismay within Israel, which looks to the United States as the ultimate guarantor of its existence.

In recent interviews, High-ranking officials of Rabin's government have frequently used such phrases as "tragic" and "deeply regretable" to describe the rift with Washington.

These same officials expressed a deep conviction, however, that Washington's tendency to blame Israel for the failure of the Kissinger mission is unfair and unjustified They left little doubt that the Rabin government badly wants to patch up the quarrel, but they also stressed that Israel will not accept a rapprochement on terms that it ragards as dangerous to its security.

This stance appears to have the overwhelming support of Israeli public opinion. The U.S. policy reassessment, which is widely regarded here as a psychological pressure tactic, has helped to solidify this support and may have hardened the Israeli position.

One foreign diplomat assesses the mood in more ominous terms, saying, "The Israelis are getting close to the point of developing a Samp-son-in-the-temple complex."

Officials in Rabin's government say that, in retrospect, they can see several reasons for the Kissinger mission's failure, and Vietnam is one to which they assign considerable prominence. By a strange quirk of timing, the situation in South Vietnam and Cambodia began to deteriorate just as Kissinger came to the Middle East.

The collapse of the peace agreements that Kissinger had negotiated in Vietnam made the Israelis skittish about the kind of accord he wanted them to strike with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat. In the Israeli view, this would have obliged them to give up very specific military advantages in exchange for vague, ill-defined assurances that the Israelis feel had been given to South Vietnam and that subsequently proved meaningless.

At the same time, the Israelis charge, the knowledge that his Vietnam accords were failing had a distracting effect on Kissinger. The officials leave little doubt of their belief that Kissinger and Mr. Ford wanted a diplomatic success in the Middle East to help compensate for the defeat in Indochina, and when this success proved to be beyond their grasp, they reacted by indulging in a fit of pique against Israel.

But, the officials add, they think that Kissinger's efforts would have failed even without the distorting effect of events in southeast Asia. The March negotiations, they say, revealed, perhaps for the first time, that a big gap exists between Kissinger's and the Rabin government's perceptions of how to resolve the Middle East crisis.

In pursuing his step-by-step diplomacy, Kissinger appeared to be going on the assumption that the nature of the problem —working out an Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab territory—requires that the major concessions be made by Israel. Kissinger was said to consider this as working to Israel's long-term advantage, because it would lead in the end to the general Middle Eastern peace settlement that the Israelis want.

The Israelis, however, as one official said, "believe that the process should not be step-by-step but step-for-step," in which every significant Israeli concession should be matched by an Arab concession of roughly comparable weight. This would guarantee that neither side gained too lop-sided an advantage in the interim stages enroute to a final peace settlement.

In the March negotiations, for example, the Israelis say that they were willing to meet Egypt's demands for withdrawal from the Abu Rudeis oilfields on the Gulf of Suez and the strategic Mitla and Gidi passes in the Eastern Sinai Peninsula, but, they felt that they were entitled, in exchange, to an unequivocably clear-cut statement of non-belligerence from Egypt.

The Israelis contend that Kissinger accepted the Egyptian position—return of the passes and oil fields for an ambiguously worded statement of Egyptian intent—as the goal of the negotiations.

"I don't even think it could he described as a genuine negotiation," one official who took part in the talks sav. "In our view, the Egyptians hardly moved at all over the entire course of the negotiations. If anyone was inflexible, it was Sadat. For our part, we gave be described as a genuine neconsiderable ground from our opening position. But we got nothing of a matching nature in return—only pressure to give still more."

"Even then," he continues, "we were willing to go on bargaining and talking. But when we made clear that Egypt would have to make a better offer if we were to meet their full demands, Sadat apparently lost his temper and Kissinger apparently lost heart. It was they who broke off the negotiations, not us."

The officials say that the Rabin government would still react the same way under similar circumstances. As to the quarrel with Washington, they say that Rabin has decided to avoid exacerbating the situation by engaging in recriminations, and to wait instead for "practical signs" such as a resumption of arms aid talks.

In the meantime, Israel has carried out a quiet reassessment of its own, dispatching a small army of former Cabinet ministers and other prominent figures to the United States to explain Israel's position and to test American public and political opinion. As a result, the government now feels that Israel's standing with the U.S public and Congress remains high and that its problems are primarily with the Ford administration.

Even so, the officials add the government regards Mr Ford and Kissinger as "friends" and is hopeful that the dispute with them can be resolved amicably. Official circles have been encouraged by the fact that the signals coming out of Washington in recent days had a noticeably more upbeat tone. Earlier this week, for example,

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SECURITY OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE IMPROVED--DOD. The Defense Department reported to Congress last week that the security of U. S. nuclear weapons in Europe has been improved since a senatorial team found some nuclear munitions being stored under lax security in the basement of an administration building in Europe in 1973. The DOD statement came in response to the release of a report Wednesday discussing the 1973 inspection by the Senate team.

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WALL STREET JOURNAL 6 MAY 1975

Sadat's Diplomatic Offensive

By Ray Vicker

CAIRO — America should say clearly whether it wishes to guarantee Israel within its borders or to guarantee Israel's occupation of lands taken from Arabs.

That is the thesis President Mohamed Anwar el Sadat will be expounding to President Ford at their forthcoming meeting in Salzburg, Austria June 1 and 2. And the Egyptian president is pushing the same theme hard in a round of diplomacy which seeks to rally world opinion against continued occupation by Israel of Arab lands seized in the 1967 war between Arabs and Israelis.

Here in Egypt, where the emphasis seems to be upon rebuilding the country rather than on war, there is strong support for the diplomatic offensive unleashed by President Sadat. There is also an attitude of injured indignation. In government ministries, on the campus of Cairo University, in homes of Egyptians one is constantly lectured that it has been Egypt which is seeking a real peace in this part of the world, that it is Israel which has been dragging its feet through Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's aborted shuttle diplomacy.

"I don't understand what is the matter with America, why it doesn't see that we are holding out a hand of friendship. We want peace. We want to work with America. Yet the United States does not use its strength for achieving peace. It treats us like . . . like lepers," says Mohamed Kamel Anous, director general in the ministry of foreign trade.

And at Cairo University, Mahmoud Gamel, a 23-year-old economics major, contends: "It should be obvious by now to everybody that there can be no peace in the Middle East when so much of our land still is occupied by the Jews. Yet America seems unwilling to even admit that for eight years the Jews have been sitting in the Sinai, in the West Bank of Jordan and on the Golan Heights, pumping our oil from the Sinai, building settlements on Arab lands and ignoring United Nations resolutions which call for withdrawal."

Blunt Speaking

In one recent speech, President Sadat bluntly said: "I say to the United States that it is high time for the United States to adopt a well defined attitude to be clear-cut and black and white. Is the U.S. defending Israel within its borders or is it defending Israel's occupation of the land usurped from Arabs? This should be made clear in the reevaluation of U.S. policy."

(To many observers, however, the definition of "occupied territory" is not so clear-cut. Most Israelis remain deeply suspicious of the Egyptian call for return of the land occupied in 1967. They argue that Egypt couples this demand with a further call for "justice to the Palestinians," who were displaced in the 1948 fighting that gave birth to the State of Israel. This further demand, argue the Israelis, may well mean that Egypt still wants to dismember their country as it existed before 1967. Certainly many Arabs, and particularly the Palestinians, consider all of Israel to be "occupied Arab territory.")

Questions raised by the Egyptian diplomatic offensive are somewhat embarrassing to President Ford's administration. Up to now, the U.S. has avoided any clear-cut answer to some of those questions. By indirection, there is the implication that the U.S. does not favor annexation by Israel of those subjected lands. But that hasn't been spelled out.

Israelis strongly contend that a readjustment of borders was necessary for its defense, which means that Israel would not return to the so-called "Green Line."

Egypt's president is pressing the U.S. to define its own policies concerning Israeli "security" and if that fails, to bring the issue home to the American public.

This is the border which had pertained before the 1967 war. However, Israel has not defined what it considers to be a "defensible" border.

In 1973, in one interview in the lobby of the Tel Aviv Hilton Hotel, General Ariel Sharon blandly declared that the most defensible border with Egypt from his standpoint was the Suez Canal. Two days later, the Yom Kippur war (known as the "Ramadan war" here) proved that the Suez Canal wasn't so defensible after all.

Nevertheless, if you talk to 10 Israelis, you probably will obtain 10 different descriptions of what constitutes "defensible borders." And none of them are likely to involve returning to the Green Line, as Arabs insist.

In this age of long distance rockets, of supersonic planes and of murderous weaponry, no borders are any longer defensible in the static manner which usually is meant when the term is used. Perhaps the best way to work for peace is not to seek "defensible" borders which might prove as illusory as the impregnability of Israel's Bar Lev Line along the Suez Canal, but to try to diffuse the animosities which are the basic cause of trouble in the Mideast.

Israel, however, has committed itself to the "defensible borders" concept. This favors delay and more delay in the surrender of any occupied territory since any retreat at all is likely to antagonize some segments of the Israeli population. And the present government in Israel is not strong enough to risk any splintering of its support.

In the face of delay, Arabs have three basic choices: To press a diplomatic offensive hoping to achieve aims peacefully, to launch another war, or to fall back to a no-war-no-peace situation which most likely would lead to a war of attrition and then to a full fledged, bloody war, anyway.

With oil money pouring into Arab lands, time no longer is on the side of Israel, something which still has not sunk into many minds in Israel. That belief, though, is becoming more widespread in Western Europe, in Japan and among many Americans who have had opportunities to travel through Arab countries recently.

Another war, today, would be far bloodier than any so far in this part of the world. And the odds probably would favor Israel as the "victor" on the battlefield, without its being able to score such a resounding success that it also could dictate the peace. Only once did that opportunity appear, in 1967. Israel didn't rise to the occasion with the generous peace offer which might have led to peace, and the opportunity was lost.

So now, at a time when the world does not like military occupations, Israel finds it necessary to justify an occupation which it obviously wishes would continue indefinitely. Alleged "security" thus becomes the basic argument for such a policy. From the Israeli standpoint, it is a good debating position, for emotions may be touched easily with it. Who within a country could be against "security," for instance? Who would make political hay by arguing against it?

President Sadat's diplomatic offensive is a very clever gambit, too. He wants the U.S. to define its own policies concerning Israeli "security." If that doesn't come officially, he would like the American public to become so aware of the issues that people in the U.S. might pressure Washington to reassess its position. This would lift peace moves from the stagnant mire into which they fell after Secretary of State Kissinger shelved his shuttle diplomacy.

Prospects of War

If the Sadat offensive fails, then the Mideast could be heading directly for another war. This is something which should be understood now, with a whole lot more clarity than was the case in 1973. Well before the Yom Kippur (Ramadan) war, President Sadat advertised his desire to get things moving by booting Russians from positions of influence in Egypt. Both America and Israel ignored that action. Subsequently President Sadat indicated his intention to launch a war since nothing else seemed able to awake America and Israel. Again, few paid any attention to him. Yet war did come.

From the Egyptian standpoint, the timing of the current offensive could not be more advantageous. This offensive comes just at a time when the collapse of South Vietnam is bringing home to the American people the troubles which might stem from having the U.S. attempt to play policeman to the world. Secretary of State Kissinger has declared that one lesson to be learned from Vietnam is that "foreign policy must be sustained over decades if it is to be effective, and if it cannot be, then it has to be tailored to what is sustainable."

So Egyptians are asking: Is it American policy to defend Israel's occupation of Arab lands? And by implication there is another question: Does America really think that the affirmative can be sustained over decades in the face of bitter opposition from over 100 million Arabs plus literally over a 100 supporting nations?

And Vietnam provides lessons concerning what might happen if America is led to give guarantees which it can't sustain, say Egyptians. For Israel, there is a disturbing factor here, too. Suppose the U.S. clearly declares that it has no intention of guaranteeing Israeli possession of occupied lands? Then suppose another war starts, with Arabs claiming they seek only to win back occupied territories? What would the U.S. attitude be then?

Such questions are all involved in that thesis which President Sadat is expounding. Like it or not, the U.S. must consider them in reassessing its own Midcastern position.

Mr. Vicker is the Journal's senior international editor and is currently stationed in the Middle East.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 6 MAY 1975

Jordanian paper says Israel masses troops

Amman, Jordan

Israel is massing troops and armor along the entire length of the Syrian and Jordanian cease-fire lines, the Jordanian newspaper Al-Destour asserted Monday.

There was no immediate comment from the Israeli, Syrian, or Jordanian commands.

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CURRENT NEWS
SPECIAL EDITION

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6 MAY 1975 No. 4

COMMENTARY MAY 1975

Vietnam: The Final Reckoning

Robert W. Tucker

AT LAST, the final reckoning in Vietnam is at hand. Barring some unforeseen and unexpected reversal, the last act in what has seemed a never-ending drama has begun. How should we behave in the concluding phase of a conflict whose outcome we have for so long sought to influence? How should we act toward those we chose to support and whose destiny we presumed to guide? However one answers these questions, their importance is apparent. For what we ultimately learn, if anything, from this our first defeat in war will depend in large measure upon our collective memory of Vietnam. In turn, this memory will surely be affected by how we behave in the moment of defeat.

It may be argued that these are questions which should have been asked long ago, that at the very least they should have been asked in January 1973 when American military forces withdrew from Vietnam in accordance with the cease-fire agreements. In fact, they were only seldom raised. To be sure, many have asked how the war, and continued American support of South Vietnam, might be ended. But few have permitted themselves the assumption that these questions would one day have to be raised and answered in the circumstances we now face. The unwelcome truth is that most of us have been loath to confront the issues we have now been forced to confront. The sudden and dramatic turn in the course of the war has brought us to the full accounting we have so long sought to avoid making and one we have been encouraged to avoid making by those bearing official responsibility for American policy. If there is a pervasive air of unease over Vietnam today, it must be largely attributed to the realization that this dreaded accounting can no longer be put off.

At the same time, it is necessary to stress that this accounting is of a special sort and, as such, not to be equated simply, or perhaps even primarily, with conventional diplomatic-strategic calculations. It is not President Ford's falling dominoes and the presumably vital American security interests thereby jeopardized that have given rise to the unease. Nor is it Secretary Kissinger's strictures on the indivisibility of peace and the effects on American global interests in abandoning an ally (South Vietnam) in its moment of extremity. These arguments, invoked from the outset of the American involvement in Vietnam, are still not without *some* effect. But the effect appears rather minimal, and this quite apart from whatever intrinsic merit the arguments might have. Indeed, it may well be that the world of the middle 1970's gives a considerably greater plausibility to such arguments than did the world of the early-to-middle 1960's. Certainly, the American position in the world today is not one that will bear favorable comparison with the American position of a decade ago. These considerations apart, the point remains that the altogether familiar arguments of the administration in response to the recent events in Vietnam are markedly less persuasive than they were in earlier years, and even in the earlier years of American involvement in the war their persuasiveness was limited. The currents of public opinion, and of a substantial portion of elite opinion as well, are running in directions other than those set out by the President and his Secretary of State in defining American security interests both in, and affected by, Indochina.

Nor does it seem plausible that the unease over the impending dénouement in Vietnam is a response to expected recriminations—already surfaced by leading administration figures—over "who lost Vietnam." If anything, these recriminations are likely to still much of the unease that does clearly exist by submerging it in domestic political considerations. There is little the Ford administration can reasonably expect to gain by assigning the loss of Vietnam to the Democratically-controlled Congress accused of having been niggardly in the amount of support it was prepared to give South Vietnam, though there is a good deal the administration could quite possibly lose. This is so if only for the reason that the administration must contend with something approaching the status of a law of politics: re-

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ROBERT W. TUCKER, whose article, "Oil: The Issue of American Intervention," in our January issue has provoked worldwide discussion, is professor of international relations at John Hopkins and the author of several books on world affairs and American foreign policy. He wishes to thank his colleague, Professor Piero Gleijeses, for invaluable help in preparing this article.

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sponsibility for what happens at a given time falls upon those who currently hold power. To escape the operation of this law, however cruel and unjust it may in practice occasionally prove, the present power holders must make a persuasive demonstration that Vietnam might—even would—have been saved had it not been for a recalcitrant and penurious Congress. Given the difficulties of such demonstration, the prospects that it might succeed cannot be rated very bright. Clearly, it will take a good deal more in the way of "proof" than merely to argue that Vietnam would have been saved had Congress only complied with whatsoever requests for aid were made by the executive.

More generally, the circumstances of 1975 simply do not favor in the case of Vietnam even a mini-repetition of the earlier Republican "loss-of-China" gambit. It is not only that in the present case a Republican administration will have presided over the "loss," but that it will have done so in a period when détente with the Soviet Union (and, in lesser degree, with China) has been the great desideratum of policy. How is one to explain simply and persuasively to the great public that those who have been so instrumental in bringing about the loss by presumably being more generous with their ally than we have been with ours, are nevertheless the states with which we must continue to seek closer and more understanding relationships? The initiated may find little trouble in grasping these subtleties of statecraft, though in the case of the Soviet Union even many of the initiated are evidently beginning to experience some difficulty. It seems doubtful, though, that the public will be able to follow this logic.

Yet the charge against Congress of "losing Vietnam" may still elicit a strong public response simply by virtue of the blood and treasure the American people have sacrificed in Vietnam. To invoke this particular logic, to tell the people that its sacrifice has been in vain because in the end this sacrifice was willfully betrayed by those who refused to comply with the administration's requests, would be reckless and irresponsible in the extreme. It would recall a dark and shameful chapter in our history and, in doing so, it would put an even more miserable end to an involvement that has been marked throughout by little else than misery. Despite the occasional intimation that charges reminiscent of McCarthyism may yet be raised, it is difficult to believe we have in recent recriminations more than misguided, though understandable, efforts to prod a Congress no longer willing passively to accept either the judgments or the requests of the executive branch on Indochina—and, for that matter, on foreign policy generally.

II

THE question persists: Why the unease in watching the dénouement in Vietnam?* Why do I feel uneasy in observing a tragedy the last act of which can come as no surprise? Clearly, it is not because of any regret over a position of opposition taken and held for more than a decade. In retrospect, there is no apparent reason for altering that position today. I remain persuaded that the American involvement in Vietnam represented, more than anything else, the triumph of an expansionist and imperial interest which, by the 1960's, had submerged the narrower and more conventional security interest the policy of containment initially expressed. Without question, the involvement in Vietnam was also a legacy of the classic cold war, of the momentum generated by the cold war, and of the habits of thought and action the years of intense conflict had encouraged. Yet the greatest legacy of the classic cold war was the gradual submission of the narrower interest that containment initially expressed in the larger interest of maintaining under American leadership a stable and congenial global order. Vietnam was perceived as a threat to this larger interest, and it was the preservation of this larger interest—an imperial interest—that must ultimately explain Vietnam. In the purpose of maintaining a particular vision of world order, in the equation of this order with American security, in the hubris of those who led the nation into war, and in the reluctance to withdraw from a conflict that could not be "won" without resort to odious measures, Vietnam affords a classic case of an imperial war.

Thus the United States involvement in Vietnam was not primarily due to intellectual error, as the prevailing liberal orthodoxy on the war would have it. Nor can it be adequately explained either in terms of an ideological obsession pursued for its own sake or, with more plausibility, in terms of the domestic constraints of anti-Communism. These and similar explanations of the policy that led to Vietnam give to this policy a quality of disinterestedness it did not possess and a quality of innocence it did not have. That policy was not the work of incompetent ideologues who were blind to political realities and oblivious to age-old considerations of interest. It was the work of men who, though they obviously made mistakes, wished to preserve America's global preponderance, and who not unreasonably saw in Vietnam a threat to the nation's preeminent position. In the manner of all imperial visions, the vision of a preponderant America was solidly rooted in the will to exercise dominion over others, however benign the intent of those who entertained the vision. That this will was commonly cloaked in such disarming terms as "liberal internationalism" does not alter the reality. The policy of intervention—of liberal intervention—that culminated in Vietnam was the expected response of an imperial power with a vital interest in maintaining an order that, quite apart from the material benefits it conferred, had become synonymous with the nation's vision of its role in history.

Yet even for one who opposed this vision and the results to which it finally led in Vietnam, there is something awesome and disquieting in the swiftness with which so many have apparently abandoned it in the conviction that we have entered a new period of world history. It may of

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* It is perhaps well to emphasize that "unease" is used here in a sense to be distinguished from the unease that arises simply from witnessing death and destruction (and, in this instance, the sense of shame among many South Vietnamese that an ordeal many bore with so much courage and dignity has been mocked by the behavior of an army in defeat). We all feel uneasy in the face of the suffering of others, quite apart from whether or not we have had any role in, or relationship to, that suffering. In the case of Vietnam, however, the particular unease experienced today stems in large part from the role we have played in the war and the nagging doubts almost all must feel about that role. Then, too, unease might in part stem from the self-deceptions that have been entertained almost to the very end.

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course be argued that the vision has not in fact been abandoned, only the methods by which it was formerly sustained. But given the world in which foreign policy must still be conducted, the abandonment of these methods is very likely to leave the vision little more than an empty shell. Indeed, the abandonment of these methods may well result in jeopardizing narrower and more traditional security interests. In any event, it is in the excess of Vietnam that we may find a root cause—perhaps *the* root cause—of an outlook today that promises to be as indiscriminate in its anti-interventionism as was the interventionism of only yesterday. If some of the now visible consequences of this sudden change are to be deplored, this consideration cannot alter the judgment rendered on our involvement in Vietnam. On the contrary, it can only strengthen the judgment made on the intrinsic folly of that involvement.

III

We come closer to answering the question of why the sense of unease over Vietnam once it is acknowledged that we never honestly faced the issue of how we were to disengage entirely from an enterprise—and this regardless of the consequences—which, even though we should never have undertaken it, we nevertheless did undertake. To have faced up to this issue necessarily meant facing up to its probable consequences—indeed, to its almost certain consequences—and this we could not bring ourselves to do. At least, this is true for almost all of those who, however opposed to American involvement in Vietnam, have not been sympathetic to the cause of the other side in the conflict. A very small minority apart, then, the rest of us have sought, whether consciously or unconsciously, varying ways to escape from confronting the issue we now find we can no longer avoid.

Although few were ever seriously persuaded that Vietnamization would really work, many nevertheless managed to find comfort in the promise that it might do so. Even so, the seductive promise of Vietnamization itself necessarily implied the *indefinite* continuance of American aid to South Vietnam, both economic and military, or at least so long as the war continued and the North continued to receive help from its allies. To agree to the one—Vietnamization—while denying the other—aid for an indefinite period—was either obtuse or insincere, provided that the South Vietnamese government and army made reasonably effective use of such aid. Moreover, experience had amply demonstrated that "reasonably effective use" in the South Vietnamese context could only be realistically interpreted with some looseness, unless it too was to prove no more than a deceptive—or self-deceptive—formula.

The premise underlying Vietnamization, and thus the implicit obligation to continue aid support, was not the representative character of the South Vietnamese government. On this all-important point, there has been, and remains even today, much confusion. It is true that, during the years Vietnamization was pushed as a way to disengage from direct participation in the conflict, many argued that such assistance as we might later provide would never be effectively used in the absence of a more representative government. Whether subsequent events have confirmed this long-held view must at least remain unclear in one respect, since we have no way of knowing whether a more representative government would in fact have made better use of the aid South Vietnam was given in the period following the American withdrawal. The contrary position is not self-evident, despite the tendency of its proponents to assume that it is. There have been governments before which, while broadly representative, have nevertheless shown themselves incompetent to conduct a war effectively. Moreover, in the case of South Vietnam a government more representative than the Thieu government—though a government that excluded the Vietcong—would still be one that represented disparate political factions which have always been largely devoid of any real popular support. After so many years of discussion and debate, we still do not have a plausible, let alone a persuasive, picture of the kind of government that would have elicited such support in South Vietnam. It is, after all, quite possible that none would have done so.

At any rate, this much at least is clear: if the strategy of disengaging from direct involvement in the war did not mean the abandonment of the South, it implied the commitment in principle to continued economic and military aid after disengagement was completed. It is disingenuous to argue today, though many do, that this strategy implied no commitment of aid, certainly no commitment of military aid, and that if such commitment was undertaken it was done in secret. The argument is disingenuous because the strategy of disengagement was largely based upon just such a commitment, and this was generally understood and accepted at the time. Nor is it relevant, in contending the contrary, to point to the instrument that completed and formalized American disengagement, the January 1973 Vietnam cease-fire agreement.* For that instrument did not have as its purpose the specification of commitments undertaken by the United States toward its ally, and it is captious to pretend otherwise.

It is for these reasons that it is difficult to gainsay the position of the Secretary of State in urging a review of the "public debate during the period that these [1973] agreements were negotiated to see what the imperatives were of the administration in negotiating these settlements" (although it is rather startling to find the Secretary making so ardent an appeal to a process he discouraged at the time). "There was never any proposition," Mr. Kissinger went on to insist at his March 26 news conference, "that the United States would withdraw and cut off aid, and these agreements were negotiated on the assumption that the United States would continue economic and military aid to South Vietnam."

The record broadly supports these assertions. Although in the press conferences and other public statements made at the time by Nixon administration officials in explaining the agreements the military aid question was played down, it was nevertheless answered in a manner that was clear enough given the circumstances. Thus Kissinger himself declared in a news conference immedi-

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* The "Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam" was concluded in Paris on January 23, 1973, the parties to it being the United States, North Vietnam, South Vietnam, and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (PRG). It was attended by various protocols, thus giving rise to such varying descriptions as the cease-fire agreement(s), the Paris accords, etc., and subsequently transmitted to Congress in the form of an executive agreement.

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ately following the conclusion of the Paris accords that the United States would continue to provide South Vietnam with "that military aid which is permitted by the agreement" (that is, to replace used-up equipment on a one-for-one basis with identical equipment) and went on to state: "The United States is prepared to gear that military aid to the action of other countries and not to treat it as an end in itself. . . ." Similar statements were made in subsequent official explanations of the cease-fire agreement. When Thieu visited President Nixon in early April 1973, the joint communiqué issued at the end of the talks reaffirmed, though in guarded terms, what was by then a well-understood position. And in considering the administration's aid requests for Vietnam in the spring of 1973, Congress not only proved quite uncritical in its examination of the requests but appeared to take for granted a continuing commitment to military aid.

It is necessary to review these events, since memories are often quite short, even over issues that once aroused deep passions. The view that the American government, with the knowledge of Congress and the public, undertook no commitment to the government of South Vietnam in the course of disengaging from active participation in the war, may be true in the narrow legalistic sense, but it is only in this sense that it is true. The commitment the American government did evidently undertake was not unconditional. Few, if any, such commitments between states are. It was conditioned on the performance of the South Vietnamese and, of course, on the behavior of the North. But a commitment there was, and it is not only misleading but somehow demeaning to attempt to deny this today.

IV

In some measure, the argument that has gone on over whether we have had a commitment to aid South Vietnam may be seen as one manifestation of the temptation to believe that we were deceived throughout the course of the war by whichever administration was in power—though above all by the Nixon administration. And where we were not deceived, it is tempting to believe that our will, however inarticulately it might have been expressed, was simply ignored by those who bore official responsibility for conducting Vietnam policy. It is tempting to believe this—indeed, the temptation verges on a compulsion—since it relieves us of a responsibility that, for good reason, we do not wish to bear. In fact, the deception of the public and the ignoring of its will do not contrast so markedly with a number of other chapters in post-World War II foreign policy. Moreover, it is often forgotten how frequently in the course of the war deceptions were exposed and secret undertakings uncovered. This is true even of the Nixon years when secrecy and deception, particularly with respect to Vietnam, were carried to yet new extremes. Prior to Watergate, however, they did not represent a political liability for Mr. Nixon. Quite the contrary: if anything, the Nixon Vietnam policy, despite its manner of execution, ultimately turned out to be a factor contributing to his 1972 victory.

Nor is this all. The public will—one uses that shadowy concept with diffidence, though use it we must—was not subverted in the case of Vietnam, not even by Richard Nixon. It may fairly be charged that Nixon exploited this will for his own purposes. But if he did so successfully, it was because this will remained profoundly ambivalent toward the war. Though clearly desiring to get out of the conflict from 1968 on, the public never accepted the stark prospect of defeat. Nor, for that matter, did a majority of the foreign-policy elites, and this despite their opposition to the war. Nixon instinctively recognized this ambivalence, and it dictated his Vietnamese strategy throughout. By changing the costs of the war to the nation,* while effectively exploiting public unwillingness to accept undisguised defeat, the President was able to marshal broad domestic support in 1972 for measures that carried the war as never before to North Vietnam. The relative absence of opposition to the war in the last six months of direct American involvement indicated that public—and also, in substantial measure, elite—disaffection with the war had been largely a function of costs (and, of course, the absence of definitive results). This may be a depressing conclusion to reach, but it is one that is difficult to avoid.

The 1973 cease-fire agreement preserved virtually intact the belief that if we had not won the war, we also had not lost it, that we had not been defeated. This being achieved, the public could readily endorse, and was only too willing to endorse, Nixon's "peace with honor." The President and his principal national-security assistant, for their part, were almost as eager as the public to achieve American disengagement. In addition to its role as the most troublesome of domestic issues, continued American involvement in the war was seen as a constant threat to further progress in détente with the great Communist powers. The Paris accords, particularly coming in the aftermath of the last and greatest display of American air power, satisfied Nixon's and Kissinger's dual requirement that American withdrawal not be seen by the public as a defeat, thereby not jeopardizing the domestic support needed for "larger policies," and by allies and adversaries as an erosion of the nation's prestige and credibility.

It may be no more than poetic justice that the man who negotiated the Paris cease-fire accords has recently suffered so much criticism for efforts that were almost universally acclaimed at the time. But if Henry Kissinger merits condemnation for what is rapidly becoming in the eyes of growing legions of critics a veritable catalogue of sins, it is difficult to see why the Paris accords should be counted among these sins. Admittedly, the Nobel Peace Prize appeared at the time, and appears even more so today, a rather excessive appraisal of the Kissinger handiwork. But the present condemnation of that handiwork seems only slightly less excessive. For even if it is true, and it is true, that the Paris accords amounted to a delayed and ultimately miserable death sentence for South Vietnam, this condemns the Kissinger efforts only if it is plausible to argue

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* To *this* nation, and not to the Vietnamese, South or North. The key was the reduction of American casualties and the build-up of American firepower. In 1972, the virtual disappearance of what had once been a strong anti-war movement testified to the effectiveness of the Nixon strategy. Elite groups were almost as vulnerable to the strategy as the general public, though they indignantly denied being so. Yet the record is clear that it was American casualties—and, of course, the draft—which above all supported the anti-war movement.

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VIETNAM: THE FINAL RECKONING...Continued

that the results could have been otherwise and better.

No doubt, the results could have been otherwise and better had more favorable terms for the South been extracted from Hanoi. But more favorable terms could only have meant, in the main, the complete withdrawal from the South of the North's forces (together with some mechanism for enforcing the withdrawal), and on this critical issue Hanoi had remained intractable for years. There is no evidence we have that Hanoi might have been induced to alter its position on this issue, short of an American threat literally to destroy the North. Save for a handful of unreconstructed hawks on the war, nearly everyone else drew back in horror at the very suggestion. Indeed, the terms that Kissinger did finally get, though legitimizing the North's presence in the South, *might* (no more is claimed) still have given the South an indefinite lease on life had they been accompanied by the meaningful prospect that the American bombers would return should the North again initiate large-scale military action. Kissinger evidently wanted to retain that option—he strongly hinted so publicly at the time—but he was effectively deprived of it only months later by a President in decline and a Congress that forbade American military forces from engaging in hostile acts in or over Indochina. Once it was made clear that the bombers would not return, there remained no effective means of protecting the South, whether from its own misdeeds or from its endemic vulnerability to large-scale attacks by Hanoi's forces, and it is difficult to fault Kissinger's plaintive comment to this effect in his March 26 news conference.

It has been argued that better terms for South Vietnam might have been gained had the United States agreed to Hanoi's longstanding demand for an unconditional American withdrawal and Thieu's removal. But these terms would have been tantamount to American acknowledgment of an undisguised defeat and, for this reason alone, were out of the question. Even so, it obviously does not follow that if these demands had been accepted, Hanoi would then have been willing to withdraw its forces from South Vietnam. At least, this does not follow in the absence of a government in Saigon that at the least included, if it was not dominated by, the Vietcong. With or without Thieu, Hanoi gave every indication that its forces were in the South to stay.

There remains the view that even given the terms of the Paris accords the results for South Vietnam could have been otherwise and better had Saigon and the United States made a sincere attempt to abide by the terms of the cease-fire. Moreover, this argument runs, had the provisions of the cease-fire agreement been carried out by Saigon and this government, there would have been no need to send additional military aid—or, alternatively, even if the need still had arisen, it might well have been kept to very modest proportions.

Clearly, what is implied here is an overall judgment on the nature of the Paris accords, and it is a judgment to the effect that the accords provided a reasonable chance for achieving a tolerable peace between the South and North. Those who take this view do not deny that, in the best of circumstances, difficulties would have remained in implementing the accords, given the suspicion and hatred that persisted and the many imprecisions and deliberate ambiguities that characterized many provisions of the accords. Even so, it is contended that whatever hope there was for a tolerable peace was dashed by our behavior and the behavior of our ally.

The detailing of this behavior has been made on innumerable occasions and requires only the barest summary. Saigon, with our encouragement, hardly waited until the ink of the agreement was dry before initiating what amounted to offensive actions. Thieu almost immediately reneged on his pledge to release political prisoners, as he did with respect to the obligations entailed in setting up a National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord. The mechanism for broadening political activity in the South was thus subverted while the provisions for organizing free elections under international supervision were simply ignored. On the American side, a series of commitments, some public though others secret, presumably went unfulfilled. Among the latter are included the promise to withdraw all American civilians in the South who were engaged in the support of Saigon's armed forces and the undertaking to cease American air reconnaissance over North Vietnam.*

One might counter this indictment with the numerous violations of the Paris accords charged to the North Vietnamese and Vietcong, violations also alleged to have begun in the months immediately following conclusion of the accords. Would any useful purpose be served by doing so, and by entering into a detailed examination of the order and magnitude of the violations undertaken by the two sides in order to assess relative responsibility for the breakdown of the cease-fire agreement? It would not seem so. Even a casual rereading of the Paris accords only serves to reinforce the conclusion, apparent at the time they were negotiated, that their almost incredible ambiguities meant either that their successful implementation required maximum efforts toward mutual understanding and good will, or that their purpose was simply to provide the means for America's military disengagement while leaving the situation otherwise essentially unchanged. Since the former interpretation is either merely tendentious or absurd, or perhaps both, we are left with the latter interpretation. This being so, it is a largely useless exercise to ask who undermined the agreement. The agreement was made to be undermined; its provisions seemed almost designed to invite evasion and subversion.

The American negotiators may still be judged adversely for having concluded the cease-fire agreement. But fairness requires recognition that the alternatives were either roughly the kind of agreement that was concluded or no agreement at all. Whereas the former alternative permitted military disengagement and the return of American war prisoners, the latter alternative promised—at best—military disengagement. There was of course a third alternative that would have obtained military disengagement and the return of the prisoners of war. This was the acknowledgment of defeat and, as a consequence of such admission, the abandonment of an ally. It was not only the Nixon administration that was completely unwilling to contemplate this third alternative.

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* These and other secret commitments are discussed by Tad Szulc, "Beyond the Vietnam Cease-Fire Agreement," *Foreign Policy* (Summer 1974), pp. 21-69.

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So was the nation, though in lesser degree. In light of what we now know, it is easy and fashionable to say that the third alternative would have represented the course of wisdom. For it is only by the barest of subterfuges that we may now continue to pretend that we were not defeated in Vietnam. Pride often counts for more than wisdom, however, and particularly in the case of powerful nations. And even were it not for pride, there was always the question of what to do with those whose destiny we sought to determine, however misguidedly, and whom, though their destiny is no longer within our reach (if, indeed, it ever really was), we cannot with honor simply cast aside.

V

THERE is an almost instinctively negative reaction to once again raising the matter of honor in relation to Vietnam. The reaction is surely understandable, even if misplaced. Abused and perverted on so many occasions during the past decade in relation to the war, the American involvement in Vietnam has almost succeeded in giving honor a bad name. Are we to conclude from this experience, however, that there is no such thing as honor or that honor can have no relevance to the manner in which as a nation we behave toward others? Apparently not, for it is the most extreme opponents of the war who have themselves been most insistent on seeing Vietnam as raising above all a moral issue and therefore, by implication, a matter of honor. Whether morality, and honor, occupy so exalted a position in the affairs of nations is a question that need not be entered into here. It is sufficient to insist that honor does enter into such affairs and that nations may dishonor, and have dishonored, themselves.

There can be no objection, then, to raising the matter of honor at this late date and to ask what remaining obligations, if any, we have that have grown out of our role in the Vietnamese conflict. It is no criticism of the Secretary of State that he has seen fit to ask this question and to answer it. Mr. Kissinger believes that in the "moment of extremity" of an ally the test of our character as a people is whether we are willing to stand by a commitment earlier made and to continue aid to that ally. This is, to him, "an elementary question of what kind of a people we are . . . a fundamental question of how we are viewed by all other people, and it has nothing to do with the question of whether we should ever have gotten involved there [Indochina] in the first place." To desert one's ally even when the latter's cause has become extreme is to dishonor oneself. And so it is, provided the commitment itself was an honorable one and the recipient has fulfilled the conditions implied by the commitment. To argue that even a dishonorable commitment, once made, can only be abandoned at the cost of honor itself is simply perverse. To insist that the recipient of a commitment deserves one's continued loyalty even if he has failed to fulfill the conditions of the commitment is unreasonable.

Whether the commitment made to South Vietnam is judged more than a mistake is a question that need not be argued here. What is of relevance is whether the South Vietnamese government made reasonably effective use of such aid as was given it. For if it did not do so, the further question whether it was given "adequate" aid need not even be considered. Did our ally fulfill the elementary condition implied by the commitment? There is very little evidence to support the view that it did, and a great deal of evidence to support the view that it did not. By almost any reasonable standard of effectiveness of performance, and even assuming for the sake of argument the existence of certain shortages due to the alleged penury of the aid-giver, the indispensable condition of continued moral obligation simply was not met. What follows from this is not that one may view with indifference the plight of those remnants of an armed force which do remain willing and able to fight. There is, in fact, no generally satisfactory answer that can be given in such extreme and agonizing situations, save to say —and it is concededly not much—that such answer must be determined by practical as well as humanitarian criteria. On the major issue, however, the response seems quite clear: there remains no obligation to be violated.

These considerations have taken administration arguments, particularly those of Mr. Kissinger, at face value. But this surely cannot be the end of the matter. We are entitled to ask, why the extraordinary sensitivity shown, not merely over keeping commitments—this is altogether expected—but over the moral necessity of doing so? While the Secretary may not be altogether insensitive to moral issues in statecraft, as his critics so regularly depict him as being, no one can accuse him of ever having been obsessed with such issues. Clearly, he is obsessed with issues of credibility and prestige, and while the importance of these issues may be granted, they are not synonymous with moral issues. The suspicion accordingly must arise that the Secretary has sought to use the moral on behalf of the strategic, that he has been looking at strategic interests and presenting them in moral terms.

IF THERE is nothing heinous in this, it is also not particularly admirable, above all in the present agony of South Vietnam. Moral sensitivity, one would have thought, might well have been directed in other and rather obvious directions, while strategic interests were being displayed for what they are. One such direction moral sensitivity can take is toward those South Vietnamese whose lives may be placed in jeopardy under a Communist, or Communist-dominated, regime if only because of past associations with the Americans. No one knows how many such persons may fall into this, and still other, categories, but it would be rash to assume the number is small.

Those who have for so long pressed the specter of a "blood bath" cannot in good conscience remain silent today toward the one measure that could remove their fear. The responsibility for granting asylum must be seen as a kind of litmus-paper test of the sense of obligation we feel, if not toward all those who will be placed in danger for whatever reason in a new regime, then at least toward those who have compromised themselves through past association with us. If the question of numbers is raised, it is well to recall that we took in 600,000 refugees from Cuba during the years following Castro's accession to power. Yet in the majority of cases, there was no physical danger posed to the Cuban emigrés and little obligation on our part by virtue of our own actions, as there

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is in Vietnam.

Nor is it only a matter of simple moral obligation that is involved in the case of Vietnam; it is also a test of the racism with which we have been taxed by others, and particularly in our attitudes and actions toward Asians. A refusal to make every effort to take in those Vietnamese who wish to leave and whose position has been compromised by us will confirm, as perhaps nothing else could, the charge we have so indignantly denied throughout the war.

Beyond this, if we are so concerned with our image of ourselves in defeat, as well we should be, we cannot avoid facing the issue of American economic aid to a South Vietnam we no longer influence. It is now known that in March 1973, the United States and North Vietnam came close to an agreement on American aid to the North for reconstruction. The agreement proved abortive because of the Nixon administration's ire over Communist truce violations and public indignation, reflected in Congress, over Hanoi's treatment of American prisoners of war, then being released. If aid for reconstruction was nevertheless justified in principle in the case of the North in 1973, then there is surely as strong a case to be made today for aiding the South, or, for that matter, the whole of Vietnam. To be militarily frustrated, and eventually defeated, by so small a state is humiliating, and nothing we say can deny this. Even so, generosity in defeat is not demeaning and certainly not for a great power. There is no reason why we cannot be as generous in defeat today as we have been in victory in the past.

VI

THESE observations are not intended to convey the impression that the final reckoning in Vietnam must be seen only in moral terms. Although the moral dimension of any accounting we are to make is important, the strategic dimension obviously cannot be neglected. What I have objected to is a view that misreads, if it does not pervert, the nature of the moral obligation that emerged from our commitment to South Vietnam, and that does so out of concern for strategic interests. Moreover, considering the immediate area to which this view has been applied, one must amend the preceding sentence to read that a mistaken strategic interest is equated with a spurious moral obligation. Applied elsewhere, to areas of real interest and to conditions altogether different from those that prevailed in Vietnam, the effects of this argument could prove to be devastating.

It is the tone as much as the substance of administration reactions to what has happened in Vietnam that are disturbing. While many have in retrospect unfairly criticized the 1973 Paris accords, the principal architect of those accords also insists upon finding a meaning in them they did not have. The apparent intent is to relieve himself of any responsibility for recent events in Vietnam. Yet there is the more ominous suggestion in the Kissinger reaction that what might now happen elsewhere (the Middle East?) must be seen as a result of the nation's failure to have appreciated its interests in and to have stood by its commitments to South Vietnam. One can only trust that this is little more than a passing mood, a short-lived reaction to a failure that can no longer be obscured. If it is more than that, if it is indicative of a more persistent attitude that finds increasing expression in American policy, then the prospect beckons of a determination by our policy-makers to create their own dominoes.

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CURRENT NEWS

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MONDAY, MAY 5, 1975

Air Force F-16 Termed Inadequate WASHINGTON POST 3 MAY 1975 (5) Pg. 1

Navy Bucks Hill, Picks F-18 Fighter

By Michael Getler
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Navy, challenging congressional directives, yesterday picked the new F-18 twin-engine jet as its future mainstay lightweight fighter, rather than the single-engine F-16 already chosen by the Air Force.

In announcing the selection of McDonnell Douglas Corp. and Northrop Corp. to develop the Navy's new jet—at an ultimate cost of more than $6 billion for 800 planes—Navy Under Secretary David Potter acknowledged that the choice does not meet congressional committee demands made last fall that the Navy plane be "a derivative of the selected Air Force air combat fighter design."

"It is perfectly clear this does not meet the language of the congressional report," Potter said. He told reporters that in the Navy's judgment, the jet picked by the Air Force "did not meet

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BALTIMORE SUN 4 MAY 1975 (5) Pg. 1

Ford dedicates nuclear carrier, says U.S. commitments will be met

By PETER J. KUMPA
Sun Staff Correspondent

Norfolk—President Ford yesterday called the country's second nuclear-powered aircraft carrier, the U.S.S. Nimitz, the newest, largest and most powerful unit of the fleet, "visible evidence of our commitment to friends and allies and our capability to maintain those commitments."

Speaking here at midday commissioning ceremonies, Mr. Ford acknowledged that the gigantic carrier joins the fleet at "an auspicious time" when American determination requires a "clear demonstration."

The President followed James R. Schlesigner, the Secretary of Defense, who said the message should be heard with "unmistakable clarity," and in words that were "unequivocable," that the "United States will maintain a military balance around the world," with the country providing resources to remain in "a position second to none."

Mr. Schlesinger added that the "most powerful military establishment was exemplified" by the Nimitz.

In introducing the President on Pier 12 here to several thousand Navy men and women, friends and relatives, on a bright, hazy day, the defense secretary noted that Britain's World War II prime minister, Winston S. Churchill, used to send messages to President Franklin D. Roosevelt under the code name of "former naval person." Mr. Schlesinger said the title was undeserved for Mr. Churchill had been a Sandhurst graduate and a former Army man.

But, said Mr. Schlesinger, President Ford was a true "former naval person" as well as

(See FORD, Pg. 2)

WASHINGTON STAR 4 MAY 1975 (50 Pg. 10

Hill OK Predicted For Navy Fighter

Associated Press

A key congressional leader says it is likely that Congress will approve the purchase of separate jet fighters for the Air Force and the Navy.

Rep. George H. Mahon, D-Tex., chairman of the House Appropriations Committee and its defense appropriations subcommittee, said Friday the "most likely development" will be that the Navy will be authorized to build twin-engine F18 fighters at the same time that the Air Force is building single-engine F16 fighters. He said, though, that he was not pleased by the Navy's decision.

THE NAVY announced earlier Friday that it had selected the F18 as its new fighter, disregarding congressional urgings that every effort be made by the Air Force and the Navy to select the same plane. If both services had done so, millions of dollars would have been saved by avoiding duplicated efforts.

The Navy is interested in acquiring 800 jet fighters. At $7.8 million each, the F18 orders would total more than $6 billion.

The Navy's decision still must be approved by Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger and Congress.

The Air Force selected the F16 in January, and plans to buy more than 650

(See HILL, Pg. 2)

WASHINGTON POST
5 MAY 1975 Pg. 26

Aspin Details Cost Overruns For B-1 Bomber

United Press International

Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wisc.) said yesterday that congressional auditors turned up a $225 million cost overrun by Rockwell International on research for the Air Force B-1 bomber.

The General Accounting Office, according to Aspin, also found that General Electric, which is providing the B-1's engines, might have a cost overrun of up to $100 million.

"The Air Force has attempted to gloss over cost increases on the B-1 bomber by claiming the increases are caused by inflation and delays in the program," Aspin said.

GENERAL NEWS SUMMARY FROM THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MAY 5, 1975

World-Wide

THE VIETCONG freed officials of the Vietnamese government that surrendered. A "military management committee" headed by Gen. Tran Van Tra, who led the 1968 Tet offensive against Saigon, was set up to run the city. One of its first moves was to release from custody Duong Van "Big" Minh, last president of the former government, and 18 other officials, Saigon radio said. Soldiers of the defeated army were ordered to surrender with their weapons or be executed.

Former Premier Nguyen Cao Ky, who fled in the final U.S. evacuation, predicted in Guam that the Communists wouldn't carry out a "massive massacre." Ky also declined to blame the U.S. for Saigon's fall, saying: "Unfortunately, we weren't brave enough to overthrow Mr. Thieu."

Hundreds of South Vietnamese ships anchored off the coast and surrendered to the new rulers, Hanoi radio said. In Paris, the French foreign ministry said its Saigon embassy reported that all foreigners in Saigon were being treated well, including 38 newsmen. But it was disclosed that Michel Laur-

(See NEWS SUMMARY, Pg. 3)

JAMES KILLINGBECK, CHIEF, CURRENT NEWS BRANCH, OX 78765 HELEN YOUNG, ASSISTANT CHIEF

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NAVY -- CONTINUED

the basic requirement" for operation from aircraft carriers during takeoff and landing.

The losing contractor is a team headed by LTV Corp. of Dallas, which has considerable experience building Navy jets, and General Dynamics, also of Texas. General Dynamics was the prime contractor on the $4.6 billion Air Force contract.

There is extraordinary interest within the defense industry, the military services and foreign countries in these two jet fighter programs—perhaps more than in any past weapon contract.

The Air Force contract originally was called "the contract of the century" because it was assumed that in addition to 650 F-16s for the Air Force, Congress would force the Navy to buy 800 of the light, maneuverable jets and there were another 1,500 potential sales overseas to NATO countries. In all, a market for some 3,000 airplanes worth about $15 billion over the next decade was foreseen.

Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger last winter speeded up selection of the Air Force F-16 so that a four-nation NATO consortium would know which plane the United States was going to buy. But the NATO countries still have not made their choice and now the U.S. appears headed toward building two different jets.

Congress generally has sought to have one basic plane built for both services. The Pentagon also has stressed that it would be best for NATO to standardize its forces with a single new jet. But Schlesinger has said the Navy should be allowed to decide what is best for the unusual demands of carrier flying.

The announcement yesterday by Potter was peculiar in several respects.

Potter said that while the Navy had chosen the F-18, Schlesinger still had not completed his review of whether to go into full-scale development, which must precede production. Potter said he expected Schlesinger's approval in a few days. Asked why the Navy didn't wait until it had Schlesinger's blessing, Potter suggested that the Navy didn't want word to leak out prematurely about its decision.

On Tuesday, the Navy is expected to go before Senate Appropriations Committee members for a first test of how strongly Congress feels about holding the Navy to its earlier demands.

The senator heading that committee is John L. McClellan (D-Ark.), who headed the investigation into the joint Air Force-Navy TFX fighter project 10 years ago.

Potter said it will cost about $1.4 billion to develop the new fighter, including the cost of jet engines built by General Electric. Each plane will cost about $7.8 million, including development and production costs, he indicated. The figures are based on current prices.

The plane would not be in service with the fleet until 1982.

The idea behind both new fighters is to build a lighter jet that can be bought in large numbers at a lower cost than the sophisticated F-14 and F-15 front-line fighters.

The F-18 formerly was called the F-17. It was designed by Northrop in an unsuccessful bid to win the Air Force contract.

The Navy and Air Force at first moved into the new fighter projects reluctantly, saying they preferred to buy more of the bigger Navy F-14s and Air Force F-15s.

Potter acknowledged under questioning that the Navy's most likely alternative, if the new F-18 is rejected by Schlesinger or Congress, is to buy more F-14s at about $13 million apiece.

Asked if he preferred that solution, Potter said, "No, sir."

The twin-egine plane chosen by the Navy also could have considerable appeal overseas. Some countries with large air forces, such as Iran and West Germany, reportedly prefer twin-engine planes.

The Navy choice, however, could add to confusion in four countries — Norway, Belgium, Denmark and Holland — that are on the brink of deciding to buy either the Air Force F-16 or a French or Swedish jet.

The new jet is designed to fly at about 1½ times the speed of sound and outclass the next generation of Soviet tactical fighter planes.

The idea is to use F-14s to take on the most advanced Soviet planes and buy enough of the less expensive F-18s to replace large numbers of existing F-4 and A-7 fighter-bombers, which would be too costly to replace by the F-14.

Another obvious but unofficial factor in the move to build two separate lightweight fighters reluctance by both services to be forced to accept the design of another service.

HILL -- CONTINUED

of the fighters at a cost of nearly $3 billion. The Air Force at the time said the F16 was cheaper and "showed many advantages in such critical performance factors as agility, acceleration, turn rate and endurance at supersonic speeds."

DIFFERENCES between the two models were cited Friday by Undersecretary of the Navy David Potter, who acknowledged that while "it is perfectly clear this does not meet" the earlier wishes of Congress, the F18 is better designed for aircraft carrier operations than the F16.

The F18 would be built by a combination of the McDonnell-Douglas Corp. of St. Louis and the Northrop Corp. of Hawthorne, Calif. The engines would be built by General Electric Corp. in Lynn and Everett, Mass.

The F16 is being built by General Dynamics Corp. in Fort Worth, Tex., LTV Aerospace Corp. of Dallas and Pratt & Whitney Co. of East Hartford, Conn.

A General Electric worker in Lynn, Mass., said: "The place is going wild. People are jumping for joy" about the news.

If final approval is given the F18, existing employment at the two GE engine plants in Massachusetts would be sustained and several hundred recently laid-off workers would be taken on again, a GE spokesman said.

WASHINGTON STAR
3 MAY 1975(5)
Pg. 7

Air Force Cancels Robot Test Flight

CAPE CANAVERAL, Fla. (UPI) — A flight test of a new kind of Air Force robot spy plane was canceled yesterday due to instrumentation problems. An Air Force spokesman said the test probably would be rescheduled for Monday.

The aircraft is designed to fly at high altitudes and perform a variety of tasks, including reconnaissance photo missions and weather research. It can also be used as a communications link for troops on the ground.

FORD -- CONTINUED

former carrier officer in the Pacific in World War II. Mr Ford seemed flattered and laughed at the comparison.

He thanked Mr. Schlesinger for the "more than generous comment" and then ad-libbed more support to the secretary's proclamation of American military strength and continued commitment to its allies.

"We will continue to be strong" said Mr. Ford. "We will keep our commitments, and we will remain a great country."

It has been the collapse in South Vietnam, along with charges that the country fell because of a lack of American support, that has caused either some unease, some rethinking or even a shift in policy by some of America's closest friends and allies. Mr. Ford did not go into details on the fall of the former government of South Vietnam.

He did, however, go out of his way to praise the role of carriers in present and future defense planning.

He was applauded when he said that without the carriers operating off South Vietnam, without the Navy, Marine and Air Force crews operating from carrier decks, "we could not have rescued all the remaining American citizens and thousands of endangered Vietnamese from Saigon within 20 hours."

The President was cheered on two other occasions in his 15-minute speech following the simple but traditional commissioning ceremonies of breaking the pennant and setting the first watch.

He was applauded when he paid tribute to "two far-sighted submariners," Fleet Adm. Chester W. Nimitz, after whom the new carrier is named and Adm. Hyman G. Rockover (Ret.), father of the nuclear Navy. It was Admiral Nimitz who recommended the first nuclear submarine when he was chief of naval operations in 1947.

The Navy crowd applauded when the President touched their patriotism. "Wherever the United States Ship Nimitz shows her flag, she will be seen as we see her now, a solid symbol of U.S. strength and resolve —made in America and manned by Americans," Mr. Ford said.

"She is a movable part and parcel of our country; self-contained city at sea, plying the international waters of the world in defense of our national interests," he continued.

"Whether her mission is one of defense, diplomacy or humanity, the Nimitz will command awe and admiration from some, caution and circumspection from others, and respect from all," Mr Ford added.

The Pesident saluted the builders when he declared that "only the United States of America can make a machine like this."

He took special pain to review and praise the career of Admiral Nimitz—as the admiral's daughter sat nearby—and took a lesson from the quiet but forceful admiral to give a final message to the world.

Mr. Ford noted that Admiral Nimitz helped make the Pacific Ocean worthy of its peaceful name. "It is my determination to keep it that way," he continued. "The way all oceans and all continents ought to be."

He asked that everyone, but especially the Navy, rededicate itself to the Nimitz principle that "controlled strength is the sure guarantor of peace."

J. William Middendorf 2d, the Secretary of the Navy, introduced several congressmen present at the ceremony. Adm. James L. Holloway 3d, chief of naval operations, praised Admiral Nimitz as an example to the country and armed services today.

After his speech, the President walked along the ship shaking hands. He helped cut the commissioning cake, an 1,800-pound, white-layered mountain with chocolate frosting. He made the cut with a sword but ate his slice from a paper plate with a plastic fork.

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NEWS SUMMARY ... CONTINUED

ent, a Pulitzer Prize-winning photographer for the Gamma photo agency, was killed in one of the last battles near Saigon.

The Vietcong, who banned all publications after they took over last week, produced the first issue of a new journal, "Liberated Saigon."

A Danish freighter carrying 4,400 South Vietnamese refugees arrived in Hong Kong as scores of U.S. ships made their way toward Guam and the Philippines with an estimated 70,000 Americans and South Vietnamese. In Thailand, meanwhile, Red Cross workers waited for the last 250 foreigners being trucked out of Cambodia. A convoy of 585 foreigners, including eight newsmen, arrived Saturday.

* * *

SOCIAL SECURITY taxes must be raised to 17% from 11.7%, trustees say.

The Ford administration today will forecast that the $56 billion fund for paying retirement and disability benefits will be exhausted by 1983 without higher payroll levies. It will recommend a long-range increase of 5.3 percentage points, almost double the increase trustees called for a year ago, in the current combined payroll levy of 11.7% on employers and employes.

Social Security officials believe the financing problem is manageable in the short run by an infusion of more money and in the long run by a restructuring of the benefits system.

The Social Security trustees, the Secretaries of Labor, Treasury and HEW, predicted nearly a doubling of the system's long-range deficit. They assumed that revenue will be held down by unemployment and by a declining birth rate, and that rising prices will continue to drive up benefits.

* * *

West Germany's ruling coalition of Social Democrats and Free Democrats ended a string of state-election setbacks by retaining its majority in the big industrial state of North Rhine-Westphalia and pulling even with the Christian Democrats in Saarland. The latter result may break Christian Democratic control of the upper house of the federal parliament.

* * *

A ban on job discrimination by federal contractors isn't being adequately monitored by the Labor Department, the General Accounting Office stated. It said the department has fully evaluated only one of 13 federal-agency compliance offices charged with enforcing the 1965 Executive order barring discrimination by sex, race or creed.

* * *

The Navy's selection of the Northrop-McDonnell Douglas F18 lightweight fighter plane faces a tough struggle for approval by Congress, which wanted the Navy to pick a version of the Air Force's new plane, the F16. But the job-creating potential of the F18 program may convince legislators, as well as the Navy's argument that the F18 is superior for aircraft-carrier operation.

* * *

An environmental group called the Natural Resources Defense Council said it is suing the Consumer Product Safety Commission to force a ban on aerosal sprays using fluorocarbon gases as propellants. Some scientists say fluorocarbons deplete atmospheric ozone and could lead to a greater incidence of skin cancer.

* * *

Increased use of arbitration to settle disputes between consumers and businesses will be investigated by the Federal Trade Commission to make sure consumers aren't being deceived about the costs of arbitration or about their waiver of the right to sue.

* * *

Democratic National Chairman Robert Strauss said there is "a very good chance" that the 1976 party convention will become deadlocked, opening the way for a brokered convention. But Strauss said, on ABC's "Issues and Answers," that he doesn't think Sen. Edward Kennedy could be persuaded to accept the nomination in such a case. Strauss also predicted that neither major party would make Vietnam an issue in 1976.

* * *

Hardline Protestants in Northern Ireland who won a majority in last weekend's election of a constituent assembly said they wouldn't permit the minority Roman Catholics to hold cabinet seats in a proposed provincial government. The Protestant United Ulster Unionist Coalition won 46 of the assembly's 78 seats.

* * *

Sen. George McGovern (D., S.D.) will make a private visit to Cuba today and plans to meet with Premier Fidel Castro. In Washington this week, Organization of American States foreign ministers, including Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, will consider whether to end the widely ignored OAS ban on trade with Cuba.

* * *

British airline pilots scheduled to fly the Concorde indicated they will seek a 100% pay increase to match the salaries of French pilots of the supersonic airliner. Such a pay bid would probably face strong opposition from the British government and could delay its plans to put the Concorde in service early next year.

WALL STREET JOURNAL - 5 MAY 1975 Pg. 7

Navy's Choice of the F18 as New Fighter Is Seen Likely to Stir Much Controversy

By RICHARD J. LEVINE
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The Navy's choice of a plane design by McDonnell Douglas Corp. and Northrop Corp. as its new lightweight air combat fighter seems likely to generate considerable controversy in Congress and in Europe.

The aircraft the Navy selected is a modification of Northrop's twin-engine F17, a plane rejected by the Air Force earlier this year in favor of General Dynamics Corp.'s F16 fighter. The general expectation in Congress and foreign capitals had been that the Navy would settle on a carrier-based version of the single-engine Air Force F16, thereby reducing research-and-development and production costs and simplifying logistical support.

But Friday the Navy announced that it had selected the F18, the new designation for the Navy version of the F17, rather than a modified F16 designed by General Dynamics and LTV Corp. Conceivably, the F18 program could involve 800 planes and some $6 billion.

Yet, as the announcement and news conference made clear, the Navy faces a long, hard fight to move the F18 into full development and eventual production. "It's going to be tough," a navy official concedes.

In an unusually tentative announcement, Navy Under Secretary David S. Potter said the decision whether to proceed into full-scale development hasn't yet been made by Defense Secretary James Schlesinger. Though the Navy anticipates a favorable decision, it awarded only small, "short-term sustaining" contracts Friday. McDonnell Douglas and Northrop received a $4.4 million contract, while General Electric Co. got a $2 million award for work on the engines for the F18.

Mr. Potter also conceded that the Navy's selection of the F18 has the "unfortunate property" of seeming to defy the wishes of Congress as disclosed in the conference report on last year's defense appropriation bill.

Anxious to save money, the House-Senate conferees last September told the Pentagon that the Navy air combat fighter should be "an adaptation of the selected Air Force air combat fighter." They added, "Future funding is to be contingent upon the capability of the Navy to produce a derivative of the selected Air Force air combat fighter design."

Asked about the apparent challenge of this congressional directive, Mr. Potter conceded that it is "perfectly clear that (the Navy's action) doesn't meet the language of the congressional report." But he explained that the Navy's decision was based on a technical evaluation that had demonstrated the F18's superiority over the F16 for operation from Navy aircraft carriers. The Navy intends to use the F18 in both a fighter and attack role as a replacement for aging F4s and A7s.

Defense officials believe that the Senate and House Appropriations committees will go along with the Navy's choice of the F18, despite the strict language of a conference report. Chairman George Mahon (D., Texas) of the House Appropriations Committee has indicated privately that he would approve of the F18 selection if the Navy determined that it was the better plane for carrier operations, one Pentagon insider said.

On Friday, Mr. Mahon told the Associated Press that "the most likely development" will be that the Navy will receive congressional approval to build the F18, even though that would be "contrary to our expressed hope" that both the Navy and the Air Force could use the same plane. While Mr. Mahon said that there hadn't been any decision made, he didn't want to quarrel with the Navy's selection.

Pentagon officials also are counting on the job-creating potential of the F18 program in the midst of high unemployment rates to help win congressional approval. "The employment issue is very strong," one House defense expert said. "Some Congressmen will see the F18 as spreading joy and happiness, arguing that it is better than food stamps. And that's an argument that people listen to these days."

Nevertheless, the Navy still is going to encounter problems on Capitol Hill. Some lawmakers are certain to see the Navy action as open defiance of congressional direction. And some Pentagon critics will argue against the F18 decision because of a higher cost involved.

Moreover, the Navy is going to have trouble convincing Congress that the F18 choice isn't simply a political maneuver designed, in the end, to win the service a greater number of Grumman Corp. F14 fighters, a more complex and costly plane than either the F16 or F18. Some Defense Department and industry officials are convinced that the Navy is pushing the F18 even though it knows it faces an uphill battle in Congress. According to this reasoning, the Navy anticipates that congress will block the F18 program, leaving the service in the position to argue for more than the 390 F14s currently planned.

In Europe, where a consortium of four North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries is trying to decide whether to buy the F16 or the French Mirage F1, the Navy's F18 choice is likely to produce confusion. There have been recurring reports that some European countries preferred a two-engine plan like the F18. But the Europeans weren't actively considering the Northrop-designed aircraft because they didn't want a plane that had been rejected by U.S. forces.

With the selection of the F18, however, the possibility has arisen that a twin-engine lightweight fighter may well end up in U.S. inventory. So the European decision could be more complicated than originally believed.

In other defense procurement decisions Friday:

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MONDAY MORNING, 5 MAY 1975

BALTIMORE SUN - 5 MAY 1975 Pg. 2

Kissinger says Watergate, Congress enabled Hanoi to win

Washington (AP)—If Watergate had not diminished presidential power and Congress had not passed the War Powers Act, Hanoi probably would not have staged its successful military campaign in South Vietnam, the Secretary of State, Henry A. Kissinger, has said.

"In January '73, we did not foresee that Watergate would sap the executive authority of the United States to such a degree that flexibility of executive action inherently would be circumscribed," Mr. Kissinger said in an interview to be telecast today on NBC television's Today show.

"We did not foresee that the Congress would pass a law which prohibited us from enforcing the Paris agreement, and while we probably might have done nothing anyway, it makes a lot of difference for Hanoi whether it thinks the United States probably will not or whether it thinks that we certainly cannot," Mr. Kissinger said.

Mr. Kissinger also said that after it became clear that a gradual erosion of morale was occurring in South Vietnam, "we tried very hard to get negotiations started."

"But once the North Vietnamese realized what the trends were, they blocked all negotiations and went for a military solution," he added.

WASHINGTON STAR (5)
4 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Ford's Vow ...Military Guarantor

By Vernon A. Guidry Jr.
Washington Star Staff Writer

NORFOLK, Va. — Speaking at the commissioning ceremony of the world's largest aircraft carrier, President Ford said yesterday the United States is determined to strengthen its ties with its allies and demonstrate it is capable of meeting its commitments.

Ford spoke at the commissioning ceremony of the USS Nimitz, the second nuclear carrier in America's fleet.

"The Nimitz joins the fleet at an auspicious moment, when our determination to strengthen our ties with allies across both great oceans and to work for peace and stability around the world requires clear demonstration," the President said at the Norfolk Naval Station.

"To all, this great ship is visible evidence of our commitment to friends and allies and our capability to maintain those commitments," Ford said.

IT WAS Ford's first speech since the surrender of South Vietnamese forces to the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong, but the President made only one direct reference to the issue. It was a congratulatory message to the Marine, Navy and Air Force personnel who carried out the evacuation of Americans and thousands of Vietnamese from Saigon, and a reference to the need for aircraft carriers such as the five that formed the nucleus of the task force off South Vietnam.

The most ringing declaration of the day came from Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger, who introduced Ford as a leader whose unequivocal "clarion call" for U.S. maintenance of a worldwide military balance will be answered by the American public.

Ford responded, before picking up his prepared text, saying, "We are strong, we will continue to be strong, we will keep our commitments and we will remain a great country."

THE CARRIER is named in honor of Fleet Adm. Chester W. Nimitz, World War II commander-in-chief of Pacific areas. Nimitz was named fleet admiral in 1944 the day after Congress created the rank.

"Fleet Adm. Nimitz and this fine ship both tell us that controlled strength is the sure guarantor of peace," Ford said.

The giant ship that loomed behind Ford as he spoke also could be a symbol of some of the problems that have beset the Navy's shipbuilding program.

The commissioning ceremony was 21 months behind schedule. According to Navy figures, the current cost estimate is $683.9 million for the carrier, exclusive of the planes that will give it its military bite. The cost estimate for the ship in fiscal year 1968 was $544.2 million. The Navy attributed 43 percent of the increase to inflation.

The Nimitz leaves Norfolk tomorrow for 12 days at sea.

WASHINGTON POST (5)
4 MAY 1975 Pg. 23

Plane Purchase

BRUSSELS—Belgian Premier Leo Tindemans and Dutch Premier Joop den Uyl met here and announced later that their two governments would decide separately what plane to buy to replace the American-made Starfighter.

They told reporters that a joint choice would be preferable, but did not appear optimistic about reaching an agreement.

NEW YORK TIMES
5 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

KY SAYS THAT U.S. HELPED 'TOO MUCH'

By The Associated Press

AGANA, Guam, Monday, May 5—The United States is not to blame for the fall of South Vietnam, according to Nguyen Cao Ky, former Premier and Vice President of the country.

"Concerning America, and the American people, in the last 10 years you did a lot for us—too much, in my opinion," Marshal Ky said shortly after arriving here this morning.

"But unfortunately," he went on, "we were not brave enough to overthrow Mr. Thieu."

Marshal Ky said that he had actively plotted an overthrow of by force by President Nguyen Van Thieu, to install as President either himself or the head of the Senate.

Thieu Was "Lonely"

"At the time Thieu lost support, he was a lonely man," Marshal Ky said, adding that it would not have taken "too much force" to oust the President, who ultimately resigned.

"What we needed," Marshal Ky continued," was new military leaders—we were not interested in politics, but in military leadership." He declined to name other participants in the plot.

"Thieu and his people were so corrupted and so incapable," he said. "It is not the fault of the United States Congress and the brave Vietnamese soldiers," he said, referring to the final collapse. "Of course, as Vietnamese, we would have liked more help, but we understand the feelings of the American Congress."

On April 25, with the end for Saigon five days away, Marshal Ky made a speech in the capital in which he flayed as cowards those countrymen of his who were fleeing the Communist threat. "Let the cowards who are leaving with the Americans go, and let those who love South Vietnam stay and fight," he said, adding:

"Why run? To do what? To eat left-over American food? Even if the country falls to the Communists, at least they have yellow skins like ours." On the last day Marshal Ky himself fled the country.

"There will be a big problem," he said today on Guam, "not only for refugees but for the United States of America. You have your own problems. I don't want the 100,000 refugees to become a big task for your Government and your country."

Ky Expects Reprisals

He said he expected reprisals against some Vietnamese still in South Vietnam: "There won't be a massive massacre, but they will kill a lot of people and more will go to concentration camps—and, of course, a big brainwash of the people" could be expected, he added.

The rest of his family is at Travis Air Force Base in California, he said. He would be willing to live in the crowded refugee camps, the marshal said, but his arrangments here were not immediately known. He said he hoped eventually to become a private citizen in the United States.

His personal plans, Marshal Ky said, are indefinite. "I think some American friend will find a job for me," he said. "I don't have much money. I never had much money. I am not Mr. Thieu."

Staying on Guma, He Says

Marshal Ky went aboard the American command and communication ship Blue Ridge after leaving South Vietnam by helicopter. The ship took him the Philippines. He arrived here carrying three bags and wearing a light-colored casual suit.

He said he intends to remain here indefinitely to bolster the moral of the other Vietnamese refugees. "I want to tell the Vietnamese we have no right to ask too much," he said. "If we can have a little place in the sun, that is already too much."

Marshal Ky smiled, but shrugged off suggestions that he might try to become the leader of the Vietnamese exiles. He said, however, that he intends to go to Washington on behalf of the refugees.

Manila Had Objections

The Manila Government had demanded that the United States not bring political and military exiles from the old Saigon regime to American bases in the Philippines. In a formal diplomatic note to the United States, the Government said it preferred that only Vietnamese women and children be brought to the Philippines, adding that they had to remain on the military bases and could stay only three days.

Marshal Ky, a former commander of the South Vietnamese Air Force, and a piolt, led his country's first air raids on North Vietnam. This spring, at 44 years of age, he was in political retirement when the Communist advance began. He became active once more, leading efforts to get President Thieu—his long-time political foe—to resign, in hopes that the resignation might persuade the Communists to negotiate

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MONDAY MORNING, 5 MAY 1975

Philip L. Geyelin

WASHINGTON POST 5 MAY 1975 Pg. 24

What Do We Expect of the Military?

The following is adapted from an address given at a "Symposium on Officer Responsibilities" at the Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth.

I have been asked to answer the question: What is it that those of us in the civilian world, in and out of government and however intimately or remotely involved in the political process, expect of you who have taken military service as your career?

The short answer is, quite a lot—and often, almost certainly, too much. For example, we expect you:

- to defend us from foreign enemies and in fact from any threats to our national security as this may be defined, not by you, but by political leaders;
- to maintain order during disturbances at home—without trampling upon civil liberties;
- to be quite precise about your needs—even though the dangers you are charged with defending us against may change drastically from time to time;
- to design experimental weapons and give us firm estimates of their cost and to deliver them to your units at no higher cost than you originally estimated;
- to advise the President and other civilian leaders about the military implications of this or that foreign policy question, even though you do not participate as an equal partner in the making of that policy; and when an ill-conceived policy gets us into a war *that cannot be won under the rules* of engagement that have been imposed upon you, we expect you to win it anyway;
- to be scrupulously truthful about your needs, however they may be altered by unpredictable events, and also to be scrupulously honest about your battle reports and never mind *how much aid and comfort adverse reporting* might give to an enemy.

If some of these expectations seem to you to have particular application to the long and tragic Vietnam struggle now ended, the fact is that there is no better example than Vietnam of a war in which too much was asked of the military by civilians who were unprepared to take the risk of doing nothing and equally unprepared for the risks that would have been involved in moving in a conclusive and decisive way.

An even larger lesson, however, is that the war, and the manner in which it was waged, asked too much, not only of the military but of the process of government of which the military is an essential element and a vital arm. For what was asked of military and civilian leaders alike was that they lend themselves to a kind of continuing, calculated deception—a conspiracy in restraint of candor required by the very nature of this new concept of limited war. The name of the game was "graduated response" to enemy initiatives. The objective was to convey by incremental increases in the application of military force an impression of limitless American will power and staying power. This it was believed, would persuade the North Vietnamese and their supporters that their cause was hopeless. And so, the theory went, they would soon stop doing what they were doing and leave their neighbors alone —in Secretary of State Dean Rusk's familiar litany.

What this meant in practical terms, however, was that military progress reports were very nearly required to report progress. Civilian leaders, for their part, were encouraged to conceal military setbacks—or escalation—from their own people in order not to alarm the public or generate the sort of divisive debate that might undercut the impression of a united resolve that we were trying to project to the enemy.

The writer is editor of the editorial page.

Well, it didn't work—because it was by its nature unworkable. And the reason it was unworkable, in my view, was that we were all expecting too much of each other. Civilian leaders in the executive were asking too much of the military and also too much of the Congress and the public and the press.

They were asking Congress to suspend free debate and blindly vote for resolutions and for appropriations in support of a war that nobody was prepared to declare. They were asking the public to pay the taxes for it and to send their sons, without saying how long it would last or how big it would get or even admitting that it was getting big without anybody knowing it. And they were asking the press not to question their official accounts of their conduct of the war.

You in the military were asking us in the press to accept your body counts and your estimates of enemy forces and your warnings of enemy intentions on faith, even though, to be blunt about it, *they were not always reliable.*

And we in the press, of course, were asking you to tell us about your plans and future operations and force levels and deployments, because we were not formally at war, and there was no censorship—even though you knew that this information could help the enemy.

I don't want to labor the point or refight the war. But I think it is important for us to recognize that the question we are asking ourselves has no easy answer out of our recent experience. For our recent experience is almost a case history of our system gone wrong, of a sustained distortion and straining of healthy adversary relationships between us all—between the relevant branches of government, between civilian and military, between government and the people, and between government and the press. There is at least the glimmer of an answer, however, growing out of our recent experience, and it is that each of us is going to have to not only ask less of each other, but also try harder to understand each other.

Accordingly, what I would put high on my list of what civilians expect of profesional officers in the armed services is simply that you understand the rights and prerogatives of the public and the press in our society.

Yours is a society which, by necessity, indeed almost by definition, depends on strict discipline, tight security and firm, not to say unquestioning, support for policies and directives issued by higher authority. But the larger American society operates under no such constraints. The right to question, to debate, to dissent, to demonstrae lawfully, is inherent. No government policy is sacrosanct. It is not disloyal or even necessarily destructive to disagree openly and as forcefully as possible with the word of the authorities. On the contrary, that is the way we conduct our government; that is the essence of a free society.

And when we think about the problem of preserving this free society, it is necessary for all of us to remember that there is more than one way to destroy it. It can be destroyed from without by hostile adversaries against which you are charged with defending us. But our fundamental freedoms —our national security, if you will— can also be threatened from within, when in the very name of national security we resort to "pumbers" and "enemies lists" and unconstitutional invasions of privacy in order to suppress public discussion and debate about a war in which the public has a vital stake. In this respect it is perhaps worth recalling the point that Arnold Toynbee makes in his study of civilization: of the 16 great civilizations *that have been destroyed* over the centuries, every one was destroyed from within—from the corruption of fundamental institutions and the slow erosion of fundamental values. The most that any outside power did was to administer the coup de grace.

I'm sure that you know that. But I also sense that sometimes you find our *fundamental freedoms inconvenient*, that you often feel that they work contrary to your purposes, and that there are times, and the Vietnam war is a notable example, when you believe it would be in the urgent interest of national security to suspend these processes and liberties.

The origins of your Vietnam dilemma, of course, did not lie with you. The origins began with your civilian superiors who were consistently unwilling to be honest with Congress and with the public about a policy that was ill-founded and failing.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that too much was expected of the American body politic, with all that term implies, by the military establishment during the course of the war. You expected the press and the Congress not to inquire too deeply into the course of a war that was taking a heavy toll in casualties and in material resources without showing any promise of coming to an end. You expected the public to retain its confidence in policies and strategies that depended for their success on a high measure of demonstrable dissembling and deception. And you measured the performance of both the press and the Congress in terms of a "patriotic" willingness to support whatever the government proposed even though it is inherent in our system to question whether what's good for the country at any given *time* is what a particular politician or cabinet head or President proclaims to be good.

We live, in fact, by a difficult and delicate system of checks and balances, which may in extreme crises oblige a newspaper reporter to report something that others will believe is harmful to the national interest, and may also require an Army officer or a government official to go against the official line. We have, I think, recently undergone two such extreme crises in our affairs: Vietnam and Watergate. To work our way back to that careful balance by which we manage our affairs may well require all of us to re-examine and re-define what it is we can reasonably expect of each other as military officers, private citizens, civilian leaders, politicians, and members of the press.

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WASHINGTON STAR
2 MAY 1975(5) Pg. 7

Pentagon Feared A Panic

By Vernon A. Guidry Jr.
Washington Star Staff Writer

Fear of panic and disruption played a role in the decision to evacuate thousands of South Vietnamese in the massive helicopter lift from Saigon Tuesday, according to U.S. officials.

The White House has cited a "moral rationale" for the inclusion of large numbers of Vietnamese in the evacuation. Yesterday, Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger added another, more pragmatic, reason.

Some 4,475 Vietnamese and 395 Americans were lifted from Tan Son Nhut air base. Plans had called for their evacuation by Air Force C130 transport planes. Only a relatively limited number of "high risk" Vietnamese were to be taken out by helicopter, Schlesinger told newsmen.

But shortly before 9 p.m. Monday the airfield was given up as hopeless for use by fixed wing aircraft because of clouds, enemy fire, and a clutter of airplanes on the ground.

"AT TAN SON Nhut where the bulk of Vietnamese were located they had been assembled in mixed groups for flights out on C130s," Schlesinger said.

"It was the judgement of those on the scene to attempt to separate those groups at that stage might have provoked panic (that) might have extended into Saigon itself and might have delayed the withdrawal operation," Schlesinger said.

The evacuation of 1,210 Vietnamese and 978 Americans from the embassy was not without its delays. Tuesday afternoon the embassy was urged in voice communication to hasten the evacuation and at approximately 2:30 p.m., Washington time, Tuesday, a message was sent to Ambassador Graham Martin telling him " in no uncertain terms" as one government official put it, to clear out the embassy by 3:45 p.m. The message was backed by the authority of the President.

As it was, Martin did not leave until 5:15 p.m. when his departure was signaled by the radioed message that "Tiger is in the air." The last helicopter with 11 Marines aboard left the embassy at 7:52 p.m.

THE UNITED STATES formally ended its refugee evacuation efforts yesterday with a 3 p.m. order to U.S. ships still off Vietnam to head for port to discharge refugees picked up from boats that made their way out from the Vietnamese coast.

Schlesinger indicated that there were only one or two vessels left near the coast by the time the order was issued. The most recent figure available by the Department of Defense put the number of refugees picked up at sea at something in excess of 18,000.

NEW YORK TIMES - 3 MAY 1975(5) Pg. 3

Canada Extending Joint Defense Pact

By ROBERT TRUMBULL
Special to The New York Times

OTTAWA, May 2—The Canadian Government will renew the joint air defense agreement with the United States for five years, despite the arguments of nationalists here that the 17-year-old pact infringes on Canada's sovereignty.

A decision by the Cabinet yesterday to extend the agreement for five years rather than for two, as had been fixed in the last renewal, May 10, 1973, was taken as a firm rebuff to those who had advocated that the arrangement be canceled. A parliamentary committee rejected a recommendation by the Minister of National Defense, James A. Richardson, that the pact be extended indefinitely.

Meanwhile, in a separate but related action more palatable to hard-core nationalists, the Government has initiated a program that will bring under Canadian control certain electronic defense functions that utilize Canadian airspace. To date these functions have been carried out under American commanders at bases in the United States.

Signing Due Next Week

The renewed North American Air Defense agreement, or NORAD, is expected to be signed formally in Washington next week. The previous two-year renewal expires May 12.

Reporting to the House of Commons on the decision, the Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defense, headed by Maurice Dupras, a Liberal Member of Parliament from Labelle in Quebec, came out strongly in favor of the Canadian commitment to the partnership with the United States in continental air defense.

"In reaching this conclusion," the committee's report said, "your committee was impressed by the argument that a Canadian decision to withdraw from NORAD would be interpreted at home and abroad not as an isolated development but as evidence of a possible major change in the orientation of Canadian foreign policy."

The report said that the committee, on which all political parties are represented, was "unanimous in favoring continuation of close Canadian cooperatin with the United States in the field of surveillance of North American airspace and air defense," the purpose of NORAD.

Scope of the Pact

Under NORAD, dating from 1958, Canada and the United States participate jointly in the operation of various electronic air-defense facilities in both countries and in Greenland, and in assignment of defensive aircraft to intercept any attack from the north. NORAD installations include the chain of DEW—distant early wr warning—radar stations in the Canadian Arctic.

A Canadian officer commands the NORAD station in Canada at North Bay, Ontario, with an American deputy. Canadians serve as deputy commanders of the four regions situatec south of the border. Canada supplies three squadrons of defensive ar aircraft—48 CF-101 Voodoo interceptors—to the joint air defenses.

"These forces are considered necessary for possible defense against the bomber fleet still maintained by the Soviet Union," the Canadian parliamentary report declared. This rebutted arguments here that the pact has been rendered obsolete in view of theprobability that an enemy would choose intercontinental ballistic missiles as better weapons than manned bombers.

The report said that the Soviet air fleet "includes about 140 truly intercontinental bombers, mostly Bears and Bisons, and "over 600 medium-range bombers which could be used for one-way intercontinental missions or, if refueled in flight, for return missions.

"These forces are maintained at a high stage of operational readiness and they fairly regularly fly missions to the North American air defense perimeter, which in practice means the air borders of Canada, to test NORAD's responsiveness."

While acknowledging that the "overwhelming superior" weight of the American partner to the alliance "will inevitably give the impression that Canada's independence is compromised, the committee concluded that "withdrawal from NORAD would add very little to Canada's independence in peace time." The committee said that the joint-defense feature of the partnership "has rightly been seen as protecting, if not enhancing, Canada's sovereignty."

Under a plan announced by Mr. Richardson, the National Defense Secretary, a realignment of the boundaries of the various NORAD regions will give Canada a second control center at Edmonton, Alberta. With this change, which will take some time because new construction is required, Canada will take over the protective electronic surveillance over western Canada, now watched from bases in the United States.

WASHINGTON STAR - 4 MAY 1975(5) Pg. 10

Quit Korea, Hanoi Warns

TOKYO (UPI) — North Vietnam said yesterday the United States must withdraw its troops from Korea or risk a defeat even worse than the loss of Cambodia and South Vietnam to the Communists.

"If the Ford clique does not want to suffer a heavier defeat in Korea and Asia, it must change its policy on Korea and withdraw all its aggression troops and lethal weapons from South Korea at an early date," Hanoi's official Vietnam News Agency said in a broadcast monitored in Tokyo.

"There can be no pretext whatsoever for the U.S. imperialist aggressor forces to remain in South Korea any longer," the broadcast said.

"The U.S. imperialists' plot to retain their aggressor forces in South Korea and intensify aggressive maneuvers against our country is a virulent challenge and an unpardonable criminal act against the entire Korean people."

The broadcast attacked Defense Secretary James Schlesinger for saying at a Pentagon news conference Thursday that South Korea was a forward defense area of the United States and that U.S. forces will remain there even after the completion of a South Korean army modernization program.

The North Vietnamese called Schlesinger a "notorious warlord of U.S. imperialism."

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NEW YORK TIMES - 5 MAY 1975 Pg. 14

U.S. Reviewing Its World Military Posture After Saigon's Fall

By DREW MIDDLETON

The United States according to senior Defense Department officials, has begun a review of its military position in the world after the defeat of South Vietnam's government forces.

The officials emphasized that the review would deal more with the deployment of military units that support the nation's treaty commitments than with the political commitments themselves. They said that they did not expect any change in the nation's treaty commitments in the western Pacific and Europe but that they did expect lively discussion on questions such as how much strategic air power should be maintained in southern Asia and whether the United States should concentrate more men, ships and aircraft in the troubled Mediterranean.

"This is a time, once again, for America to choose," Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger said in an interview recently. "We will have to decide whether, even with our disappointments of the Vietnam war, we are going to maintain our position in the world and provide the necessary strength for a worldwide military equilibrium."

Beyond the problem of how best to deploy men, ships and aircraft, Mr. Schlesinger indicated, lies the greater problem of national psychological preparedness, of "ideology versus common sense."

"A decade ago," the Defense Secretary noted, "the United States was held in such awe that it did not have to exercise diplomatic pressures and, if it did, it had a high hope that the diplomatic pressures would be successful. It did not have to have recourse to force.

"That has changed because the role in which the United States previously was held has sharply changed. I think that this is what's reflected in the drift that you perceive in the Mediterranean basin and elsewhere," Mr. Schlesinger said.

Discussing the review of America's military posture, the Secretary noted that it is "very hard for a great power to reconsider its commitments" unless such reconsiderations would result in very large financial savings.

41 Commitments

The outlook, then, is for discussion—but little more—of United States military commitments. After the fall of South Vietnam and Cambodia these commitments number 41, ranging in extent from the North Atlantic Treaty to a security-assistance agreement with Tunisia.

Public discussion, Defense Department officials expect, may center on the military commitment to South Korea, where there are 30,000 American troops. Some politicians, it was conceded, may consider a change in that deployment to be urgently needed.

But, officials warned, any such change would have grave psychological impact upon the South Koreans, already shaken by the fall of South Vietnam. And any American military review must consider its effect on allies.

The principal change in deployment, Mr. Schlesinger feels, is likely to occur in the strategic orientation of the services.

Since the end of World War II, the Navy and the Marine Corps have been looking westward at Asia while the Army and the Air Force, except for the Vietnam interval, have focused their planning on northwest Europe and the Mediterranean.

Now, senior Defense Department officials believe, the Navy and the Marine Corps must give more attention to the military problems of the Middle East and Europe, but not to the extent that the remaining United States commitments in Asia are compromised.

Sweeping changes in deployments appear to be ruled out, and Mr. Schlesinger noted that sudden changes could be dangerous.

The review is likely to take into account primarily the changing situation in the Mediterranean area from the Iberian Peninsula eastward.

Portugal, Mr. Schlesinger said, "is a serious problem." Defense Department authorities with access to intelligence reports are not reassured by the gains registered by non-Communist parties in the elections last month. Some analysts believe the gains will spur the Communists to tighten their grip on the centers of power—the armed forces and the police.

Spain and Yugoslavia

In Spain "a succession crisis" is likely after the death of General Franco. In Yugoslavia a similar crisis is likely after the death of Marshal Tito.

The Defense Department's assessment of Soviet attitudes toward Yugoslavia is that Moscow would like to restore its ideological hegemony. While Marshal Tito, the symbol of Yugoslav national independence, lives, a move toward such restoration could entail a major operation that might be offensive to other Communist parties in Europe.

The situation at the eastern end of the Mediterranean has created the gravest apprehension. Some Defense Department officials regard United States actions that have alienated the Turkish Government as the greatest blunder by American diplomacy since Secretary of State John Foster Dulles threw the Egyptians into Moscow's lap by refusing financing of the Aswan High Dam in 1956.

Mr. Schlesinger's more moderate comment was that "we are in a position, which is a very peculiar one, of bearing down very hard on what has been one of our most faithful allies, namely Turkey."

He characterized the general strategic position in the Mediterranean as "poor."

To some Defense Department officers, the American attitude toward Turkey flies in the face of military realities. One said that withholding military aid to Turkey, "the only strong ally in the area," is "sheer military lunacy."

The Middle East, in the view of senior Defense Department officials, is "liable to blow up at any time."

Military, as well as political, opinion within the Defense Department argues that Israel, in Mr. Schlesinger's words, "is stronger in every way than she was in 1973" at the time of the October war.

The tendency is to discount the urgency of Israel's demands for F-15 Eagle fighters. The Americans believe that the Israeli fighter command, with its qualitative and quantitative advantage in pilots, remains superior in its F-4 Phantoms to the Arab air forces even if they fly Soviet MIG-23's.

Beyond the evident concern about the Middle East lies the problem of Iran. The situation there is "satisfactory," Mr. Schlesinger said, but everything depends on the Shah.

The death of Shah Mohammed Riza Pahlevi, Defense Department officials say, would throw the entire Iran-Pakistan area into turmoil and might tempt the Soviet Union to undertake political or military adventures aimed at gaining a port on the Indian Ocean.

Regarding northern Europe, Mr. Schlesinger does not expect any trouble in what is "still the most critical and vulnerable area of the free world" as long as the American deployment in northwest Europe remains at approximately its present strength—300,000 soldiers, sailors and airmen.

He does feel, however, that America's European allies tend to discount the strength of the Soviet forces deployed against NATO.

"Ultimately, the security of the free nations depends upon the existence of military power," Mr. Schlesinger noted.

His major concern is not about the Soviet Union's superiority in conventional forces—in manpower 4 million, compared with 2 million for the United States—or on the prospects for "essential equivalence" in nuclear forces.

Rather it rests on the question of America's willingness to maintain a defense posture sufficient to deter Soviet adventures. At the moment he feels that "events are moving so well for the Soviet Union" that its leaders would be reluctant to test American determination.

The major issue, Mr. Schlesinger believes, is how far the American people will allow the international situation to deteriorate before they rouse themselves for a national effort.

It may take, he said pessimistically, "something like Korea" to alter present attitudes.

WASHINGTON POST
5 MAY 1975 Pg. C5

Senators Blast Navy Over Move

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

Maryland Sens. Charles McC. Mathias and J. Glenn Beall Jr. have announced the Navy's plans to move its oceanographic operations out of Suitland as economically unjustified, unfair to employees and a threat to the program itself.

The Navy has proposed transferring the Naval Oceanographic Office and its 1,300 employes to Bay St. Louis, Miss. A final decision is pending.

The two Maryland senators issued their statements in advance of a public hearing scheduled tonight at Suitland Senior High School on the Navy's environmental impact statement on the proposed move.

The statement finds no serious environmental impediments to the transfer.

However, Mathias sent an aide, Brent Willcox, to Bay St. Louis late last month for a two-day inspection of the new location and contends the move will prove "disastrous" to the oceanographic program.

"In order to make the economics of this move at all palatable," Mathias said, "the Navy has decided not to spend the kind of money that by any definition would be needed to properly carry out this move."

For instance, he said, the Navy is planning an immediate takeover in Mississippi of less than half the 400,000 square feet of work space its employees now use.

Schools in the area are filled, he said, and housing is short—less than 75 four- to six-bedroom homes on sale in the area as of the time of his aide's visit.

"The net result will be a disastrous dislocation of the Navy's ocean research program, from which it may never recover," said Mathias. "And all of this to achieve some short-term political benefit."

This was an apparent reference to the fact that the move is being pushed by Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman John C. Stennis (D-Miss.) and Finance Chairman Russell B. Long (D-La.).

In his statement, Beall charged that the move would be "traumatic" to employees, adversely affect the Washington Metropolitan area's economy and "cost the taxpayers far more than it is worth."

At least 400 oceanographic employees have indicated they will quit rather than move, thus adding to labor market problems in the Washington area.

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NEW YORK (UPI) -- TIME AND NEWSWEEK MAGAZINES REPORT MASSIVE EXECUTIONS OF ARMY AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS IN CAMBODIA BY THE VICTORIOUS KHMER ROUGE REBELS. TIME SAYS PRESIDENT FORD REVEALED THE BLOODBATH TO REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMEN LAST WEEK.

TIME, IN THIS WEEK'S EDITIONS, SAID FORD TOLD THE REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMAN SO HIGH-RANKING OFFICERS OF THE DEFEATED CAMBODIAN ARMY HAVE BEEN KILLED.

"THEY KILLED THE WIVES TOO," TIMES QUOTES FORD AS SAYING. "THEY SAID THE WIVES WERE JUST THE SAME AS THEIR HUSBANDS. THIS IS A HORRIBLE THING TO REPORT TO YOU, BUT WE ARE CERTAIN THAT OUR SOURCES ARE ACCURATE.

TIME QUOTED A CONGRESSMAN AT THE MEETING AS SAYING "THERE WAS A GASP AROUND THE TABLE."

THE MAGAZINE ALSO SAID REFUGEES HAVE REPORTED EXECUTIONS OF 100 WEALTHY OR RELIGIOUS FIGURE, AND THAT FOUR MONKS WERE REPORTEDLY SHOT TO DEATH ON THE STEPS OF A PAGODA WHEN THEY REFUSED TO LEAVE.

NEWSWEEK QUOTES A U.S. OFFICIAL AS SAYING "THOUSANDS HAVE ALREADY BEEN EXECUTED," AND THE FIGURE COULD RISE TO "TENS OF THOUSANDS OF CAMBODIANS LOYAL TO THE LON NOL REGIME."

THE MAGAZINE SAID THE INFORMATION COMES FROM RADIO INTERCEPTS OF KHMER ROUGE COMMUNICATIONS BY U.S. INTELLIGENCE.

THE INTERCEPTS REPORTEDLY INCLUDED ORDERS FOR THE BLOODBATH TO BEGIN, AND FIELD RADIO REPORTS SAYING THE INITIAL ROUND OF EXECUTIONS HAD BEEN CARRIED OUT.

"I AM NOT SPECULATING," NEWSWEEK QUOTES ONE OFFICIAL. "I AM NOT DEALING IN THIRD-HAND REPORTS. I AM TELLING YOU WHAT IS BEING SAID BY THE CAMBODIANS THEMSELVES IN THEIR OWN COMMUNICATIONS."

UPI 05-05 04:52 AED

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BANGKOK (UPI) -- THE THAI GOVERNMENT SAID TODAY THE UNITED STATES WILL PULL MORE THAN 30 PER CENT ITS TROOPS OUT OF THAILAND IN THE NEXT TWO MONTHS IN AN EFFORT TO PHASE OUT THE AMERICAN MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE COUNTRY.

THE THAI FOREIGN MINISTRY SAID THE UNITED STATES WOULD DECREASE THE NUMBER OF TROOPS IN THAILAND FROM 27,000 TO 19,500 -- A DROP OF 7,500 -- BY JUNE.

A BRIEF MINISTRY STATEMENT SAID THE CUTS, DECIDED ON AFTER TWO WEEKS OF TALKS WITH U.S. OFFICIALS, WERE PART OF A PROGRAM TO HAVE ALL AMERICAN TROOPS WITHDRAWN BY MARCH OF NEXT YEAR.

"FURTHER DISCUSSIONS WILL BE HELD ON THE DETAILS OF WHAT UNITS WILL BE INVOLVED AND WHEN THEY WILL LEAVE THAILAND," THE ANNOUNCEMENT SAID.

THAILAND, WHICH HAS 1,000 MILES OF FRONTIER WITH CAMBODIA AND LAOS, IS TRYING TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH NORTH VIETNAM, WHICH HAS TRAINED INSURGENTS OPERATING IN THAI TERRITORY.

NORTH VIETNAM, HOWEVER, HAS SAID AMERICAN TROOPS MUST LEAVE THAILAND BEFORE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES CAN IMPROVE.

THE THAI GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED IN MARCH ALL AMERICAN TROOPS WOULD BE WITHDRAWN WITHIN A YEAR.

"THE WITNDRAWAL WILL CONTINUE BECAUSE THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT HAVE ANY MILITARY ROLE IN INDOCHINA," FOREIGN MINISTER CHARTCHAI CHOONHAVAN SAID TODAY.

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS SAID, HOWEVER, IT MAY NOT BE NECESSARY TO WITHDRAW THE FULL 7,500 SOLDIERS BECAUSE AMERICAN TROOP STRENGTH ACTUALLY STOOD AT ONLY 25,000 -- 2,000 MEN LESS THAN THE PERMITTED CEILING OF 27,000.

THE UNITED STATES HAS ABOUT 350 MILITARY AIRCRAFT, INCLUDING 17 B52 STRATEGIC BOMBERS, STATIONED AT FOUR BASES IN THAILAND.

IT IS BELIEVED LIKELY THE NEXT REDUCTION COULD INVOLVE THE CLOSING OF A BASE OR PLACING AN ACTIVE INTALLATION ON "STANDBY" WITH A SMALL FORCE OF ABOUT 350 MEN SO IT COULD BE REACTIVATED QUICKLY.

MANY GOVERNMENT AND MILITARY OFFICIALS IN BANGKOK WOULD LIKE TO CONTINUE A MILITARY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES.

IN CALLING FOR WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. FORCES BY NEXT MARCH, THE GOVERNMENT QUALIFIED ITS POLICY STATEMENT BY ADDING A VAGUE PROVISO MAKING THE WITHDRAWALS DEPENDENT ON THE SITUATION IN THE REGION AT THE TIME. UPI 05-05 05:18 AED

APS088

(BANGKOK) -- THE UNITED STATES WILL REMOVE OVER A QUARTER OF ITS TROOPS STATIONED IN THAILAND IN THE NEXT TWO MONTHS. IN A JOINT AMERICAN-THAI ANNOUNCEMENT TODAY, THE TWO GOVERNMENTS SAID THE TROOP WITHDRAWAL IS THE FIRST STEP TOWARD TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF U-S FORCES. THE AMERICAN PRESENCE IN THAILAND IS THE LAST U-S MILITARY FOOTHOLD IN SOUTHEAST ASIA.

THE FALL OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENT LAST WEEK PROMPTED SOME THAI PARLIAMENTARIANS TO DEMAND THAT THE GOVERNMENT FORCE THE AMERICANS OUT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THE U-S HAS NO STATUS OF FORCES AGREEMENT WITH THAILAND, ITS OLDEST ASIAN ALLY. IT HAS BASED ITS PRESENCE IN THAILAND ON OLD AGREEMENTS BETWEEN FORMER ADMINISTRATIONS.
05:14AED 05-05-75

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CURRENT NEWS

PART II - MAIN EDITION - 1130

THIS SUPPLEMENTS PART I-EARLY BIRD EDITION

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FRIDAY, MAY 2, 1975

NEW YORK TIMES
2 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

VIETNAM MERGER NOT LIKELY SOON

By Agence France-Presse

HANOI, North Vietnam, May 1 — Authoritative sources here said today that two different political, economic and social systems would probably prevail in Vietnam for some time, leading in steps to the reunification of the North and South.

The sources, who said it was difficult to estimate the length of the period before reunification, explained that two governments—North and South—were likely to go on representing Vietnam at the international level.

The problem of reunification must take into account the political, economic and social differences between the two parts of the country and certain realities in the South, such as the people's mentality and economic problems, the sources said.

Resolution Cited

While many people are wondering what kind of political regime will take over in Saigon, observers cite the 14-point basic resolution drawn up by the Congress of Representatives of the People of South Vietnam, Provisional Revolutionary Government, in June, 1969. Its main points were the following:

¶The political regime of South Vietnam is republican, with the watchwords independence, democracy, peace, neutrality.

¶Internal policy is one of national union without distinction of social and ethnic background, religious conviction, and political belief, and this without regard to a person's past provided that he supports peace, independence and neutrality.

¶Foreign policy is one of peace and neutrality, the establishment of diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with all countries without distinction of political or social regime, according to the five principles of peaceful coexis-

See MERGER, Pg. 2

NEW YORK TIMES
2 MAY 1975 Pg. 16

U. S. WILL REDUCE FORCE IN THAILAND

BANGKOK, Thailand, May 1 (AP) — The United States Government has agreed to a substantial withdrawal of American forces from Thailand, Foreign Minister Chatichai Choonhavan said at a news conference today.

Mr. Chatichai said the withdrawal would be announced simultaneously Monday in Washington and Bangkok. He refused to disclose how many of the 25,000 United States servicemen and approximately 350 aircraft still stationed in Thailand would leave but said it "will be a large number."

Premier Kukrit Pramaj has pledged that all American troops will be withdrawn within a year.

A Gradual Withdrawal

Mr. Chatichai, who met last week with Edward E. Masters, the deputy chief of the American mission in Bangkok, to prepare for the withdrawal, said it must be gradual so that new work can be found for the 25,000 Thais employed by the United States military. He said the United States Government has confirmed that it would stand by its defense commitments to Thailand.

The only wrieten commitment ever made public is the 13-year-old Rusk-Thanat joint statement, which promised United States support through the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization "to help Thailand meet indirect aggression."

The joint statement, which was signed in Washington in March, 1962, by Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman, said the United States "regards the preservation of the independence and intergrity of Thailand as vital to the national interest of the United States and to world peace."

Commitment by Nixon

Other commitments to Thailand were given at meetings between President Nixon and Thanom Kittikachorn, who was then Premier. On his visit to Thailand in 1969, Mr. Nixon reaffirmed that the United States would stand by its commitments to help fight Commu-

See THAILAND, Pg. 2

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER - 2 MAY 1975 Pg. 3

No New Asia Challenges Expected by Schlesinger

From Inquirer Wire Services

WASHINGTON — Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger said yesterday that he expected no new Communist military challenges in Asia as a result of North Vietnam's victory and other U. S. reverses in Indochina.

But Schlesinger said "it is particularly inopportune to contemplate major changes" in U. S. military deployments because the confidence of many countries "in American power and American steadfastness" has been shaken.

Appearing at a surprise news conferesce, the secretary also underscored U. S. commitments to Israel, the Philippines, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and Taiwan.

"I would not anticipate that anybody would challenge the U. S. presence" in South Korea, he said.

He said also, "I would not expect a military challenge to the Philippines."

In Southeast Asia, Schlesinger said, the professed neutrality of the new Cambodian government "may be respected" by North Vietnam. And he added that "one may hope" that Hanoi will also respect a neutral Laos.

Schlesinger was unclear about the prospects for Thailand, indicating that he felt any moves against that country might depend on internal forces in the Hanoi leadership which might differ over whether to consolidate their gains in South Vietnam or move on to other areas.

Graham Martin, who was the U. S. ambassador in Saigon until the city fell, said meanwhile that if the United States had kept its commitments to the South Vietnamese government after the Paris agreement, "it would not have been necessary to leave."

The ambassador spoke with newsmen in the hastily organized press center of this U. S. Navy command ship Blue Ridge in the middle of the 7th Fleet armada to which Marine helicopters brought nearly 1,000 Americans and 6,000 Vietnamese from

See SCHLESINGER, Pg. 2

NEW YORK TIMES
2 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

FORD AND SADAT TO MEET IN JUNE IN AUSTRIAN CITY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 1 — President Ford will meet with President Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt in Salzburg, Austria, in the first days of June, and is considering a later meeting with Premier Yitzhak Rabin of Israel.

Well-informed Administration officials and diplomats said today that a formal announcement of the Ford-Sadat meeting, set for June 1 and 2, would be made here in Cairo tomorrow.

In a May Day speech today, President Sadat apparently hinted at a meeting when he said he would reveal tomorrow a major diplomatic move to end the "no war, no peace" situation in the Middle East.

In the speech, Mr. Sadat also disclosed that the Soviet Union had rejected his request for a rescheduling of Egypt's debt. Details on Page 3.

No Date Set for Rabin

No date has been set for talks between President Ford and Premier Rabin, but a senior American official said they were under consideration. Most likely Mr. Rabin would be invited to Washington. Israeli officials said they knew of no plans for such a meeting.

Mr. Ford already has announced plans to attend a meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Brussels on May 29 and 30, to be attended by chiefs of state and government from the 15 mem-

See FORD, Pg. 2

JAMES KILLINGBECK, CHIEF, CURRENT NEWS BRANCH, OX 78765 HELEN YOUNG, ASSISTANT CHIEF

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NEW YORK TIMES
2 MAY 1975 Pg. 16

Moscow Applauds Victors in Vietnam In Restrained Tone

By JAMES F. CLARITY
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, May 1—The Soviet leadership congratulated the Vietnamese Communists today on the "liberation of practically all the territory of South Vietnam including Saigon."

The text of the message was issued tonight, more than a full day after news of the fall of Saigon became widely known in Moscow. There was no official indication of why the Soviet Union took so long to hail the victory it had called for with enthusiasm for years.

The Government-controlled press, radio and television have been reporting recent Vietnam events in a low-key manner.

The message, signed by the Communist party leader, Leonid. I. Bhezhnev, Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin and President Nikolai V. Podgorny, did not mention the United States role in Vietnam.

Ford Not Linked to Vietnam

The American evacuation of Vietnamese and the Pentagon's proposals for more military aid to Saigon have been assailed, but President Ford and his Administration have barely been mentioned in connection with Vietnam.

Western diplomats feel that the Soviet reluctance to chide the United States is based on the Kremlin's desire for improved relations with the Ford Administration.

Today, at the May Day parade, American astronauts were prominently shown in attendance at Red Square and there was ample television comment about the cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union in space.

The Soviet leaders' message, according to Tass, the official press agency, was sent to Nguyen Huu Tho, identified as chairman of the Central Committee of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front.

LOS ANGELES TIMES
1 MAY 1975 Pg. 2 (2)

48 Officers Face Discharge

Forty-eight Navy and Marine officers, who have fought for a year to remain in the service, will be officially discharged despite their protests that they will lose their pensions. U.S. Supreme Court Justice William J. Brennan Jr. refused to block the discharge of the officers, who filed a $16.8 million suit against the Navy, charging they were being hustled out of the service just before they became eligible for pensions after 20 years of service. The men, 39 Navy lieutenants and nine Marine Corps captains stationed in various parts of the country, were scheduled to complete final processing for discharge.

MERGER ... CONTINUED

tence. It is a policy of good neighborliness, in respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, with Laos and Cambodia.

¶Vietnam is one country, the Vietnamese people is one people. This statement quoted the late President Ho Chi Minh, who said, "Vietnam is one country, the Vietnamese people is one people. Rivers may dry up, mountains may be eroded, but this truth will not change." Once South Vietnam is liberated, the reunification of the country will take place step by step, by peaceful means, on the basis of agreement between the two zones, without foreign interference. ¶The revolutionary Government is the organ of over-all power embodying the will and aspirations of the whole South Vietnamese population. It will create the conditions permitting the formation of a provisional coalition government aimed at organizing free general elections for a constituent assembly which will draw up a constitutio and choose a definite government for South Vietnam.

Democratic Centralism

The nine remaining points deal with the role of the Revolutionary Government: Its fight for independence, the organization of revolutionary people's people's committees at all levels, and its council of elders.

For example, Point 8 stipulates that revolutionary power in South Vietnam is to be organized according to the principle of democratic centralism, from the central echelon down to the basic units.

The North Vietnamese Communist party newspaper Nhan Dan today greeted Saigon's surrender with banner headlines and a photograph of Ho Chi Minh.

"Long Live the Liberation of Saigon," one headline proclaimed. Another announced complete success in the South.

The front page carried a map showing nine Communist thrusts toward Saigon before the surrender and an editorial jubilantly marked the "total liberation and independence of our Vietnam."

Homage to Army

The editorial paid special homage to the armed forces who, after "two months of courageous fighting since Ban Me Thuot have crushed an enemy army numbering a million men and smashed the enemy's war machine and administration to pieces."

Nhan Dan also published the statement by Lieut. Gen. Duong Van Minh, the last President of the old Saigon regime, ordering South Vietnamese troops to stop all fighting. Yesterday, the North Vietnames newspaper attacked him for not having complied immediately with demands by the Revolutionary Government to command South Vietnamese troops to lay down their arms and to order the Americans to leave.

The newspaper was especially scornful at the flight of South Vietnam's former vice president, Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky. According to Nhan Dan, Marshal Ky had to grab hold of the hem of the skirt of the wife of the American Ambassador, Graham A. Martin, to clamber aboard an evacuation helicopter.

Nhan Dan recalled thatonly a few days ago Marshal Ky had declared taht he would choose a glorious death and had asked what the point was in leaving Vietnam to become a prostitute or a cook in the service of the Americans.

SCHLESINGER ... CONTINUED

Saigon Tuesday and early Wednesday.

"If we had kept the commitments we had made and kept after the first year of the Paris agreement, it would not have been necessary to leave," said the ambassador, one of the staunchest supporters of former President Nguyen Van Thieu.

In another development, retired Adm. Elmo Zumwalt said the Nixon Administration had promised Thieu — without informing Congress — that it would "respond vigorously" to any Communist violation of the peace agreement.

WASHINGTON POST
2 MAY 1975 Pg. 17

Thieu Said To Rule Out U.S. Home

TAIPEI—Former South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu is never going to seek asylum in the United States because he is "very angry" with the U.S. government, sources close to him reported yesterday.

One source said Thieu and his family were furious because "the U.S. government did not honor its commitment to South Vietnam, resulting in the dire consequences leading to the fall of Saigon."

The sources said if Thieu decides to leave Taiwan, he would prefer to go to Europe.

Thieu resigned on April 21 and arrived here last Saturday.

THAILAND ... CONT'D

nist aggression against Thailand.

Opposition leaders here meanwhile are urging speedy withdrawal of the remaining American forces so as not to provoke retaliation from North Vietnam.

"We've kept the United States forces on our soil for too long," said Mr. Kukrit's brother, Seni Pramoj. "We sent our troops to fight in Vietnam. I'm sure that the Vietcong did not like our actions."

Mr. Seni also urged the Government to recognize the Chinese and North Vietnamese Governments as soon as possible because "time is running short for us." North Vietnam has said she will not open diplomatic relations with Thailand until all United States forces are withdrawn.

FORD ... CONTINUED

ber countries.

The decision to meet with Mr. Sadat was decided in the last few days and will apparently be Mr. Ford's first meeting with a Middle East leader following the end of the current review of American policy, due to conclude in the next two weeks.

As news of the Ford-Sadat meeting began to spread in Washington, some American Jewish groups perceived a symbolic snub to Israel in the announcment of a meeting with Mr. Sadat without a simultaneous scheduling of talks with Mr. Rabin.

American Jewish leaders and the israelis have been concerned about a drift in American policy away from Isarael, following the failure of Secretary of State Kissinger in March to bring about a new Egyptian-Israeli accord.

American officials have said that the main purpose of the current policy reassessment is to determine a future course now that a setback has been recorded in the step-by-step approach.

Mr. Ford will discuss with Mr. Sadat the results of the American policy review and the possibilities for further diplomatic progress. Mr. Ford, in an interview on CBS television recently, indicated that he hoped to combine a return to the Middle East peace conference in Geneva with a separate Egyptian-Israeli accord.

This would require a shift by either Egypt or Israel, or both. The last round of talks broke down over the demands of Egypt for territorial concessions, including strategic passes, and Israel's demand for a nonbeligerency accord. Concessions made by the two sides did not prove acceptable to the other.

Mr. Ford and Mr. Kissinger have indicated since then that they thought Israel was shortsighted in not accepting the package that Mr. Kissinger had worked out, a view disputed by the Israelis.

Mr. Sadat met with President Richard M. Nixon in Egypt in June, 1974, when Mr. Nixon made a swing through several Arab countries and Israel.

Mr. Sadat was to return the visit to the United States in November, 1974, but the date was put off because both sides believed it would be better to await the completion of a new accord.

In the absence of an agreement, it was decided to set up a meeting in a neutral place.

The Egyptian President has announced that the Suez Canal will be opened for traffic on June 5, eight years after it was closed during the June, 1967, war that led to Israeli occupation of Sinai. As a result of the first disengagement accord worked out by Mr. Kissinger in January, 1974, Egypt regained control of the eastern bank of the canal.

Mr. Ford met with a delegation of Egyptian legislators on Tuesday, but apparently did not discuss the Sadat meeting with them. He also met this week with King Hussein of Jordan, who has come to Washington on an unofficial visit.

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NEW YORK TIMES - 2 MAY 1975 Pg. 1

Cambodia Evacuees Overdue at Border

By DAVID A. ANDELMAN
Special to The New York Times

ARANYAPRATHET, Thailand, May 1—Cambodian Communist, French and Thai Government officials met repeatedly today across the bridge here that marks the Thai-Cambodian border, but the discussions failed to produce any firm word on the whereabouts of foreigners who have been isolated in the French Embassy compound in Phnom Penh.

There were reports through the day that all 610 foreigners, whom the Cambodians had promised to deliver by truck convoy to this border town 250 miles from Phnom Penh, were near the bridge. It spans a small stream that is the border here.

The reports reached diplomats, relief workers and newsmen gathered here, but at nightfall there was still no firm evidence that the Phnom Penh evacuees were near.

[In Paris the principal foreign representative of Prince Norodom Sihanouk's government accused France of harboring hundreds of "war criminals" on the grounds of the Phnom Penh embassy. A French Foreign Ministry spokesman denied that any Cambodians remained within the embassy confines.]

The Cambodian and Thai officials agreed, shortly before sundown, to keep the frontier open all night, should the refugee convoy suddenly arrive. The frontier is usually closed from dusk to dawn.

Late today the French Ambassador to Thailand, Jean-Louis Toffin, arrived at the frontier to take charge of the sporadic discussions, which one official termed "endlessly frustrating."

After talking at some length with Cambodian soldiers and at least one senior Cambodian official, the Ambassador said: "Everything that has been said before about this convoy is complete nonsense. We have no idea where it is."

The problem, was apparently that Cambodian officials at the border had little or no authority to make decisions and were not kept posted on the status of the refugees by senior officials in the Cambodian capital.

All two-way communications between Phnom Penh and the outside world have been cut since Saturday. Only through radio broadcasts and news releases issued by the Cambodian Communists did the intentions of the Cambodians to release the foreigners become known.

Officials at the frontier scurried around all day, trying to satisfy every request made by the Cambodian troops at the border crossing. It is the only direct contact still maintained between the new Government of Cambodia and the outside. All of these efforts appeared to be fruitless.

At one point the Cambodian soldiers indicated that the problem was a shortage of gasoline for the trucks. Officials of the International Committee of the Red Cross, who have set up an emergency medical center for the evacuees here, immediately prepared to deliver the fuel. But later a higher Cambodian official said there was no such shortage and no evidence that the convoy was being delayed for lack of gasoline.

At another point Col. Jean Loubert, the French Military attaché, dug into his pocket and came up with three aspirin tablets for a Cambodian soldier who had complained of a toothache. "We will give them anything they want," the colonel said later.

Delay Disturbs Envoy

Ambassador Tofffin said he was becoming increasingly disturbed over the delay in delivering the 610 people—515 French citizens and 95 foreign nationals, including five American journalists. All took refuge in the embassy after Phnom Penh was lost to the Communists on April 17.

The last word the French Government received before two-way communications ceased was that food and medicine were running short in the compound and that medical authorities feared an outbreak of dysentery. Ten beds have been set up in a police post next to the border gate here. The Red Cross has medicines here to treat everything from a simple cut to cholera.

Diplomats of 10 nations—Thailand, the United States, the Soviet Union, France, West Germany, India, Japan, Spain, Belgiub and Italy—have joined the throng waiting at the border point here at Aranyaprathet, in southeastern Thailand 135 miles east of Bangkok. The Cambodians say they will turn over the foreign nationals only to their diplomatic representatives.

DALLAS MORNING NEWS
19 APRIL 1975 Pg. 3
(2 MAY)

Bases Available

TOKYO (UPI)—American military bases in Japan remain available for the defense of South Korea under terms of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, Foreign Ministry spokesman Mizuo Kuroda said. "Under the treaty, if there is a danger to the Far East region, the United States can use the bases in Japan under certain conditions," Kuroda said at a briefing for foreign newsmen. "South Korea definitely is included in the term Far East."

NEW YORK NEWS - 2 MAY 1975 Pg. 2

Ships Leave With 40,000: Schlesinger

By STAN CARTER

Washington, May 1 (News Bureau) — After picking up almost 40,000 refugees, the 40 U.S. ships that were standing off South Vietnam have left and are well outside the 12 miles of territorial waters claimed by the Communists, Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger said today.

But both Schlesinger and State Department spokesman Robert Anderson said that U.S. ships would continue to pick up South Vietnamese who flee their Communist-conquered country in sampans and other small boats. The officials shrugged off a demand by North Vietnam that the U.S. Navy immediately cease "the forcible evacuation of the population of South Vietnam" and withdraw from areas near the South Vietnamese coast.

"Our ships are on the high seas, and as long as there are Vietnamese who are in distress and ome out into the high seas, we will pick them up," Anderson said.

A North Vietnamese Foreign Ministry statement broadcast from Hanoi charged that the presence of U.S. ships off South Vietnam in recent weeks constituted interference in South Vietnam's affairs. The statement demanded "that the American government immediately put an end to this criminal plan, withdraw without delay all the U.S. Navy ships operating off the coasts of South Vietnam and cease interfering in the internal affairs of South Vietnam."

Schlesinger, in announcing that the evacuation ships already were headed toward Guam and the Philippines, said that the Communist demands "follow an action rather than precede it" — suggesting that Hanoi was merely making a propaganda pitch after the evacuation flotilla had already left.

Schlesinger said that one or two U.S. ships remained in the general area, but that all of the more than 40 vessels that had been involved in the evacuation effort would be gone within a few hours.

The State Department said that the flotilla of aircraft carriers, transports and other vessels had picked up more than 32,000 South Vietnamese who had fled by sampans, rafts and other small craft, as well as 1,373 Americans and 5,595 South Vietnamese evacuated from Saigon by helicopter.

The total number of South Vietnamese eacuated by the United States is almost 80,000.

Schlesinger, at a Pentagon press conference, said that American reverses in Indochina would inevitably bring about a reassessment of America's worldwide defense posture. But he said that it would be "particularly inopportune" at this time to contemplate any major changes because of the recently shaken confidence of many countries "in American power and American steadfastness."

He underscored the continued U.S. commitments to Israel, the Philippines, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Taiwan and South Korea, as well as to Western Europe.

WASHINGTON POST
2 MAY 1975 Pg. C7

Hill Confirms Army Chief Of Chaplains

Col. Orris E. Kelly, a United Methodist minister who is executive officer in the office of the Army Chief of Chaplains, has been confirmed by the Senate to succeed Maj. Gen. Gerhardt W. Hyatt, Army chief of chaplains, who will retire July 31.

WASHINGTON POST
2 MAY 1975 Pg. 17

Canadian Offer

OTTAWA—Canada will accept 3,000 South Vietnamese refugees, Immigration Minister Robert Andras told the House of Commons. He said this would be in addition to an earlier commitment to receive relatives of Canadian citizens and persons who had already been given permission to immigrate.

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BALTIMORE SUN 2 May 1975 Pg. 2

Viet debate grows bitterly partisan

By HENRY L. TREWHITT
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—The debate whether the United States reneged on specific promises to South Vietnam turned yesterday into a bitter partisan dispute over responsibility for a lost war.

Senator Henry M. Jackson (D., Wash.), a declared candidate for President, called for disclosure of all documents bearing "on the nature and extent of the U.S. commitment to South Vietnam." The administration refused to release private exchanges.

Representative John J. Rhodes (R., Ariz.), the House minority leader, declared, "You can't expect the chief executive to release exchanges with another head of government."

"If the Democrats really want to rehash this thing, I'll be glad to rehash the whole thing," he said.

What he called an "inquest" on the war in Vietnam would "help the Republican party," he said, "because the Republicans had nothing to do with the beginning."

With that, the debate following the collapse of South Vietnam Tuesday heated up. It quickly exceeded the pledges on all sides to avoid recriminations and to seek a return to a bipartisan foreign policy.

Meanwhile, the Ford administration continued to insist that private promises made by former President Nixon in 1972 and 1973 to Nguyen Van Thieu, then president of South Vietnam, amounted to nothing more than what had been said publicly at the time.

Until Wednesday, debate had sputtered fitfully over Mr. Jackson's charge that Mr. Nixon had made a "secret agreement" of support with Mr. Thieu to get his signature on the 1973 Paris peace accords.

Refusing to release private exchanges, the administration replied that Mr. Nixon had promised to "respond vigorously" if North Vietnam violated the accords.

But Wednesday, Nguyen Tien Hung, a former member of the South Vietnamese Cabinet, released two letters from Mr. Nixon to Mr. Thieu. In them, Mr. Nixon promised "swift and severe" retaliation with "full force" to North Vietnamese violations. He also threatened to shut off aid to South Vietnam unless Mr. Thieu signed the accords.

The disclosures caused the debate to take on new dimensions. Ronald H. Nessen, the White House spokesman, said there was no substantive difference between the private assurances and what former United States officials had said publicly.

Besides, he pointed out, Congress had forbidden all U.S. military action in Indochina soon after the accords were signed. Henry A. Kissinger, the Secretary of State, reported that Mr. Nixon considered possible retaliation to violations in April, 1973, but never made a decision.

In the State Department, spokesman Robert S. Anderson compared the public and private language of the time and declared: "If there is a difference, I fail to see any."

Mr. Nessen also recalled that Mr. Nixon himself warned publicly May 3, 1973, that North Vietnam "would risk revived confrontation with us" if it violated the accords. He also quoted William H. Sullivan, deputy assistant secretary of state, as having said, "There are no inhibitions upon us," against enforcement of the agreements.

But Mr. Jackson, in his public statements yesterday, found many distinctions. He noted that Mr. Nixon also specifically promised Mr. Thieu continued economic and military aid, which Congress denied during South Vietnam's final collapse.

"The Congress must be informed of the details of significant promises made by any president to foreign governments," he said on the Senate floor, "especially when those promises can involve substantial U.S. military assistance, or even the use of American power. For any administration to give such a commitment in secrecy. . .is to court a foreign policy disaster."

Mr. Jackson urged the Senate Armed Services Committee to insist on "all documentation which has not been formally presented to the Congress."

Senator Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.), the Senate majority leader, pointed out that Mr. Ford had inherited the Vietnam issue, but he said: "Congress didn't know about this and it should have. It looks like the jacks are coming out of the box until we get this thing cleared up."

Elsewhere, other officials and former officials added fuel to the debate. Graham Martin, the last ambassador to Saigon who now is aboard an evacuation ship, was quoted as saying, "It would not have been necessary to leave," if the U.S. had kept its commitments.

And Adm. Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr. (Ret.), the former chief of Naval Operations, said Congress's failure to honor the commitments resulted from the Nixon administration's failure to keep Congress informed.

In a letter Wednesday night to Senator John J. Sparkman (D., Ala.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Mr. Ford himself said there were no commitments that had not been made public. But he said he must keep secret the "confidential exchanges" on the subject out of diplomatic practice.

For his part, Mr. Rhodes detected a partisan attack by Democrats in the debate. "Aren't we supposed to forget this Vietnam thing and get back together?" he asked at a breakfast with reporters. . . .You could make a good case for this being a Democratic war, though I don't use those words."

NEW YORK TIMES 2 May 1975 Pg. 17

Americans Are Replaced By Vietnamese in Camp

By JON NORDHEIMER
Special to The New York Times

CAMP PENDLETON, Calif., May 1—Processing of refugees at this Marine Corps base picked up tempo today as the number of displaced Vietnamese overtook the initial swell of Americans and their dependents returning from Vietnam.

Americans in print shirts and unpressed slacks still flowed through the processing center that rubber-stamped documents for their families and opened the gates to the world outside. The dusty quarters have doubled in size on each of the four days it has been operating.

But now the Vietnamese families are spilling into the Quonset huts and field tents that are sweltering by day and chilly at night, and their passage outside the base is hampered by inadequate documents and shaky guarantees of economic survival.

Long Phone Lines

The population of refugee quarters was expected to climb to 7,000 soon. There are still wealthy families garbed in tailored suits and silk dresses, but now there are fewer pieces of patent leather luggage unloaded from the buses carrying them here from the airport.

The lines at the three pay telephones set up in the center of the camp grow longer, and the long-distance search for relatives or friends willing to assume responsibility for the callers seem more strained.

"The profile of the camp is changing," said Donald Day, head of the immigration task force at the processing center in an old battalion training hall. "We're getting many more bona-fide refugee types now, people who are appearing here without much in the way of resources."

The Federal agencies screening the incoming refugees were quick to accept almost any scrap of paper that established Vietnamese nationality. But they were more demanding of proof that they had resources in the American community beyond their desire to earn a living. Names of sponsors who could provide for the needs of the refugees were required, and the search for the validity of the nominated sponsors was pursued by the Red Cross all over the nation.

"I think the refugees are catching on and passing the word down the line about what we're asking," said a skeptical immigrations officer. "Everyone is using the same approach now, ready with the same prepared answers."

Many found it emotionally difficult to accept the suden collapse of their world. Land Thanh, a teacher, carried a ring of keys through a belt loop. The keys, he said, were for his Saigon classroom and home. He smiled, as if he knew it was ridiculous to carry the clinking keys halfway around the world, but he could not bring himself to throw them away.

WASHINGTON POST 2 May 1975 Pg. 17

Japanese Concern

TOKYO — The Foreign Ministry spokeman said the fall of Indochina would not directly affect Japan's security but added that South Korea was "a different story."

Mizuo Kuroda told foreign correspondents that Japan did not foresee war breaking out in the Korean peninsula "in the very near future" but indicated that a new uneasiness has arisen in Tokyo about the reliability of the U.S. commitment to South Korea, a country whose security Japan regards as vital to its own.

Asked what might happen if the United States withdrew its 38,000 soldiers in South Korea, Kuroda said that "one of the lessons of the Indochina tragedy is that once the American military presence is terminated, it will be difficult to defend anti-Communist governments."

Asked about recognizing the new government in South Vietnam, he said that Tokyo would recognize whatever government takes effective control.

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Part II--Main Edition--2 May 1975

EDITORIALS

LOS ANGELES TIMES 1 May 1975 (2)

The Newest Americans

In the long night of Tuesday, as television documentaries rehearsed the war in Vietnam, two images froze on the picture tube:

—A wounded American sergeant, teeth clamped on his cigar, grimacing on the battlefield of Vietnam in the agony that would cost him a leg.

—A crew-cut American marine, a smile on his face, ladling out steamed rice and creamed chicken at Camp Pendleton to the first of the Vietnamese refugees to find haven in America.

It was a kind of transfiguration.

Suddenly, the pathetic queues of homeless people were no longer faceless, distant, anonymous refugees, but people who would be the family next door, the new girl in the fourth grade, the new worker on the assembly line. The newest Americans.

For some, the change will be made easier because they are dependents of Americans and have learned much about America from an American husband or an American father.

For many, however, the change will be difficult, for they come with nothing in their pockets, no friend or relative to welcome them, no knowledge of the language, only scant impressions of the American way of life—like so many millions who have come before them. And they come from an unusual diversity of backgrounds, the rich and the poor of Vietnam, skilled and unskilled, educated and uneducated, from all walks of life, even some from the underworld encouraged by the war's traffic.

The first priority is to get them out of the camps and into homes. Progress already has been made. Federal coordinators have made arrangements with a number of volunteer agencies to guide the resettlement. The National Council of Churches, for example, has agreed to help 10,000 through its member churches in every state. This assures a group in each community to welcome, guide and counsel the new neighbors.

It may cost as much as $500 million over the next 12 months. It is an appropriate investment for the federal government, for this is a national obligation. It is the least that can be done for these living victims of the war.

It is not all that must be done. Tens of thousands of Vietnamese, whose security is imperiled by their long association with the American intervention, remain in Vietnam, many of them in camps that were at the end of their final flight from the conquering Communist army. There is an urgent need for food and medicine, emergency supplies that the United States can send through such channels as the United Nations and the International Red Cross.

The TV documentaries have reminded us that nothing can be done for the dead of Vietnam. But much can be done for the living, in America and in Vietnam. Responding to that need is one way America can go about healing the war's wounds.

WASHINGTON POST 2 May 1975

The Newest Americans

THE 50,000 VIETNAMESE evacuated by the United States, and perhaps 30,000 others who made their own way out, have already provoked controversy in the country in which most of them hope to make their homes. Some of this is the result of the haste and confusion of evacuation, some the result of bad planning or nonplanning by the administration, and some the result of misunderstanding and meanness among America citizens. Unless the whole refugee situation is taken promptly into hand, a nasty pall will be cast over a valid and necessary rescue operation, and many individuals—"old" Americans as well as the "new" Americans—may be unnecessarily hurt.

It needs first to be understood that the Vietnamese are here because, in honor, the United States gave them the personal choice. They were not kidnapped; they are legitimate refugees. If some in the "high risk" category are the mandarins of Vietnam, corrupt generals, failed politicians, greedy businessmen with satchels of gold, even they do not thereby automatically lose their claim to American refuge. For like it or not, the United States did invest its political fortunes in those people. Some larger number of the newest Americans, however, can be said to be honest and conscientious Vietnamese who believed in their cause and who associated with Americans out of concern for their own country and for something other than personal gain. They deserve our special respect, however hard it may be to separate them from the others in an official way.

The problems of receiving these immigrants are considerable but hardly unmanageable. Despite a spreading contrary impression, the numbers involved are relatively small, perhaps only 12 or 15 per cent of the total of legal immigrants who would be arriving anyway and a much smaller part of the annual total of illegal immigrants. The federal government has an unarguable responsibility to assume whatever financial load falls upon both the voluntary agencies that are belatedly being called on to handle the relocation, and state and local governments that face additional costs. Given the economic slack in the country, it is altogether reasonable that the burden of care be dispersed geographically as widely and fairly as possible. This is the best way to ensure that anxieties about job competition, welfare payments or cultural assimilation do not undermine the sympathetic welcome that Americans have traditionally offered to immigrants.

It is particularly important that the Vietnamese relatives of American citizens—including *all* members of the extended families accompanying some of these relatives—be quickly admitted and settled in the United States. If this requires a change in the letter or interpretation of immigration regulations, this should be done at once. It is galling to find that the extended families of certain South Vietnamese VIPs are being processed faster in some cases than extended families related to American citizens.

Already reports have come from Guam indicating that some evacuees may wish to return to Vietnam. If life does not turn out so well in America, and especially if conditions in Vietnam turn out to be less menacing than anticipated, it would not be surprising to see some considerable number of the refugees going home. The important consideration remains, however, that any such decision must be voluntary. Though the principle was often trampled during the American years in Vietnam, that *is* the American way of doing things.

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Part ... Main Edition ... May 1975

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER 2 May 1975

Editorialists view the fall of Saigon

Following is editorial comment of the collapse and surrender of South Vietnam:

New York News

The near neighbors of South Vietnam and Cambodia are very seriously reappraising their attachments to the U. S. even in West Europe and Japan, there are growing fears that Americans—tired of their sustained defense of freedom—are ready to crawl into an isolationist shell. We can dispel their concerns but only if Americans demonstrate, by word and deed, that they have not lost their inner confidence and their sense of high national purpose.

Dallas Times Herald

The American involvement is ended and those we sought to save are left behind in pitiable climax to 30 years of fratracidal war . . . Now, God be with the South Vietnamese who reached so desperately for their freedoms. For the United States, the restoration process ahead must assure others that American commitments to free peoples will not again crumble.

Milwaukee Journal

Our influence in Southeast Asia is decidedly lessened. But as a superpower we still have a role to play in the region. We will still be a counterweight to Soviet and Chinese aspirations there. That should not be forgotten . . . After a proper interval the U. S. realistically must make its peace with the new Vietnamese government in Saigon and with Hanoi. It is not a time for recrimination.

Pittsburgh Press

South Vietnam's failure to withstand the Communist offensive without U. S. combat support is painful, disappointing, diplomatically embarrassing and probably will lead to probes against U. S. friends in other places. But it should not be exaggerated nor cause bleak despair. It does not fatally affect our national interests. It is not the end of the world nor of America's role in the world.

St. Louis Post Dispatch

In the end defeat came not because American courage and constancy of purpose were tested and found wanting but because most Americans had decided that their government's interventionist policy was wrong and that American interests in Vietnam did not justify bearing any burden, paying any price asked by their leaders.

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER 2 May 1975

Nixon promises to Thieu can't be kept confidential

"Why are we toying with semantics at this late date," an exasperated Ron Nessen, the White House press secretary, replied to reporters questioning him on the letters from President Nixon to South Vietnam's President Nguyen Van Thieu in late 1972 and early 1973.

The answer is that it is Mr. Nessen who is toying with semantics, making a distinction without a difference between "secret commitments" and "private exchanges." The crucial question, however, deals with substance — the circumstances leading to the debacle of the Saigon regime.

What commitments, "secret" or "private," did Mr. Nixon make to Mr. Thieu? What was Mr. Thieu led to believe the commitments meant? What were the American people and Congress led to believe?

Responding three weeks ago to Sen. Henry Jackson's charge that "secret agreements" existed between the U. S. Government and the South Vietnamese government, Mr. Nessen said that "any suggestion that private communications contained secret agreements should be backed up with evidence. I haven't seen such evidence."

Well, a former aide to President Thieu, Nguyen Tien Hung, has now made public letters from Mr. Nixon which Mr. Nessen concedes "appear to be genuine."

And in a letter dated Nov. 14, 1972, Mr. Nixon urged Mr. Thieu to go along with the peace agreement worked out by Secretary of State Kissinger in Paris, specifically with the continued presence of North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam. He wrote:

"But far more important than what we say in the agreement on this issue is what we do in the event the enemy renews its aggression. You have my absolute assurance that if Hanoi fails to abide by the terms of this agreement it is my intention to take swift and severe retaliatory action."

It is worth recalling the circumstances of that letter. The peace which Secretary Kissinger had proclaimed to be "at hand" before the presidential election had turned out not to be at hand after the election. Mr. Nixon accused North Vietnam of reneging and unleashed the "carpet bombing" of Hanoi.

In reality, as Mr. Thieu confirmed in his bitter speech of resignation, it was Mr. Thieu who had reneged. The murderous bombing was not aimed at pressuring Hanoi but persuading Mr. Thieu. After Mr. Nixon let up the bombing, he wrote on Jan. 5, 1973, to Mr. Thieu that "you have my assurance . . . that we will respond with full force should the settlement be violated by North Vietnam."

Now if words mean anything, "swift and severe retaliatory action" and "full force" do not mean simply the one-for-one replacement of equipment permitted by the Paris agreement.

Mr. Nessen asserts that nothing was said in private that was not said in public, but the fact remains that when Mr. Nixon, in January, 1973, proclaimed "the right kind of peace," he did not advise Congress and the American people that it would be enforced by the reintroduction of American force. That was specifically banned by the Paris agreements and, in August, 1973, by Congress as well.

In any case, it is difficult to justify the Ford Administration's refusal now to give Congress copies of the Nixon letters, on the ground of diplomatic confidentiality. There is no South Vietnamese government to be confidential with any more, and the principle, like that of "executive privilege," must give way to the superior principle of the people's right to know. The issue is not diplomatic confidentiality but public confidence.

Chicago Sun-Times

Above all else, we must lay to rest the fatalistic notion that triumph or tragedy in Vietnam is inescapably "linked" to our legitimate interests elsewhere in the world. If we persist, in such thinking, greater tragedies await us.

New York Post

For the U. S. the war is over, and the four young men who died in the last hours seem tragically symbolic of the years of wasted sacrifice. For the Vietnamese there remains another in-

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NEW YORK TIMES 2 May 1975

Gains on Greek Bases

The Government of Greece has now indicated clearly that it will not permit resentment over United States behavior during the Cyprus tragedy of 1974 to destroy the links with this country that are vital for Greek security. Negotiations about the American military presence in Greece have not been concluded; but the communiqué issued after the latest round of talks suggests the likelihood of a settlement reasonably satisfactory to both.

At Greece's request, the United States has agreed to terminate the Navy's homeporting arrangement at Elefsis, west of Athens, and to close the Air Force bases at Hellenikon airport, east of Athens. These agreements may cause inconveniences but they will not basically reduce military capability in the area.

Although the separate American air base will close, some American facilities which "contribute to Greek defense needs" will continue to operate from the Greek Air Force base at Hellenikon. The Navy's homeporting arrangement, which stationed 3,000 American servicemen and their families in the already-jammed Athens-Piraeus area, was bitterly resented by Greek democrats who regarded it as ostentatious backing for the despised military dictatorship.

When Greece withdrew from NATO commands to protest the failure of the alliance and of the United States to prevent Turkey's massive invasion of Cyprus last August, it also threatened to close all American bases on Greek territory. The communiqué merely says "agreement is expected on the elimination, reduction and consolidation" of the other American facilities. The installations that remain will be put under Greek command.

Most of these actions might well have been taken had there been no Cyprus crisis. The homeporting agreement of 1973 was an aberration from what should have been Washington's policy, in Greece as it had been in Turkey, to cut back those aspects of the American military presence not related to security. The atmosphere of the Greek-American talks thus far provides hope for a conclusion that will ease relations without damaging the security of either country or of the West as a whole.

NEW YORK TIMES 2 May 1975

America's Opportunity...

Unlike the ordeals in Vietnam that Americans witnessed so helplessly in the years of war, the resettlement of Vietnamese refugees is a problem that ordinary people of the United States have the power to solve.

The unfortunate conditions of unemployment today, fears for the economic future and even some lingering bitterness about the war may help explain the uneasiness expressed in communities from California to Florida as they face a sudden influx of Vietnamese refugees. But the better instincts of human behavior must and surely will prevail.

Government, civic and religious leaders at all levels of society have an urgent obligation to assert their role of leadership, to dampen irrational fears. Already there are touching instances of Hungarian, Cuban and other refugees from earlier crises offering their services as individuals to help the Vietnamese people through the painful reorientation that they themselves had experienced.

It is most essential that the Federal Government provide unequivocal affirmation immediately that resettlement is a national obligation; no local authority can be expected to pay costs that should be borne by the whole society—a cost far less, incidentally, than the nation would have been asked to pay if the war had gone on.

...and Responsibility

Too many extraneous issues were involved in yesterday's defeat of the Vietnam humanitarian aid proposal in the House of Representatives to justify President Ford's denunciation of this vote as an indication of lack of Congressional concern. New legislation targeted directly to the resettlement problem in this country is already in preparation and should be expedited. Congress has an inescapable responsibility to make speedy and adequate financing available.

There is no need for a vast Government bureaucracy. Dozens of voluntary agencies are standing by and ready to help locate families in homes and specialized jobs across the country. They have long and impressive records of experience in this task, in numbers far greater than are anticipated in arrivals from Vietnam, and have shown more human sensitivity and individual interest than could any computerized Government program. A large part of Federal funding should be channeled through these private aid societies.

For their part, the Vietnamese people themselves are not exactly inexperienced in the problems of adjustment to new circumstances, in the flexibility required to adapt under hardship. Many of the refugees are persons of high education and talent from which this country can draw benefit over many years to come.

The Vietnamese immigration is occurring with unprecedented suddenness, without benefit of any preparation, material or psychological, either among the immigrants or their hosts. The problems are enormous, but they are not overwhelming. This is a human challenge to which American society can and will respond.

EDITORIALISTS VIEW FALL OF SAIGON...Cont

terval of torment and uncertainty. Will the victors move toward reconciliation or will they indulge themselves in senseless reprisal, confirming the darkest apprehensions about them?

New York Times

The habits and suspicions of years of insurgency will not quickly disappear. But the new leaders in both Cambodia and South Vietnam have long asked for support from the entire world. If they wish to be recognized and treated as responsible governments, the first step is to act like responsible governments.

Seattle Times

The Domino Theory ... faces an immediate test of validity. Some "dominoes" may waver in Southeast Asia to the extent that nations like Thailand and the Philippines adopt a more neutralistic stance. But there scarcely are grounds to suppose that "dominoes" will topple in other parts of the world.

Los Angeles Times

The Americans are out. South Vietnam has surrendered. Vietnam has been left to the Vietnamese. President Ford signaled the end of the evacuation with an appeal for Americans to "close ranks, to avoid recriminations about the past." That was the right thing to say.

Boston Globe

As of this moment, however, the United States has just found out that democracy is not going to be spread by military power. And we should have learned to beware of false labels marked democracy, covering what's really not the genuine article.

Baltimore Evening Sun

Americans now have behind them the presumably maturing experience not only of losing their first war but also of having to shoot their way out of Saigon against, of all people, the very South Vietnamese allies they went to war to help. We stand hurt and humiliated. But maybe we are a little wiser and, if so, there is more to be won than to be lost.

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WALL STREET JOURNAL 2 May 1975

Mr. Kissinger and South America

Postponement of Henry Kissinger's planned recent journey to South America was understandable, even to those nations that Mr. Kissinger was scheduled to visit. For example, Brazilian newspapers that had criticized two earlier cancellations by the Secretary of State were generally sympathetic this time, aware that events in Vietnam deserved priority.

Still, we would hope that Mr. Kissinger will succeed in rescheduling his visit before too long, perhaps to include more countries than Argentina, Brazil and Venezuela. They are probably the most influential Latin nations, but they are by no means the only important ones. And although Latin public opinion is in a forgiving mood about this latest cancellation, it remains a sore spot that the globetrotting American Secretary of State, who has criss-crossed the world on endless diplomatic missions, has not yet touched down south of Panama in this hemisphere.

Any American official who visits Latin America is sure to get an earful about widespread displeasure with the U.S. Foreign Trade Act. Secretary Kissinger is particularly sympathetic to the Latin attitude on this matter, since he also is opposed to that part of the act barring Venezuela and Ecuador from preferential trade treatment because they are members of OPEC. Moreover, other lesser irritants between Washington and its hemispheric neighbors deserve a high level airing.

It has been fashionable over the years, in the U.S. and in Latin capitals, to blame Washington for every real and imagined slight and for every failure to establish a lasting dialogue. Critics complained when Washington helped organize an Organization of American States boycott of Cuba, and they complained a few months ago when Washington abstained from voting on the boycott question in order not to influence anyone else.

The U.S. has undeniably dominated hemispheric economic and political matters, but overall it has been a generous good neighbor whose efforts were—are—frequently misunderstood. Moreover, Washington might want to raise some questions of its own, particularly about the wisdom of some Latin nations trying to establish producer cartels to control volume and prices of commodity exports to the U.S.

The greatest shortcoming of U.S. policy toward Latin America, in our view, is that there has been little serious effort to distinguish among the many nations of vastly different size, potential, culture and outlook. There seems to be a lack of appreciation that there cannot be any such thing as an effective "Latin American" foreign policy for the entire hemisphere; there can only be a foreign policy toward individual nations in Latin America.

In partial recognition of this fundamental but important point, at least one scholar has raised the possibility of Brazilian membership in the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development. Roger Fontaine, of Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies, notes that this would allow South America's largest nation to join with the U.S., Europe and Japan in working out the economic and political problems that all four will soon share. Moreover, helping to integrate Brazil into the developed, neo-capitalist Atlantic Community could prevent it from allying itself with some of the more troublesome tendencies of the Third World. In any event, it is wrong to continue thinking of Brazil as just another Latin country, Professor Fontaine said, assuming that what benefits, say, Bolivia, is also good for Brazil.

A somewhat similar argument can be made for each other Latin nation. It is well to encourage regional economic cooperation but it is wrong to treat South America as a bloc. The U.S. needs friends and allies today more than ever before, and the way to cement friendships and alliances is by bilateral contacts. A visit by Secretary Kissinger could prove to be of incalculable value if it goes even part way toward achieving that end.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
2 May 1975

Viet generals stay to themselves

Agana, Guam

High-ranking South Vietnamese Army officers and government officials are keeping to their tents at refugee camps here — well away from hostile evacuees who blame them for their country's defeat. "If the top people show their faces here, there will really be trouble," said one evacuee, Tran Van Thanh, as he joined a food line hundreds of yards long Thursday.

"The people here are very angry. They say it is because the generals were corrupt that we lost the war," said Tran, who was born in North Vietnam and has fled from the Communists six times since 1954.

LOS ANGELES TIMES 1 May 1975 (2)

Elk Hills' Importance to the U.S.

The chances for extensive and, above all, necessary development of the vast Elk Hills Naval Petroleum Reserve in Kern County have been diminished, thanks to President Ford's sudden change of mind and some fancy politicking on the House floor.

Right now, it looks like the Navy and its congressional supporters are in a good position to win the Elk Hills fight, and, if that proves true, the nation's hopes for achieving greater energy self-sufficiency will likely be set back.

Legislation to turn control of Elk Hills over to the Interior Department and make possible production of up to 300,000 barrels of oil a day has been temporarily withdrawn from consideration. Amendments will be made to close various alleged, and in some cases farfetched, loopholes—among them the insinuation by Chairman Melvin Price (D-Ill.) of the House Armed Services Committee that Interior Department control over Elk Hills could open the way to another Teapot Dome scandal.

This and other charges, along with Ford's swing of support behind a bill favored by the Armed Services Committee, have weakened the prospects for greatly augmented production from Elk Hills. The committee's bill would retain Navy control over the oil fields, limit expanded production to no more than 200,000 barrels a day for a maximum of three years, and earmark all the oil for the military.

Given the Navy's reluctance to tap Elk Hills—even during World War II it drew only minimal amounts from the vast pool—that probably means that actual production would be much less than the ceiling authorized.

None of that will do. Elk Hills is a readily available source of much-needed domestic oil. Expanded and continuous production would reduce imports of costly foreign fuels, and could help significantly in creation of a strategic oil reserve that would greatly lessen our vulnerability if overseas supplies were cut.

The President at one time recognized that. The House should still recognize it, and see to it that Elk Hills makes the contribution to energy supply and national security that it is capable of making.

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FEATURES COLUMNISTS

WALL STREET JOURNAL - 2 MAY 1975

Obituary for South Vietnam

By PETER R. KANN

HONG KONG — South Vietnam, or rather the South Vietnam that I have known for seven years, has passed away.

There probably are a great many Americans who breathed a sigh of relief when they heard the end had come. There undoubtedly are some Americans who wished, for whatever reason, that South Vietnam had expired much sooner. But surely there also are some Americans who mourn the passing. I am one of them.

For me the collapse of South Vietnam was like the death of an old acquaintance. Such as I often criticized South Vietnam I don't think it deserved to die.

South Vietnam's faults and failings always were much more visible than its strengths and I, like most reporters, tended to focus at least my professional attention on what South Vietnam was doing wrong. Few societies, and certainly few small and frail ones, ever have been subjected to the degree of sustained critical attention that Vietnam was. I and a thousand other reporters dissected its every aspect, analyzed its every mistake, exposed its every flaw. This is not to say South Vietnam would have fared better or survived longer had the spotlights been turned off, but conceivably there might be a few more sympathizers at the funeral.

In the end, of course, the severest critics and profoundest pessimists proved to be right. South Vietnam may have survived longer than some pessimists expected, but it did collapse—suddenly, chaotically, completely. And, I think, tragically.

South Vietnam was, to my mind, no better but no worse than a great many other societies around the world. In at least some ways it was not so very different from our own. Obviously South Vietnam's social structure, government and army ultimately were too weak to resist the Vietnamese Communists. Less obvious is the thought that South Vietnam did manage to resist for a great many years and not always with a great deal of American help. Few nations or societies that I can think of would have struggled so long.

The Communist 'Crusade'

It is true that South Vietnam lacked a unifying and motivating cause that could compete with the Communist crusade. Anti-communism never was compelling or even comprehensible to most South Vietnamese. Capitalism, as represented by Honda motorbikes and other imported goodies, was not a cause that captured hearts and minds. Nationalism was a contested cause and if only because the American presence had been so great in South Vietnam the Communists seemed to be the *true* nationalists. So South Vietnam was a country without a cause. But now stop to consider: What cause would motivate you or me to fight for 25 years?

It is true that South Vietnam lacked the kind of creative, dynamic leadership that conceivably might have coaxed more spirit and sacrifice from a war-weary nation. President Nguyen van Thieu was no charismatic statesman. He was an introverted and suspicious military man who proved

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NEW YORK TIMES - 2 MAY 1975

A Time for Reflection

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, May 1—After the fall of Saigon, renamed Ho-City, you might think that Washington needs a little time for quiet reflection, but that's not the way it is. The hunt is on for explanations, lessons and scapegoats, and our gabbiest politicians are popping off before they have anything sensible to say.

Some of them suggest we need a new beginning with a new Secretary of State. Some, including the Senate majority leader, Mike Mansfield, of all people, think that maybe we should begin thinking about withdrawing our troops from South Korea, probably the next target of Communist pressure. Others want fewer refugees, more military arms, and a reappraisal of our whole policy of détente and leadership in the world.

This was probably inevitable after the blunders and disappointments in Southeast Asia, but it is not very helpful. All the major capitals are reappraising their future policies now, and sudden decisions in Washington, or emotional talk about getting out of Korea, can only make things even worse than they actually are.

In Europe, Japan, the Middle East, Moscow and Peking, officials are probably paying more attention to Washington's reaction to the events in Southeast Asia than to the fall of Saigon itself. Particularly, Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, Australia and New Zealand will be looking to the future of American policy rather than the past.

Accordingly, it is a delicate moment in world politics, a time for caution and reflection. There is, for example, a struggle now going on in the Cabinet in Ankara over whether Turkey should not cut its ties with the North Atlantic alliance and side with the oil states in the Middle East, which have the fuel and the money. Thus, any sign of doubt, weakness or withdrawal now in Washington could shake the whole system of alliances in the free world.

This point is clearly understood by the Administration here. President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger have said very little in public, but they have been in touch privately with the allies, trying to calm things down, and with Moscow and Peking to avoid any misinterpretations of Washington's acceptance of the defeat in Southeast Asia.

Mr. Kissinger got very little help from Peking in his efforts to avoid a battle for Saigon, and no help at all from Prince Sihanouk for cooperation

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
2 MAY 1975

Vietnam's lesson

By William H. Stringer

A lot has been said about how the United States, though still a military giant, has allowed itself to be defeated in Southeast Asia by a small, third-rate country, North Vietnam. I think we had better revise such a statement if we wish to think accurately.

The fact is, the U.S. could have defeated Hanoi if it was prepared to use its full strength. We have only to think back to the "Christmas bombing" and the mining of North Vietnamese harbors and their effect on Northern morale to see what the results would have been if the U.S. had unleashed its full power against Hanoi. Perhaps this doesn't need to be stated, but again, perhaps it does, if Americans are not to acquire a self-portrait of themselves as abjectly cowering in the face of a small enemy. Or, worse still, as unable to formulate and carry through any kind of successful policy.

Obviously, public opinion in the U.S. did not wish to see North Vietnam "bombed back into the Stone Age," as a few persons had recommended. It could have been done. It is to the credit of the U.S. that it was not done, though some will differ on this.

The U.S. did put forth a tremendous effort, with 50,000 war dead and expenditures of $150 billion. But the country was, in effect, fighting with one hand tied behind its back, insofar as using its full military power was concerned. It did not apply maximum, punishing strength against the foe.

This has its lessons for the future, and for future policy. For instance, one would say the U.S. should never enter a war where there is no popular commitment in favor of the war. The U.S. came to be bitterly divided over Vietnam. It shouldn't have been there, given the condition of American public opinion.

Of course there might conceivably be an occasion where only a handful of forthright individuals saw the clear course lying ahead, for the U.S., and the rest of the people favored some kind of retreat. Let us hope that situation does not arise in the future. Let us hope that we can all perceive what is the sound course for America, if future confrontations arise.

The U.S. is going to have to deal right along with the Soviet Union, and with the People's Republic of China, and even with Vietnam. We shall hear arguments about the value of detente, and of getting along with those whose philosophies of life and conduct differ seriously from ours. But let us always keep in mind how Russia and China behaved in Southeast Asia, how they kept up and even

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S. VIETNAM -- CONTINUED

surprisingly adept at playing palace politics but who never truly learned to lead. But was Mr. Thieu really any less of a leader than scores of other retired generals who rule semi-developed nations around the world? I think not. He was, by his own lights, a Vietnamese patriot. And, before being too hard on failed South Vietnamese leaders, perhaps one ought to stop to list the names of truly popular and successful statesmen anywhere in the non-Communist world today. My own list could be written on a Bandaid.

It is true that South Vietnam's politicians and people never seemed able to unite, that the society seemed divisive and sounded discordant. Saigon's chaotic traffic frequently was cited as symbolizing the society's lack of order and discipline. But what non-Communist society these days can claim any great degree of political unity or social cohesion? Do we, by our values, venerate order and discipline as social goals or moral virtues? Are the best societies really those in which the trains all run on time and the people all march in step?

It is true that South Vietnam never was really democratic. Its democratic institutions, imported from America along with bombs and bulgar wheat, were more show than substance. And yet, if only because the South Vietnamese government never was very efficient, South Vietnam, unlike North Vietnam, never qualified as a totalitarian state. There were political prisoners and torture chambers and other elements of sometimes harsh authoritarianism. But there also were some limitations on the power of the president, there was fairly widespread—and not always whispered—criticism of government policies, there was a surprising diversity of individual opinion and behavior. Might South Vietnam have fared better had it been more authoritarian, more rigid and ruthless? I doubt it. But I also doubt that it would have fared better had the legislature exercised more power or had press controls been relaxed.

The Corruption Issue

It is true that South Vietnam was corrupt. The corruption was more widespread and more serious than simply a few fat generals salting away millions in Swiss bank accounts. The whole system was in some sense corrupt. At the lowest level it was a simple matter of government clerks supplementing meager incomes with petty bribes. At a higher level it all too often was a case of jobs being sold to men who could pay rather than given to men who could perform. At the highest levels there were some cases of outright venality. But not all, perhaps not even most, South Vietnamese officers or administrators were corrupt. It is not excusing Vietnamese corruption to point out that it exists to roughly the same degree in almost every Southeast Asian country. Nor is it excusing Asian corruption to note that few Western societies are so pure that they can cast many stones.

It is true that South Vietnamese society was inegalitarian and elitist. Its rich were too rich and its poor too poor and the disparities were all too visible. Money and position bought privileges like draft deferments and, at the end, escape. Yet the disparities in Vietnam actually were less glaring than those in a score of other American-allied states from the Philippines to Brazil. The South Vietnamese peasant, when the war was not being fought in his particular paddy, was a prosperous small farmer by Asian standards. I am not minimizing the misery of the millions who passed through refugee camps when I note that there also were some millions of small farmers who owned their own land and made a fair living from their crops. The South Vietnamese peasant, in short, was not a downtrodden serf waiting for liberation from some slave master.

It also should be said, or confessed if you will, that there were many likeable people among the elite who ruled Vietnam. Almost every reporter who spent any time in the country befriended some government official, army officer, businessman, politician—some member of that elite. These people frequently were all too remote from their own countrymen and countryside. Many were too wealthy or too Western-oriented to have much rapport with peasants or soldiers. They were not the best sort of people according to some biblical, or Buddhist, value scale. But some of them were my friends and I will miss them.

It is true that the South Vietnamese army (ARVN) in the end proved to be no match for the North Vietnamese army. The end was an inglorious six weeks of retreats, routs, chaos and collapse. Still, the ARVN was not an army of bumblers and cowards. It was an army that stood and fought with great courage and competence on a few occasions you may remember, like the siege of An Loc. It stood and fought well at a score of places whose names we have forgotten. And it stood and fought well in a thousand little engagements and in a thousand little mudwalled outposts whose names no American ever knew.

It was an army of soldiers who deserved better leadership than they got. It was an army that for years watched the Americans try to combat the Communists with every wonder of modern weaponry and which then, all too suddenly, was left to face the Communists with American-style tactics but without American-style resources. It was a Vietnamese army that perhaps never should have been Americanized and thus never would have required Vietnamization. It was an army that for years was ordered to defend every inch of Vietnamese territory and which tried, with greater or lesser success, to do just that. When suddenly it was told to abandon cities and provinces it effectively abandoned the war.

It was not an army of officers and men who tended to charge impregnable enemy positions, or who would have been willing to live for years in holes in the ground with B-52 bombers pounding the earth around them, or who would have made the long and terrible trek down the Ho Chi Minh Trail, or who went into battle motivated by the thought that their almost certain deaths would serve some noble goal. The North Vietnamese army is that kind of army, but how many others, including our own, are fashioned in that mold? The South Vietnamese army was an army of simple soldiers who, without a cause, fought on for more than two decades. Several hundred thousand of these soldiers died. More than half a million were wounded. And, in the final weeks of the war, when every American in Saigon knew the war was lost, some of these soldiers continued to fight at places like Xuan Loc and thereby bought a bit of time for the Americans and their chosen Vietnamese to escape with their lives. It was a much better army than it appeared to be at the end.

It is true that South Vietnam got a great deal of help from America and became too reliant upon us. Soviet and Chinese troops never fought in Vietnam as American troops did. For much of a decade South Vietnam was, for most practical purposes, an American colony. The U.S. army took over the war and for a time promised to win it. The U.S. taxpayer financed Vietnam. Washington set Saigon's policies and the U.S. Embassy in Saigon largely fashioned Vietnam's politics. South Vietnam was not always a docile puppet and at times it failed to dance to American tunes. But over the years South Vietnam came to assume, indeed was led to assume, that America was its patron and protector. It was not an unreasonable assumption. Nor then was it entirely unreasonable for Vietnamese to sometimes shrug off responsibility for their own failings, to blame the U.S. for their problems, and, toward the end, when America lost heart for the war and lost interest in Vietnam, to be bitter at America and Americans.

The Victors

In the end the stronger side won. The Vietnamese Communists had more strength and more stamina. They had a cause, a combination of communism and nationalism, and they pursued that cause with almost messianic motivation. They persisted against all obstacles and at times against all odds and they finally succeeded.

But the stronger side is not necessarily the better side. "Better" becomes a question of values and much as I may respect Communist strength and stamina I cannot accept that the Spartan Communist society of North Vietnam is *better* than the very imperfect South Vietnamese society that I knew.

This is an obituary for that South Vietnam. It cannot be an obituary for the country of Vietnam or even the people of Vietnam. Countries don't die. South Vietnam will continue to exist for some months or perhaps a few years with a new government, new policies, a new social system. Then it presumably will merge with North Vietnam and this enlarged Vietnam will dominate Indochina and will become a major force in Asia as a whole. It will be a nation of 40 million hardy and hardened people. It will be rich in natural resources. It will have one of the finest, maybe the finest, army in the world.

Perhaps the energies of 40 million Vietnamese will be devoted to reconstruction and economic progress. Perhaps they will be devoted to further political and military expansion. In either case Vietnam will merit, and probably command, world attention in years ahead. Some South Vietnamese enthusiastically will embrace a new system and new society. Some will have trouble adjusting but eventually will find a place in the new order. Some will be unable to accept the new order, or will be unacceptable to it. They will be discarded in one manner or another, but their children will be brought up to be part of the new society.

The new Vietnam will be powerful and successful and those are the qualities that seem to count among nations, as among men. History books tend to deal with the same themes and history thus is unlikely to look kindly on the South Vietnam that failed to survive. But this is not history. It's just an obituary for the South Vietnam that I knew.

LESSON -- CONTINUED

increased their aid to North Vietnam while we cut in half our assistance to Vietnam and Cambodia. Somehow we haven't objected much to this strange conduct — maybe because somehow we expected them to behave that way.

There will be many times when detente is very worthwhile. There will be times when it will be worth very much to trade and to negotiate and to reduce armaments. We can hope that, with mankind's larger enlightenment, these times will become more and more frequent.

But we can also remember that we are up against some very shrewd adversaries, who will maneuver us, if possible, into the most disadvantageous of positions. And where we may again be faced with the choice of either bombing some small country back into the Stone Age, or seeing some ally panic, toss in the sponge, and go down to total defeat.

We have had a severe lesson in the perils of unwise policy.

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REFLECTION -- CONTINUED

in the surrender of Cambodia, but he did get at least limited assistance from the Russians, and it is interesting that Moscow has not allowed the Communist capture of Saigon to interfere with its policy of détente with the United States.

In the Middle East, which is now the most dangerous area of world politics, neither the Arabs nor the Israelis, who rejected Mr. Kissinger's efforts at mediation, have sided with those who are now calling for his resignation. On the contrary, in these critical days of the collapse of his policy in Indochina, both President Sadat in Cairo and Premier Rabin in Jerusalem have expressed the hope that he will be around for the next phase of the Middle East negotiations.

The White House staff is bombarded with questions but is likewise pleading for patience. Ron Nessen, the President's press secretary, showed up at a news briefing wearing a bullet-proof vest. It would withstand .38-caliber gunfire, he said, but he didn't know whether it would stand up under the fire of reporters' questions. It was a weak cry for mercy, but even humor is no defense in Washington these days.

For the rest of May, the Administration will be trying to reach a new understanding and better consultation with the Congress and the allies on future foreign policy. Next week, the foreign ministers of the Latin American countries will be in Washington, and it is Mr. Kissinger's hope that this will begin a new and major effort to reappraise the economic and political defense of the hemisphere.

Mr. Kissinger concedes now that, in the preoccupation with Southeast Asia and the Middle East in recent years, Washington has not paid as much attention to this hemisphere and to Europe and Japan as it should. After the Organization of American States meeting in Washington, there will be meetings with the NATO allies and later with Japan in an effort to restore balance and improve consultation in the free world.

Congress as a whole, and particularly the members of the Foreign Relations and Foreign Affairs Committees of the Senate and the House, are eager to cooperate with the President and the Secretary of State in this exercise.

While Mr. Mansfield and others are calling for a withdrawal of troops from Europe and Korea, a majority of Congress wants a new emphasis on holding the alliances together, and a strengthening of the trilateral relations among the Americas, Europe and Japan.

There is anxiety in Washington, and a lot of headline-hunters on the side, but in general the seriousness of the situation has produced a mood of responsibility and a willingness to consult and cooperate.

CHRISTIN SCIENCE MONITOR
2 MAY 1975

Cairo's arms debt

President Sadat of Egypt appealed to the Soviet Union for an extension of time to meet arms purchase payments, amounting to $3.6 billion to $6 billion.

WASHINGTON POST 2 MAY 1975

Stephen S. Rosenfeld

American Intervention And Influence

The Vietnam experience gave a powerful stimulus to the feeling in the country that we ought to stop supporting the "wrong side" or the "bad guys" around the world and, instead, get with the democrats, the liberals, and the partisans of political liberty, social justice and human rights. We should give our favor to those who uphold the values to be celebrated in our bicentennial, it is said, rather than invoking arbitrary "national interests" to prop up "corrupt dictators."

It's an appealing idea and it often comes hitched to a lot of heartfelt emotion, but it is at the same time an idea whose time may already have gone. The time to push our values vigorously, if there ever was a proper time, was when we were the No. 1 power and had the margin to use carrot and stick for that end. That margin is now, irretrievably, gone.

As much of a relief as it would be to seek warm relations only with people cast in our own best image, it is an impossible and wrongheaded policy for a nation like ours unless we are prepared to go into a neo-isolationist crouch and accept the consequences of cooling relations with most of the rest of the world.

The internal social and political values of the Soviet Union and China, for instance, are entirely foreign to our own. If anyone doubted whether the pursuit of detente and a conspicuous concern for human rights are compatible, he need only look at the debacle that resulted from the American effort to use trade legislation to alter Soviet emigration policies. Trade fell and emigration fell: the worst of both worlds. Russia and China use detente to fend off both domestic and foreign efforts to broaden the scope of personal liberties. This is disagreeable, but one can not have it both ways.

To make the world safe for diversity --which is one way to define the substance of detente—is to make the world safe for tyrants large and small. It is all very well to declare that coercive governments fall by their own weight, but it is, in most cases, nonsense. Nationalism remains a more powerful force in world affairs than a passion for liberty and justice.

Most Third World governments run their countries on lines that, if noted, would scandalize Americans wedded to their own democratic ways. But especially if they are non-white, they enjoy a certain immunity from general criticism. Commonly their problems are dealt with in some understanding way and they are credited with aspiring to a better life for their people or with being pleasant and hospitable on a per-

CHICAGO TRIBUNE 2 MAY 1975

America's tarnished credibility

By Theo Sommer

THERE IS no denying the fact: America's credibility has taken a knock in European eyes. But, tho Henry Kissinger may find it hard to believe, this loss of confidence has very little to do with the lamentable disaster which the world has witnessed in Indochina. What startled, scared, and saddened most onlookers was rather the depressing failure of the Ford administration to rise to the clichés of yesteryear, its bewildering escape into indecision and bile.

Viet Nam? The Old World was hardly surprised by its collapse. Many Europeans had originally favored American intervention in Indochina.

WELL, WE soon changed our minds. The escalation on the battlefield was paralleled by an escalation of revulsion and fear. The immorality of the war became glaringly apparent when, as time went by, doubts hardened into certainty that in the end there could be different degrees of failure but no such thing as success in any meaningful sense of the term.

Meantime, the United States itself began to crack under the Indochinese burden. Had it continued fighting in the jungle of Viet Nam, it would soon have become incapable of fulfilling its pledges vis-a-vis the rest of the world. So the Europeans breathed a sigh of relief when Henry Kissinger finally extricated the U. S. from the Indochina conflict.

They were too hard-boiled ever to assume that the war could be won without the Americans; they doubted the determination of the South Vietnamese to secure their own future. On the whole, they rather resigned themselves to the expectation that "Vietnamization" would ultimately turn out o mean "North Vietnamization."

It never occurred to them for a single moment that Henry Kissinger might have a different perception, that he looked upon the Paris agreements as a brief for winning the cease-fire rather than just an instrument to provide a "decent interval" between America's withdrawal and the final collapse of South Viet Nam.

In all this, Europeans were in for a set of rude shocks:

Shock No. 1: The total misreading of the dominant European mood by the U. S. administration. What rattled the allies was not American helplessness in the face of the Communist advance and the wild, frenzied flight of Thieu's armies. What shook them was Washington's blind insistence that more mili-

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BALTIMORE SUN 2 MAY 1975

Communist victors begin task of winning Viet peace

By DEAN MILLS
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—Suddenly, after three decades of fighting for control of all of Vietnam, the Communists must turn to the more prosaic problem of governing it. The task may in some ways prove more formidable than winning the war.

American specialists in Viet Cong and North Vietnamese affairs say that the military victory is still too fresh to predict precisely how the Communists will convert a bureaucracy designed for war into a government concerned with controlling, feeding, housing and educating its citizens. Indeed the victors themselves may not yet have decided fully.

But there is plenty of material from which to make some reasonable guesses. There is first of all the historical analogy, although it is an imperfect one, of the Communists' behavior when they took over the North in 1954. There is the extensive intelligence collected on the operation of Communist cadres in those areas in the north of South Vietnam that have long been "liberated." And there are some reports, still sketchy, of what they have done in the areas further South that fell into their hands as panicking South Vietnamese troops ran.

The first goal will be to establish order. The total surrender of the Saigon government has given the Communists de jure as well as de facto control. So there should be little challenge to their authority. But experts here still think it possible they will want to execute some policemen, military officers and political officials of the old regime just to underscore the point. Others will be sent to "re-education" centers, so that their ideology can be reshaped to fit the new regime.

The Communists also face the immediate problems of feeding the population and keeping essential services going.

Setting up a food distribution system for a population the size of Saigon's is an enormous administrative job. If they follow their practice in other areas taken over recently, the Communists will establish a system of ration cards to allot the available food—the highest rations for those who have stood with the Communists all along, the lowest for those who chose the wrong side.

In a city of Saigon's size, the humdrum concerns of municipal life—water and electric service, medical care, schools—also demand administrative skills on a mass scale.

Ironically, these difficulties are compounded by the victors' unexpectedly quick success. Intelligence data received by analysts here indicate firmly that the Communists had not expected the final battle for the South to come until 1976.

Consequently, the analysts believe, the Communists have not had the time to prepare the kind of political infrastructure needed to administer so much territory.

For that reason, if no other, the Communists are not expected to treat the general population harshly, certainly not in the first few months; they will need all the co-operation they can get just to keep things functioning.

Indeed, there is some reason to believe the South may never be put through the kind of terrorist program that occurred in the North two years after Communist takeover. Even after 70,000 refugees have fled the South, Saigon remains the biggest reservoir of brainpower and sophisticated workers in the country. The Communists, expected to concentrate now on industrialization in both the South and North, can be expected to try to win over as many as possible.

The most reluctant converts almost certainly will be the rural landholders. When the inevitable land reforms are imposed by the government, the South Vietnamese peasants, who have always held stubbornly to their land, can be expected to put up some fierce resistance.

The Communists might decide to ease the pains of the transition period by setting up a popular front government in Saigon that would include non-Communist members, although it would of course be under Communist control. Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh, the foreign minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, hinted at such a possibility in an interview Tuesday with the Associated Press. She said that the former president of South Vietnam, Duong Van Minh, "might still have some role to play in the future of Vietnam."

The PRG itself is, at least on paper, structure made up of non-Communist as well as Communist elements. But American analysts have always been convinced that it has been little more than a paper creation, devised by the People's Revolutionary party as a rival internationally to the Saigon government. The People's Revolutionary party, which reports ultimately to the Communist party in Hanoi, has been the effective government in most areas controlled by the Communists.

The exceptions are those areas of northern South Vietnam that have been under Communist control the longest. They have been, for all practical purposes, integrated into the governmental structure of North Vietnam.

There is almost universal agreement among Vietnam specialists here that all of the South eventually will be united with the North. They point to the Communists' own often-repeated public statements that Vietnam is one country, to their decreasing mention even of the name South Vietnam as the Communists advanced into the South over the last few weeks, to the fact that Hanoi itself did not establish diplomatic relations with the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

The question, most United States experts say, is not whether the Provisional Revolutionary Government will call for reunification with the North but whether it will happen within a matter of weeks or of years.

INFLUENCE -- CONTINUED

sonal level. Few nations are closer in value and system to the United States than Israel, yet Arab oil, money and power comprise an "interest" not to be denied.

Then there are the likes of Spain, South Korea, the Philippines, the former South Vietnam—countries that were brought into the American orbit essentially for anti-Communist reasons but became known not only for being corrupt or dictatorial but for being that way as a result of American support. This class of country is the bane of liberals' existence.

But there are often complicating circumstances. Philippines President Marcos, for example, seems at the moment to be committing something close to judicial murder of his old (jailed) political rival, Benigno Aquino, but the United States finds it hard even to murmur about his case while it is using Clark Field for Vietnam evacuees. If and when Marcos loosens his ties to the United States, as he and others similarly situated may now do, Washington will have *less* potential leverage in similar human rights situations.

It is an open question whether our intervention (not just military but political and economic) has tended more to nourish our values in a given country or to crimp them. In the wake of Vietnam, many people accept that our touch is deadly. This is a stock feature of foreign propaganda and homegrown guilt. But it is not invariably the rule.

Washington lawyer Paul Porter once told me a relevant story, drawn from his official service in Europe in 1952. The reciprocal prospect of U.S. aid to Spain, and U.S. bases in Spain, was under discussion. Invited to meet two leaders of the underground Spanish Socialist Party, Porter went to the meeting "expecting to be roundly chastised," as he said. "On the contrary," he recalled, "they urged U.S. economic aid *and military bases* on the grounds that they would, more than anything else in prospect, open up a closed society to foreign contacts. Also, Spain needed assistance to improve its economy, which they thought would effect some internal political improvement."

The two Spanish Socialists were, of course, right. American involvement can impart a vigor and quickening to another society, and in ways not always foreseen by either party. We ought to develop more respect for this process, since it offers one of the more positive aspects of the internationalism that must be salvaged from Vietnam.

CREDIBILITY -- CONTINUED

tary aid would somehow shore up South Viet Nam's crumbling defenses—as tho dollars could replace determination.

And all that loose talk about "options" like the resumption of air warfare simply made Europe's blood curdle. Was America really about to unlearn all the lessons of its earlier failure?

Shock No. 2: The unabashed resuscitation of many old cliches, dogmas, and theories Europeans had believed dead and buried forever. Europe was nonplussed by the blandness of the second domino theory Kissinger formulated. If the U. S. did not provide further aid to Cambodia and South Viet Nam, according to Kissinger, "then we are likely to find a massive shift in the foreign policies of many countries."

There has never been any convincing evidence that the domino theory was applicable even to Southeast Asia. Kissinger's Infectious Failure Theorem implies that a world power has to act stupidly in order to appear credible. It just does not make sense. In the real world, nations will gauge America's reliability by their own experiences with Washington, by their own interests and options, not by abstract notions.

Shock No. 3: The indecision and inaction of the Ford administration. For four long weeks after the Ides of March there was no political or diplomatic initiative, no call for reassembling the Paris conference, no high-level or—as far as we know—low-level attempt at troubleshooting.

There was just a painful paralysis in the face of events unfolding with tragic speed. The Army chief of staff was sent to reconnoiter. Someone hit upon the questionable idea of the baby lift—which was not a policy but a substitute for policy. Others talked vaguely about large-scale humanitarian help, but by the time a scheme had been hatched, events had usually overtaken it. Meanwhile, the secretary of State kept berating Congress, and the President played golf at Palm Springs.

LET'S MAKE no bones about it. What really undermined America's credibility was the pitiful inadequacy of the Ford administration's intellectual and political response to the situation. There were many abroad who had suspected all along that Gerald Ford was a weak President. Now they know.

Newsweek International Editorial Service

Theo Sommer is the editor-in-chief of the West German newspaper, Die Welt.

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After Vietnam Debacle

HUMAN EVENTS - 3 MAY 1975 (2)

S. Korea Could Be Next Domino in Reds' Path

By PAUL SCOTT

South Korean officials are greatly disturbed by the failure of the U.S. to give military support to South Vietnam and Cambodia in their greatest hour of need.

Their concern is that the Ford Administration has lost its will to oppose communism in Asia and will be reluctant to respond to an attack by North Korea because of the growing restrictions placed on its foreign policy by Congress.

While the U.S. still has 38,000 troops in South Korea, government officials there see the possibility of an indecisive and congressional-tied President acting too slowly to save Seoul, their national capital and a city of more than five million, in the case of a surprise North Korean attack.

The North Koreans now have the capability for a lightning attack against Seoul, which lies less than 50 miles below the demilitarized zone separating North and South Korea.

The warning of the South Koreans is that the fall of South Vietnam and Cambodia to the Communists could clear the way for such an attack late in 1975 or early in 1976 when the U.S. is involved in a presidential election.

The reasoning behind this warning is that a Communist take-over in South Vietnam will permit the transfer of massive stockpiles of weapons from North Vietnam to North Korea.

South Korean officials stress that it was the Korean cease-fire agreement in 1953 that permitted Moscow and Peking to shift the flow of their weapons from North Korea to North Vietnam so Hanoi could go on to the offensive against French forces.

Since the government of President Park Chung Hee sent 50,000 troops to fight in South Vietnam until the Paris peace accord ended its involvement, South Korean officials are convinced the North Vietnamese will now do everything possible to help the North Koreans.

The North Koreans have massed more than 50 FROGs, ground-to-ground missiles near the demilitarized zone within the range of Seoul. There are an estimated 100,000 motorized troops that are within six hours of the South Korean capital.

It has long been the fear of South Korean military and intelligence officials that the North Koreans would use this large force near Seoul to launch a blitz attack across the DMZ to capture the capital and hold its five million residents hostage.

Fifth column Red agents are known to be in Seoul attempting to stir up student unrest against the government of President Park. Since the South Korean students were born after the end of the Korean War they are easy targets for the Communists since they have no first-hand knowledge of North Korean terror.

What doesn't help the South Korean government is the way U.S. Ambassador Richard L. Sneider and his embassy staff continue to play down recent North Korean violations of the 1953 cease-fire agreement.

The violations are considered serious by the South Koreans. They include the digging of tunnels by the North Koreans under the demilitarized zone, probing naval actions in South Korean waters, and flights by North Korean aircraft over South Korean territory.

All of these violations are looked on by South Korean officials as part of a well-planned campaign of testing their country's defenses in preparation for a future all-out offensive against Seoul.

High officials in the Park government are convinced that South Korea is the next target of the Communists, since the Korean peninsula already has been considered by Moscow and Peking as the gateway for the take-over of Japan.

As in the tragic case of South Vietnam, South Korean diplomats here stress that the U.S. has fallen behind in its commitment to modernize their military forces.

Although President Ford when he visited South Korea during his 1974 trip to Russia and Japan promised to seek additional military aid, his Administration has done little to convince Congress that the five-year modernization program should be fully funded.

See S. KOREA, Pg. 6-F

WASHINGTON STAR - 1 MAY 1975 (2)

CROSBY S. NOYES

The Dominoes Are Back

I don't recall exactly how, or by whom, the discredited domino theory was discredited, but we all know that it was, if only because so many of my distinguished colleagues have told us so.

The domino theory has meant different things to different people. But essentially it was the idea, first expressed by Dwight Eisenhower, that the loss of Vietnam would not be the end of it. Once the Communists took over in Saigon, Eisenhower suggested, most or perhaps even all of the shaky nations of Southeast Asia would follow.

The idea was ridiculed by people who opposed the war in Vietnam and who, for the most part, knew nothing and cared less about Southeast Asia. As they explained it, the domino theory was something cooked up by people who wanted to keep us in the war. It was simply a debating point in a domestic American argument. And therefore to deny its validity was an end in itself, quite separated from the realities in Southeast Asia.

Well, the realities eventually will prove or disprove themselves without any help from the pundits. And so it may be timely at this point to take a look at what is happening in the wake of the collapse in Cambodia and Vietnam and what is likely to happen in the future.

There is, for one thing, an odd parallel between what people are saying there and what they have been saying in the United States. Curiously enough, the leaders in Southeast Asia seem to look on the domino theory as a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy. Thus, Singapore's Lee Kwan Yew, who was, at least in private, a strong believer in the domino theory, is now telling visiting newsmen that there was never anything to it — only that Singapore must take note of what has happened in Cambodia, Vietnam and Washington, and shape its policies accordingly.

The same thing is true throughout Asia and everywhere else, including Europe, where American power makes the difference between security and despair. They know that what happened in Cambodia and Vietnam has significance for them and they are adapting their thinking about the future to meet a new reality.

In some ways, things have improved in Southeast Asia since the theory was first expounded in the 1950s. The most conspicuous potential dominoes outside of Indochina — Thailand, Malaysia and Burma — are marginally stronger for the time that Vietnam has provided them. Indonesia, which was on the brink of a Communist takeover in the mid-'50s, is now perhaps the strongest anti-Communist bastion in the whole area.

But in other ways, the situation is far worse than it was then. With Cambodia and Vietnam, the reliability of the United States — and with it the whole concept of resistance to Communism, represented by China and the Soviet Union and now conspicuously by Vietnam — is down the drain.

Ask Lon Nol, or Sirik Matak, or Nguyen Van Thieu, what it means to be an ally of the United States and you have your answer to the validity of the domino theory. For that matter, ask Henry Kissinger, who would never have signed the Paris agreements if he had known that Congress would repudiate the obligations that they implied for this country.

Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos are gone. For Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, Singapore, even Indonesia and India, the future is exceedingly bleak. South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, even Japan and Australia, are making agonizing reassessments of their situation, leaving out the assurance of American support in a crunch. Dominoes, anyone?

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Part II -- Main Edition -- 2 May 1975

NEW YORK TIMES - 2 MAY 1975

Asian Communists Cheer Take-Over in Saigon as Others Ponder the Implications

By JOSEPH LELYVELD
Special to The New York Times

HONG KONG, May 1—Peking and other Communist capitals in Asia made the "liberation" of Saigon a dominant theme of their traditional May Day celebration today, while the rest of the region warily pondered its implications.

Whether it was hailed or accepted with resignation, the conclusion of the 30-year war in Vietnam was widely viewed as a milestone marking the end of a long era of Western domination.

"The war in Vietnam has been in every way a war of national emancipation," declared an editorial in Asahi Shimbun, one of Japan's national newspapers. "The age in which any great power can suppress indefinitely the rise of nationalism has come to an end."

Peking More Militant

A similar conclusion in more militant terms was drawn by the newspaper of the Chinese Communist party, Jenmin Jih Pao. The defeat of "the Saigon puppet regime," it asserted in a May Day editorial, was "an impressive song of victory of people's war and a glorious example of a small country resisting and defeating aggression by a big imperialist power."

Firecrackers were set off as Deputy Premier Teng Hsiaoping and Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua paid calls at the embassies of North Vietnam and the Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam to present copies of a message of congratulations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung hailing the start of "a new era, the era of the liberation of Vietnam."

The 81-year-old Chairman, who made his last public appearance on May. ucars ago, once again remained . behind the walls of his residential compound adjacent to the Forbidden City.

Improvisation Needed

In the parks and m horoughfares of the Chinese capital there were streamers and performances of songs to mark the Communist victory in Cambodia. But celebrations of the Communist triumph in South Vietnam had to be improvised, for there had been no time for formal preparations.

Chinese pronouncements stressed the inadequacy of the advanced weaponry and antiinsurgency doctrines that "the United States aggressors and their lackeys" had employed. "No up-to-date weapons can save imperialism and the reactionaries," Jenmin Juh Pao declared.

Privately Chinese officials did not appear to be gloating over the American defeat. A dispatch from Peking to the Times of London reported that CBina still believed the United States could play a positive role in Asia and had no objection to close relations between the United States and Japan.

Hsinhua, the official press agency, reported with apparent approval President Ford's statement that the American evacuation from South Vietnam "closes a chapter." It also highlighted a remark by Secretarte-Kissinger that the United States "must be very careful ithe commitments we make," but "should scrupolously honor those commitments."

Commitment to Pek . The Chinese want the United States to fulfill a cmo commitment, made at the time of President chard M. Nixon's visit three years ago, to extend full diplomatic recognition to Peking. The United States then promised to wih withdraw its forces from Taiwan "as tension in the area diminishes." The Chinese can now be expected to say that the end of the war in Indochina leaves Washington with no further excuse for deferring the fulfillment of that pledge.

In Taipei, the seat of the Nationalist Government on Taiwan, the opposite conclusion was drawn. The general theme was that the Communist triumph in South Vietnam had demonstrated the futility of negotiationsi with Communists. The Central News Dailymn wf the ruling Kuomintang, welcomed the promise of a new American policy for Asia, expressing the hope that it would be based on the principle of "no more retreats."

Park Is Sarcastic

The prospect that the collapse of the American-backed government in Saigon would provoke other Southeast Asian regimes to seek accommodations with Peking and Hanoi was taken, paradoxically, by some Taiwanese as an encouraging sign. The only way for Washington to deflect that trend, they contended, would be to reassert its old commitments in the region.

A Nationalist official said the United States would have to draw a new defense line in Asia from South Korea to Taiwan and the Philippines to reassure Japan.

In Seoul, President Park Chung Hee of South Korea found justification in the fall of Saigon for his suppression of opposition and dissent. At a luncheon with cabinet ministers, he asked sarcastically whether the opposition that had sought to oest President Nguyen Van Thieu of South Vietnam would continue now to campaign for freedom and human rights under Communist rule.

Kim Young Sam, the South Korean opposition leader, attributed the failure of the Saigon regime not to its opponents but to dictatorship and corruption. He called it a "tragedy of tragedies."

Among non-Communist governments in Asia, those of Taiwan and South Korea seemed to be the only ones that were not talking of reassessing their policies and their relations with the United States. In many instances, the reassessments seemed to be based on an expectation that the United States itself would be reviewing its commitments, rather than on any fundamental desire for change.

In Tokyo, a Foreign Ministry official observed that the United States was plainly overextended in its commitments in Asia.

"Japan, too, must rectify her position of having relied excessively on the United States," he said.

Echoing President Ford, Foreign Minister Kiichi Miyazawa said yesterday:

"A chapter in Japan's Asian policy has been closed as a result of the American setback in Indochina."

He said the reassessment would not be hasty, and Government sources indicated that Tokyo would be seeking reassurance on the American security guarantee even as it groped for a more independent posture in Southeast Asia.

The influence in the region of both China and Japan can be expected to increase, the sources predicted, as American influence wanes. Japan was said to be ready to recognize the new authorities in Saigon, but there was no indication when this would happen.

Japan Looks to Trade

Trading companies in Tokyo were already advocating diplomatic recognition for the new government in hopes that this would clear the way for a settlement of South Vietnamese debts to Japan. In business circles generally, hope was expressed that Japanese industry could play a role in the economic reconstruction of South Vietnam.

India and Laos became the first two governments in Asia to extend diplomatic recognition to the new Government in Saigon. In New Delhi, the news of the surrender was greeted with cheers and thumping of desks in both Houses of Parliament.

Subramaniam Swamy, leader of the militantly nationalist Jan Sangh, described the outcome of the war as a victory of nationalism over imperialism. Bhupesh Gupta of the pro-Moscow Communist party of India, said "the Americans are running away like rats from Saigon."

In Kingston, Jamaica, at a conference of Commonwealth leaders, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India said the United States had underestimated the force of nationalism. She urged that a message of greetings be sent from the conference to the new government in Saigon.

Malaysia Sees Cooperation

Also in Kingston, Prime Minister Abdul Razak of Malaysia expressed relief that the bloodshed had stopped. He said the triumph of the insurgents might "give some encouragement to the terrorists lurking in our jungles," but he stressed his hope that the Communist regimes in Indochina would cooperate with other governments in the region.

Mr. Razak's government has actively promoted the idea of having the whole of Southeast Asia, including Indochina, proclaimed a "zone of peace, freedom and neutrality." Last year Malaysia became the first of the five member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations to establish diplomatic relations with Peking.

This has not deterred the Chinese Communist party from continuing to extend at least rhetorical support to Communist insurgents in Malaysia.

Reports from Kuala Lumpur said Malaysia would declare her formal recognition of the Revolutionary Government in Saigon tomorrow.

Meantime, in Bangkok, Foreign Minister Chatichai Choonhaven of Thailand said he was calling a meeting of the Southeast Asian alliance, which also includes Singapore, Indonesia and the Philippines, in hopes of arranging a joint recognition of the new Saigon government.

S. KOREA -- CONTINUED

In sharp contrast to this delay of U.S. arms for the South Koreans, the Russians in recent months have furnished the North Koreans with hundreds of millions of dollars worth of their most modern aircraft, ground-to-ground missiles, tanks, and long-range artillery pieces.

These are some of the reasons why South Korean officials have their misgivings about the latest assurances from the Ford Administration regarding the U.S. commitment to defend South Korea in event of another war there.

Note: Defense Secretary James Schlesinger plans to go to Seoul this summer to review military needs of the South Koreans.

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 2 MAY 1975

In the aftermath of Vietnam

Spain grows cooler to U.S. military presence

By Richard Mowrer
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor
Madrid

Sentiment to this effect is growing here following America's withdrawal from Indo-China. Voices are being raised against extending the American military presence in Spain, now in its 22nd year.

A member of the Cortes (parliament) Alberto Jarabo Paya, has tabled a motion asking that "a fixed date be set for the evacuation of the American forces from Spanish bases and Spanish territory."

An executive agreement signed in 1953 and periodically renewed permits United States air and naval forces to use bases on Spanish soil. Some 10,000 American troops are stationed here, mainly at the American-built naval base at Rota and at Torrejon, one of the three big air bases the Americans agreed to build for joint Spanish-American use.

A long-standing Spanish complaint is that the United States has consistently refused to upgrade the military agreement of 1953 to a full-fledged defense treaty which would obligate the United States to come to Spain's aid in the event of war.

But now, in Mr. Jarabos's opinion, "were North America to agree to sign a defense treaty with Spain, what we have seen happen to Cambodia and Vietnam makes any security guaranty worthless."

Extension of the Spanish-American bases deal, due to expire in September, is currently the subject of protracted negotiations in Madrid and Washington. In return for use of the Spanish bases the United States has given Spain economic and military aid totaling to date $3,212 million.

America, says Mr. Jarabo, "is unwilling to compensate at their true value our friendship, our sacrifices, and the risks to which we are exposed" (because of the American connection). He claims that his opposition to an extension of the agreements under any form has the support of many Spaniards.

Last year a nationwide survey conducted by the business weekly Actualidad Economica showed that, of 1,500 persons queried, 16 percent favored the American presence, 48 percent opposed it, and 36 percent either had no opinion or refused to answer.

A former ambassador to the United States, Antonio Garrigues, writes in the newspaper ABC: "The confrontation between President and Congress affects equally executive agreements and treaties of alliance approved by Congress.

"If the United States is to recover the trust it lost in Vietnam . . . it will have to reestablish clearly and unequivocably cohesion and union between the executive and the legislative branches. Otherwise existing accords and threaties, and any that may be signed in the future, will be threatened right at the roots."

The American-based correspondent of the newspaper Arriba, Felix Ortega, writing on the subject of French and American war planes sales to Spain, says:

"As regards the supplying of military equipment, it is to be supposed that Spanish experts have drawn from the events in Indo-China the same conclusions reached by other allies of the United States, namely that it is risky to rely on just one source for ones supplies."

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 2 MAY 1975

Is Portugal about to go the way of South Vietnam?

By Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor
Lisbon

Vietnam, Finland, and Portugal. A litany of three countries comes to thought as a reporter turns to his typewriter in sunny Lisbon, knowing that in the streets below gay crowds are strolling, with carnations in their lapels or clutched in their hands. Even when they shout ferocious hammer-and-sickle slogans such as "Down with huge estates," or "Out with the CIA," there is good humor, as if this handsome riverside city of cream-colored walls and red-tiled roofs were still savoring its second May Day in freedom.

Halfway round the world, the citizens of Saigon — "fallen" or "liberated" depending on one's point of view — await their future under communist rule with a mixture of apprehension and relief. Relief that the long years of fighting are over. Anxiety as the Viet Cong takes over and, no doubt much sooner than once anticipated, North and South Vietnam are reunited under the yellow starred banner of the northern republic.

Is Portugal about to go the way of South Vietnam — not by war, but through the clever manipulations of the Communist Party operating on a politically naive Armed Forces Movement? That is what some Westerners believe — Julian Critchley, for instance, British defense expert and Conservative Member of Parliament who recently wrote, "Portugal appears lost to the West."

The answer depends on one's point of view. If one is a businessman, and finds once-docile employees suddenly forming committees to demand higher wages, or participation in management decisions, or simply to take over a factory, one is understandably worried — perhaps even distraught.

[The Armed Forces Movement gave a boost to the Communist Party on May Day, according to Reuter. It in effect recognized as sole spokesman for organized labor the Intersindical union confederation, which is Communist dominated. This move, however, had been in the cards before the recent election.]

Memory of a promise . . .

But if one recognizes that some form of explosion was inevitable after nearly half a century of authoritarianism, then what has happened so far in Portugal seems mild. Above all, the people of Portugal have the memory of a promise kept: free elections for a Constituent Assembly, in which 92 percent of the registered voted.

That, alas, is a memory denied to the South Vietnamese during the 21 years from the Geneva agreement dividing Vietnam provisionally to the capitulation of Saigon. Both Portugal and South Vietnam have a high proportion of illiterate but not stupid adults. In Portugal the armed forces strictly kept their hands off the April 25 election, though critics will say it was only after they robbed it of much of its meaning by forcing political parties to agree beforehand to the military's continuing dominant political power.

Nevertheless, the voting itself was demonstrably free, and the results a victory for the non-Communist parties, whether Socialist or further to the right. Communists and Socialists — are marching together in May Day parades; but the Socialists — who won 38 percent of the poll — are conscious of their strength, and their leader, Mario Soares, has openly twitted the Communists for centralism without democracy.

Succession of regimes

In Vietnam, first there was the dictatorship of Ngo Dinh Diem, and then that of a rapid succession of military regimes, culminating in the 10-year rule of Nguyen Van Thieu. His

(See PORTUGAL, Pg. 8-F)

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CHICAGO TRIBUNE
2 MAY 1975

Column 1

Viet war story boxed, stored in Maryland

By James Coates

Chicago Tribune Press Service

WASHINGTON—In the first tan box, a musty accountant's ledger chronicles the day in May, 1970, when a Vietnamese peasant signed with a fingerprint for the $20 burial benefit the Green Berets had promised for her dead husband.

In another box, a yellowing sheet of paper tells in both Vietnamese and English how Kevin L. Schultz of McHenry, Ill., ignored enemy fire on a day in June, 1972, to cram wounded troops aboard his Huey helicopter at Phy My.

An officer's hastily scribbled log, pulled from another carton, relives the September, 1969, day when Capt. John R. Henry reported spying "gooks with a Vespa truck" near his Phuoc Vinh firebase and ordered them "destroyed."

The entire Viet Nam story is here in these boxes, each holding exactly one cubic foot of old Army records. Scrawled on millions of paper scraps, the story fills hundreds of thousands of boxes stacked 18 feet high in a room as big as a football field.

Every record written by the 500 combat units which fought for two decades in the jungles, mountains, and deltas of Viet Nam fills one corner of the nation's attic, an immense warehouse called the National Records Center in suburban Suitland, Md. The warehouse has the floor space of 20 football fields.

THE MINUTIAE in these boxes make Viet Nam the nation's "most exquisitely documented war," said John Hatcher, the army's chief archivist. And now that the soldiers have had their day, it's the historians' turn.

Well-guarded, with air conditioning and humidity controls, the United States Army's Viet Nam records are a "goldmine for research to historians," Hatcher said. To an outsider, browsing thru them compares to rifling a neighbor's desk.

Exposure to the humid Asian skies and soggy combat conditions have slightly rumpled much of the paper. The typing is the product of 35 word-per-minute privates, and the crude, mimeographed forms are often filled out with three or four different pens or pencils.

Only the body counts and orders granting bravery citations appear to have been done on an electric typewriter and crisp sheets of paper.

Archivist Hatcher, middle-aged and mild-mannered in horn-rimmed glasses, displays the serenity of a scholar puttering in some university library stacks as he shuffles casualty reports and kill counts, canceled checks and chaplain reports. Personally, he said, the financial records tell the story best.

"Financial records are the source of most of our knowledge of ancient Babylon," he explained. "All those clay tablets show buying, selling, ownership. The Babylonians wanted a permanent record, and clay, even when broken, can be pieced together. For less important things, like literature, they used perishable materials."

ONE VIET NAM equivalent of a Babylonian tablet is the ledger of Lt. Arnold Goodson, who kept the books for the 5th Special Forces in Chi Lang on the Mekong Delta during May, 1970.

Pulling the ledger from one of the foot-square boxes, Hatcher noted, "This shows that the war was fought sometimes by a soldier with a sackful of piasters." Goodson's unit recruited and trained native Vietnamese and usually operated by assigning three or four Americans to a village.

Pay-offs apparently were more effective than pistols in forming the Mekong irregulars, and the Goodson ledger is filled with such items as "9,200 piasters expenditure for intelligence May, 1970."

To get the Mekong peasants to fight, the Green Berets paid each man 7,600 piasters [about $25] plus bonuses for the capture of enemy weapons. One item in Goodson's books shows the unit spent 18,750 piasters in the village to celebrate the capture of 63 weapons, "numerous documents, 3 POWs, and 38 enemy killed in action by 50 American-trained guerrillas."

There are 14 entries where widows were paid 6,000 piasters burial expenses. To get the money, the women affixed their fingerprints to a receipt. A payroll for the 150 Vietnamese men carries each man's signature.

One guerrilla, Chau Pheng, wasn't paid in May, 1970, the ledger says, "pending outcome of investigation to determine connection with Viet Cong-North Vietnamese." Ominously, his name does not appear on the June ledger.

ANOTHER ACCOUNTING document, the recreational fund record of a 1st Air Cavalry unit in Hue, reminds that American soldiers also were gung-ho kids just getting ready to taste life.

That record for June, 1972, shows that at the height of the last big spurt of American fighting, the enlisted men spent five times as much for sew-on unit crests—the Garry Owen Brigade—than they did for beer.

"You might remember," Hatcher laughed, "that the commanding officer had a big say about how recreational funds were spent."

The declassified records teem with other anecdotes.

An engineering captain writes in his log that a Capt. McCollum "has a new weapon which can destroy 500 feet of tunnel when exploded 10 feet above ground." Under "action taken," he writes, "Tried to find Capt. McCollum."

A staff report states that the Americans have set up a crack fighting unit called the Kit Carson Scouts, composed of former Viet Cong and regular North Vietnamese army men who have defected.

TUCKED AWAY in a box of financial records is a mimeographed letter written by Capt. John P. Costello outlining his favorite "combat lessons."

The first thing to watch out for in Viet Nam, warns the captain, are dog, monkey, and rat bites. "Rabies is quite prevalent in Viet Nam," he cautions newcomers.

He also advises against sitting atop sandbags around a foxhole. "Shrapnel from command-detonated Claymore mines" make this a dangerous position, the captain explains.

And don't throw food wrappers in your foxhole, either, warns the combat veteran. It draws rats. Remember the rabies problem.

Another of his tips for successful soldiering: When the enemy breaks contact "instead of retreating he usually goes out around and ends up behind you."

HATCHER'S RECORDS date to the 1950s when the U. S. first sent advisors. The most recent additions were airlifted from the American embassy in Saigon as North Vietnamese units surrounded the city.

In addition to the cavernous "vault" with the declassified data, there are 10 giant safes replete with TV monitors, combination locks, and armed guards which hold sensitive documents. The records of the My Lai massacre are in these safes.

These safes contain the many contingency plans hatched for controversial steps, such as a direct invasion of North Viet Nam. Also included are papers showing the capabilities of American weapons and still current strategy plans.

But most of the data soon will be declassified under the Freedom of Information Act. Under the law, after six years all but "secret" documents become public record. After 8 years only "top secret" classifications are restricted, and after 10 years even "top secret" is public, Hatcher explained.

PORTUGAL -- CONTINUED

power reposed on the armed forces (which he controlled and manipulated) and on the general belief of the Vietnamese that he enjoyed the wholehearted backing of the United States. He did not fall until these two props were withdrawn, and by then it was too late to save the South.

Several times in Vietnam there was popular enthusiasm for elections, but each time it was demonstrated that the votes had been tampered with. Today as the South Vietnamese go under Communist rule, the only comparison they can make is between two kinds of authoritarian rule, the only difference being that one kind was less efficient and more arbitrary, with more loopholes for individual freedom. That is not sufficient motivation to fight and to win a cruel war.

And where does Finland fit into the equation? This reporter visited Helsinki after lengthy sojourns both in Saigon and in Moscow. Finland is the only part of the old Czarist empire that has managed to remain independent continuously since World War I. But it did so at frightful cost: civil war between reds and whites just after World War I; two wars with the Soviet Union during World War II. The Finns lost a whole generation of men, had to cede one-tenth their territory, and pay $455 million in reparations to the Soviet Union. But they survived.

Like the Vietnamese, the Finns have a reputation for political quarrelsomeness. They have had parties galore, sometimes grouped around a single personality. But when war came, they closed ranks. More important, for all the sympathy they received from the West during the Winter War (1939-1940), "no one came to our aid," as one Finn told me. "We were on our own, and we knew it." Soviet tanks never rolled into Helsinki because the Finns accepted the consequences of their geographic position and made the best terms they could long before they were physically defeated.

A Vietnamese friend, a high-ranking diplomat, was interested in the example of Finland and thought it could be made relevant to that of his own country. But neither he, nor most of his friends, could really face up to the fact that when the crunch came, it was not their capacity to influence the White House, or Congress, or the Pentagon, that would win the war. It was what they could do when they knew they stood absolutely alone, as Finland had from 1939 to 1940 and again in 1944.

Knowing this does not diminish the tragedy of South Vietnam, nor lessen the self-searching going on in American thinking, whether official or private, as to what went wrong. But Finland shows that a democratic nation can survive, even without external military aid and with a communist superpower as a neighbor, if it maintains unity, self-reliance, and the skill to play whatever few cards it may hold. And Portugal confirms democracy's age-old lesson, that there is no substitute for free elections.

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BALTIMORE SUN 27 APRIL 1975 (2 MAY)

Soviet Navy 'graduates' with honors in latest war games

By CHARLES W. CORDDRY
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—In worldwide exercises now ending, the Soviet Navy had about twice as many ships at sea as it normally does, without putting any strain on its fleets, and rehearsed a wide range of war missions that showed its increasing importance in the Russian military establishment.

The Russians not only sent 220 surface ships and submarines into the war games in the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian oceans, military analysts here said, but they exhibited for the first time in a tactical exercise their supersonic Backfire bombers, making simulated attacks on naval task forces.

They also showed, with Bear and other reconnaissance aircraft, operating from home bases, two African countries and Cuba, an ability to carry out ocean surveillance wherever they choose.

A naval analyst here, viewing the global display seriously but calmly, described it as aimed less at an American audience than at the Soviet political leadership. With this ambitious exercise, bigger and more comprehensive than the latest previous one in 1970, Fleet Adm. S. G. Gorshkov, the Navy chief, showed the Politburo what he had promised more than a dozen years ago to achieve.

It was, in a manner of speaking, a graduation exercise, the naval analyst said, which put at rest any lingering question that the Navy is "no longer a mere extension of the Red Army."

The United States Navy and the navies of allied countries learn more about the Soviet Navy's command controls and tactical operations from exercises like the one now ending than at any other time, analysts said.

One of the more disturbing aspects of this one, it was said, was the concentration on convoys, showing ability to move forces abroad, and on anti-convoy warfare, or ability to disrupt the West's ocean lines of communication.

In the past, the concentration had been more on operations against carrier task forces and on antisubmarine warfare, specially against U.S. ballistic missile submarines. Admiral Gorshkov had spoken in December of expanding uses of the fleets, analysts said, and he has ample naval forces to do so.

In this exercise, 50 to 60 surface combatant ships were deployed and more than 40 submarines were at sea.

Reconnaissance aircraft

(See SOVIET, Pg 10-F)

NEW YORK TIMES 2 MAY 1975

It Might Have Been

IN THE NATION

By Tom Wicker

This is a time of reflection and reminiscence and wondering for everyone whose life and work and attitude were altered by Vietnam. Secretary Kissinger, for example, recalling his negotiation of the Paris accords of 1973, said at his news conference the other day:

"We wanted what was considered peace with honor—that the United States would not end a war by overthrowing a government with which it had been associated. And that still seems like an objective that was correct."

An objective that was correct, yes; but the accords were only a means to that end, and the means specifically included negotiation and "national reconciliation" in Vietnam. Mr. Kissinger does not yet seem to have put to himself the question asked by Richard Holbrooke, a former Foreign Service officer in Vietnam and now the editor of Foreign Policy magazine:

"Why did we never go to Thieu, after Paris and the Congressional arms cutoff, and tell him that this was a new world and he had better negotiate unless he wanted defeat?"

The answer is clearly that against all the evidence of weakness in South Vietnam and determination in North Vietnam, the United States believed it could prop up an anti-Communist regime in the South indefinitely, maybe even make it at some point self-supporting. On the other hand, it was an article of faith that negotiations at best would produce power-sharing with the Communists, and that would inevitably lead to complete Communist domination of Vietnam.

Maybe it would or maybe it wouldn't have, but the unassailable fact is that the "no negotiation" policy insisted upon for twenty years by five Presidents has led to complete Communist domination of Vietnam, as well as the abject humiliation of having to snatch the last Americans out of Saigon by helicopter, just before the deluge.

The opposite is not necessarily true, that a policy of negotiation might have produced something like a neutralist regime. But undertaken soon enough, even a negotiation that led to Communist domination might have prevented the long and bloody post-1965 phase of the war, the incalculable political, economic and social consequences in the United States(and the ultimate American rout.

The recent accession of Duong Van Minh to "power" ostensibly to negotiate a settlement with the victorious Communists recalls, for example, that in November, 1963, General Minh—having led the coup that overthrew and murdered Ngo Dinh Diem on Nov.

(See WICKER, Pg 10-F)

BALTIMORE SUN 2 MAY 1975
Peter A. Jay

Hurt by U.S. Policy, Refugees Deserve Aid

Now that the whole sorry mess is just about over, it is hard to find words for Vietnam.

It was from the start a war filled with tragic ironies, and they were there aplenty in the final hours. Remember how fashionable it was to sneer at the frightened South Vietnamese soldiers who in 1971 clung to the skids of American helicopters in panicky retreat from the disastrous invasion of Laos? In the end it was our own embassy people who went out, if not actually on the skids, at least equally ignominiously, leaping from the rooftops to the last helicopters and clattering away over the frightened, angry and now abandoned people whom we dominated for so long.

We did all we could to force the South Vietnamese to take sides—to align themselves with us against the dread tide of Asian communism. And, tragically for them, we convinced millions that we were right, if they weren't persuaded by our speeches and ideology, then they were by our jeeps and radios and aircraft, our physical size, our sheer money and muscle.

Those whom we convinced are the ones who now are going to have to pay for believing us, and we may be sure a price will be exacted. Whether they are Army officers or civil servants or small farmers with plots they received under the American-imposed land reform program, they have little reason to expect benevolence from their new government.

All that is out of our control entirely now, though it ought not to be off our consciences. Those who have escaped are another matter.

Of all the politicians of various viewpoints who have done this country discredit over the long years of the war, perhaps the most sickening are those who are now resisting the admission of and aid to the tens of thousands of refugees our bankrupt policies in Southeast Asia have created. And there have been plenty of these. Congressional hospitality toward refugees always has been virtually nonexistent, disguised though this has been in fine words about freedom-loving peoples and the melting pot of America.

When 170,000 Hungarians fled their country after the 1956 revolt was crushed, President Eisenhower asked for authority to admit up to 67,000 annually to the United States and asked urgently for amendments to the restrictive McCarran-Walter Act of 1952. But Congress wasn't interested, and only about 38,000 Hungarians were admitted.

The Cuban situation was different only because Cuban immigrants were not subject to quotas, and 100,000 were admitted by mid-1962. A year later, President Kennedy sought abolition of the offensive national-origins quota system, but got nowhere. Congress tends not to like foreigners, especially non-Europeans.

The refugees from Vietnam are where we ought to be concentrating our attention now—and that means all of us, offering whatever small help we can. As for assessing blame for what has happened, it is pointless; the roots are too deep.

As for credit, all sorts of people are trying to claim it now, pointing to what they said or wrote in 1970, or 1968, or even earlier. But this too is pointless and self-serving.

There was a time when there was as much pressure on journalists from their peers to write about how badly the war was going as there was on majors and colonels from their superiors to report new successes. The journalists happened to be right in the long run, but the process by which many of them reached their conclusions hardly qualifies them for canonization.

So now is the time to make the best of it, which we can do only by getting the refugees, 70,000 or however many, resettled as well as we can. It will take money and effort, but when set against the waste of $150 billion and more than 50,000 American lives, that seems neither extravagant nor inappropriate.

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WICKER -- CONTINUED

1—probably had a much earlier and more hopeful opportunity to negotiate a settlement with what was then known as the National Liberation Front.

On Oct. 2, 1963, Secretary of Defense McNamara had announced the United States' intention to withdraw most of its 25,000 troops from Vietnam by the end of 1965, and to pull out a thousand by the end of 1963. President Kennedy had said on Sept. 2 that however much help the Americans gave, "in the final analysis, it is their war. [The people of South Vietnam] are the ones who have to win it or lose it."

The military junta then ruling South Vietnam contained much "neutralist" sentiment (which was a major reason why it was overthrown a few months later by Nguyen Khan). "Big" Minh, though not a neutralist, was a South Vietnamese Buddhist of peasant stock who had led the overthrow of the Northern Catholic mandarin, Diem. With the Americans talking of withdrawal, the double-barrelled N.L.F. propaganda line against "a mandarin regime backed by white colonialists" had been set back. The repressions of the Diem Government, moreover, could be assumed to have been ended, at least reduced.

On Nov. 8, 1963, according to Jean Lacouture, the French journalist, the N.L.F. broadcast a statement that called for "negotiations between interested groups in South Vietnam, in order to arrive at a cease-fire and a solution to the great problems of the country." There is no official American record of this, but Washington did record a Nov. 13 broadcast in which the N.L.F. said the Minh junta could have "a future which will be brilliant, which will have no more nightmares," if it separated itself from the United States, worked for national independence and brought "freedom and democracy to the people."

Since President Kennedy had proved his machismo in the Cuban missile crisis the year before, and since he had just discovered in a September tour of the country that his limited nuclear test-ban treaty was highly popular, just the thing to underpin a 1964 peace campaign against Barry Goldwater, those November days might have been the right moment to urge Saigon into negotiations. After all, Mr. Kennedy already had agreed to a coalition with the Communists in Laos.

But on Nov. 22, 1963, John Kennedy was murdered and a different man in very different circumstances had taken his place. By Nov. 24, Lyndon B. Johnson already had told his ambassador in Saigon to assure Big Minh that he "can count on us"—even as Mr. Nixon a decade later gave Nguyen Van Thieu his "solid pledge" of support. With such assurances, why should Minh or Thieu have risked the negotiation no American President ever counseled?

SOVIET -- CONTINUED

flew out of Berbera on the Gulf of Aden in Somalia, in support of surface units operating in the Indian Ocean, apparently rehearsing anti-convoy operations along major oil routes. Other surveillance planes flew into the same area over Iran from Soviet bases.

Still others covered the Atlantic from Cuba, Conakry in Guinea on the West African coast, and home bases.

The Backfire bombers were flown from their Black Sea base to the Kola peninsula and then out over the North Atlantic in the simulated strikes against task forces.

The Backfire, of which the Russians now have about 36 in operation in naval and air forces, can fly at twice the speed of sound, like the American B-1, which is in the research and development stage and faces an uncertain future in Congress. Backfires have shorter range than B-1's and may not be intended for intercontinental missions, though presumably they could be refueled in flight.

Besides the new concentration on convoy and anti-convoy operations, the Soviet fleets engaged in antisubmarine and anti-carrier exercises in the Western Pacific as well as the Atlantic.

The exercise began about April 14, as far as aerial photography shows, after a two-week buildup of forces.

With its display of effective worldwide operating ability, it was a remarkable advance over the early 1960's when, analysts said, exercises were mainly devoted to practicing defense of home waters and one American intelligence expert usually could write an analysis almost before the operation began.

Analysis of the 1975 war games will take weeks, the experts say.

DEFENSE SPACE BUSINESS DAILY 23 APRIL 1975 (2 MAY)

BENDIX CHAIRMAN CALLS FOR REDUCED ARMS SHIPMENTS TO MIDEAST

Proposes Cutback in Defense Budget

The chairman of Bendix Corporation called yesterday for a reduction in arms shipments from all sources to the nations of the Middle East and advocated a U. S. -first defense policy that would result in a reduced defense budget.

W. M. Blumenthal, chief executive officer of Bendix, told the International Committee of the AIA that the interest of the people of the Middle East would best be served by a reduction "and eventually perhaps a halt" to the influx of arms.

While shipments to the Middle East accounted for a sizeable part of the U. S. aerospace industry's $6.8 billion in exports last year, "all of us I am sure would be happy to pass up these sales, and the balance of payments advantages they procure for our economy, if this would bring about a reduction of tensions and improve the chances for peace."

Calls For New National Security Policy

Implying that U. S. national defense policy is based on the world "as it was in the 1950's," Blumenthal called for a new national security policy which:

1) Is designed to deter aggression against our country. Since only the Soviet Union is capable of such aggression "we should be able to reduce the cost and the danger of these forces by reaching agreement with the Soviet Union on effective arms control."

2) Provides that the U. S. is ready, along with other nations, to build and maintain a world system of peace, but recognizing that "we do not aspire to a special or privileged role . . ."

3) Determines which countries of the world are essential to our national interest and provides for cooperating with them "economically and if necessary militarily to help them assure their continued security and development."

The Bendix chairman expressed the belief that U. S. national security "depends just as much on the economy, social cohesion and moral and political leadership as it does on the military establishment."

[Bendix ranked 35th among DOD contractors in FY '74 with DOD contracts totaling $155 million; 31st in FY '73 with contracts valued at $150 million. Its overall sales totaled $2.48 billion in 1974 and $2.23 billion in 1973.]

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BALTIMORE NEWS AMERICAN 1 MAY 1975(2)

Arms Talks Hinge On U.S.-Soviet Tie

By KINGSBURY SMITH
Hearst Headline Service

ROME — A new international effort will soon be made to cope with one of the most vitally important problems confronting mankind — how to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.

Representatives of some 25 nations are scheduled to meet in Geneva on May 5 to prepare the agenda for a larger conference later this year to review the operations of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

Italy recently became the 85th nation to ratify the treaty, which will entitle it to paricipate in the review conference.

In drafting the agenda, the preparatory committee will spotlight issues that are expected to dominate the main conference. These are:

• Dissatisfaction of the smaller powers with the failure of the United States and the Soviet Union to make greater progress in curbing their own nuclear arms race.

• General concern that some of the smaller powers will use their nuclear reactors to develop plutonium for the production of atomic bombs.

• Demands by the smaller nations for easier access to atomic explosives for peaceful purposes.

Under the terms of the treaty that was concluded between the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain in 1968, it was provided that a review conference would be held five years after its effective date, which was in 1970 following its ratification by 43 governments.

The treaty prohibited its adherents from helping non-nuclear nations acquire atomic weapons. It also pledged the latter to refrain from developing or acquiring such weapons.

Many of the non-nuclear nations that signed the treaty served notice at the time they would reserve the right to withdraw if the two superpowers failed to curb drastically their own nuclear arms race. In fact, the two nuclear superpowers pledged in the treaty to "achieve at the earliest possible date the cessation of the nuclear arms race."

That was five years ago. While the two super-powers have agreed to some limitation on their nuclear weapons, the race to strengthen their nuclear arsenal with more powerfully destructive strategic missiles goes on.

American officials hope that by the time the main NPT conference meets this year, the United States and the Soviet Union will have reached an agreement in the Geneva SALT negotiations for a further limitation on their nuclear armaments. If not, they are going to be subjected to severe criticism from the smaller nations, although it is unlikely any will withdraw from the treaty this year.

Some of them, however, may resist plans which the American and Soviet governments have been considering to make more effective the international control of reactors acquired by the non-nuclear weapons countries for purportedly peaceful purposes.

Skyrocketing oil prices have made the poorer countries particularly eager to obtain reactors for the development of nuclear energy. Those who adhered to the NPT committed themselves to accept International Atomic Energy Administration (IAEA) safeguards for any reactors they acquired. The nuclear power members of the treaty pledged they would not make reactors available to any nation that did not accept the IAEA safeguards.

However, the United States and Canada both made reactors available to India, which has never adhered to the NPT and accepted IAEA safeguards on only two of its six nuclear reactors. It used the Canadian reactor for its explosion of a nuclear device last year. Thereafter Canada angrily suspended its long-given assistance to India's atomic energy program.

IAEA officials estimate that at least 26 non-nuclear weapons nations that have nuclear reactors could develop atomic weapons within the next ten days. Their nuclear power plants are capable of producing enough plutonium to build tens of thousands of atomic bombs.

AIR FORCE TIMES 16 APRIL 1975(2 MAY)

VIEWPOINT

Ira C. Eaker

IT IS NOW one year since the right-wing dictatorship which had ruled Portugal for 15 years, was overthrown by a military coup. There have been four cabinet reshuffles of the new "revolutionary" ruling junta, each more communist dominated than its predecessor. The last cabinet of 21 members, installed on March 25, is clearly Moscow oriented.

Portugal's swing to the left presents many grave problems to the West. NATO, with its southern flank already in jeopardy, because of the Greek-Turkish dispute over Cyprus, now may lose one of its founder members, a keystone in Western Europe's defensive arch. The U.S. also loses its most constant ally in Europe. Remember, Portugal was the only NATO member which provided air bases to facilitate the resupply of Israel in the last Arab-Israeli conflict.

If Portugal elects and is permitted to remain in NATO the Kremlin will have a seat in the most secret councils of the West. On the other hand, if Portugal withdraws or is thrown out of NATO, the Kremlin has achieved its primary goal since 1950, the rupture of the NATO alliance. The Soviets also gain naval bases in the Atlantic, not only in Portugal, but in her Atlantic Islands, Madeira and the Azores. Conversely, the U.S. bases in the Azores, vital to the airlift which saved Israel in October 1973, will not be available in the future.

Moscow, never slow to demand repayment for support, is reported to be asking Portugal already for Atlantic naval bases.

PORTUGAL'S SWING to the left vitally concerns Spain, which although constantly and unwisely spurned as a NATO member, has been a steadfast Western ally, granting the U.S. naval and air base rights. The deposed faction in Portugal has fled to Spain. This raises the possibility of conflict between Spain and Portugal, further jeopardizing peace in Europe.

In the meantime, what has the left-leaning revolutionary junta done to Portugal? It has begun the normal red pattern of "nationalization", seizing the banks, communications, and dominating agriculture. As a result, tourism, Portugal's most lucrative business, has dried up; all foreign owned industries are in rapid decline; unemployment is rising; the crime rate is the highest ever; and inflation is raging at unprecedented rates.

How did all this come about, this loss of Portugal, this successful westward march of communism?

There are, upon sober analysis and objective assessment, many contributing factors. The economic disarray in the whole free world, occasioned by the Arab oil embargo, was a major factor. Moscow planned it that way.

THE POLITICAL DISARRAY in the U.S. was also a factor. Our preoccupation with Southeast Asia, our abandonment of Cambodia and South Vietnam, were definite signals that the U.S. no longer had the will to oppose the adventures and aggressions of Moscow.

Our watchdog on Red plans and conspiracies abroad, the CIA, was under heavy attack at home and rendered powerless to exercise its normal functions abroad.

The divisiveness and bitter animosities in the U.S. created by the Vietnam War, and the economic depression following the Arab oil embargo, deprived the U.S. of the will and power to oppose red aggression.

The result: the European-NATO dominoes are beginning to fall as the Asiatic dominoes are tumbling. The Kremlin is following, shrewdly and tenaciously, a successful strategy, double envelopment of the West.

The author, an air power pioneer, is a retired three-star AF general.

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WALL STREET JOURNAL 2 MAY 1975

Washington Wire

A Special Weekly Report From The Wall Street Journal's Capital Bureau

HANOI'S PLANS for Southeast Asia worry Peking as well as Washington.

Analysts expect the two Vietnams will soon unite. The country will boast a large, modern, mobile army bristling with captured U.S. weapons—at least a psychological threat to its neighbors. It may try exporting revolution. Fresh evidence indicates vigorous Hanoi plans to train and arm Thai insurgents; the U.S. is about to announce a big troop pullout from Thailand.

China fears the growth of a political rival in Southeast Asia and worries that the Vietnamese will get too cozy with the Russians. Hanoi actually distrusts both big Communist powers, though it owes much to each. Moscow and Peking will have trouble cashing in their claims on Vietnam.

Even the new Cambodian Communist regime fears Hanoi. Its order for closing of all foreign bases can only refer to North Vietnam.

BAD NEWS on the U.S. economy will mingle with good for months to come.

Ford's economists warn disappointing indicators will persist into summer but insist the data will refer to "past events." The unemployment rate is expected to climb for several more months—to somewhere over 9%. Inflation is due to accelerate a bit, with higher farm and food prices. Industrial output may be down again this quarter. The seers expect orders for factory goods to fall further.

On the plus side, economists predict inventories will continue to shrink. They figure personal income will show heftier increases, consumer confidence will improve, retail sales may pick up. Housing starts may begin to turn upward as the supply of unsold homes dwindles. Total construction spending could head higher.

If Congress finds the recovery still lagging this summer, it may vote more public works and more public-service jobs than those already planned.

FAVORITE SONS may complicate the rush for the Democrats' 1976 nomination.

Govs. Carey of New York and Shapp of Pennsylvania seem sure to try to lock up their big delegations if they can persuade the active candidates to stay out. Freshman Sen. Glenn yearns to run in Ohio. Backers of Florida Gov. Askew urge him on. Sen. Bumpers may try in Arkansas. Gov. Lucey in Wisconsin. As convention brokers, state leaders could try to deal themselves onto the national ticket.

Changes in primary dates confuse the Democratic picture. New York, till now one of the last to choose delegates, will hold its primary in April, coinciding with Wisconsin. Ohio switches to June, joining California and New Jersey. Florida Democrats ponder setting the state primary in April or May instead of early March. They hope a moderate alternative to Wallace might be gaining ground then.

A regional primary of sorts takes shape in New England. Massachusetts liberals expect to match whatever date early-bird New Hampshire sets, and Rhode Island might go along.

BAYH GETS SET to enter the Democratic presidential field. Party politicians expect the Indiana Senator to pass the word this month, though a formal announcement may come later. Bayh hopes to score with liberals looking desperately for someone to take on Wallace. Some politicians see Bayh's entry knocking Rep. Udall of Arizona out of the race.

DISCORD FLARES between Kissinger and Schlesinger. The Pentagon boss feels the Secretary of State ducked as Vietnam began to unravel, leaving him to shoulder responsibility and make public statements. Differences about evacuation were sharp. Schlesinger wanted everyone out fast; Kissinger won a slower pullout in an effort to prolong Saigon's stability.

AID TO ISRAEL stands a better chance in Congress following Vietnam's fall. "We can't abandon another country to whom we've given solemn assurances," says a House Democrat who was a dove on Vietnam. One forecast: Ford will ask Congress for $1.6 billion, roughly $1 billion less than Israel wants, and Congress will raise the amount to $2 billion.

NUCLEAR RISK? Congress' General Accounting Office finds truck shipments of nuclear weapons by the Army and Navy have been "more vulnerable to potential terrorist activity and more susceptible to damage" than shipments by civilian agencies. The military services pledge new safeguards.

TENSIONS GROW between many House freshmen and their elders.

Ways and Means Chairman Ullman fears new Democrats will rewrite his energy-tax bill when it reaches the floor. Senior Commerce Committee members worry that strong-minded freshmen, such as Moffett of Connecticut, will push the panel toward railroad nationalization. Even liberal Aspin of Wisconsin found it hard to work with emotional freshmen on Vietnam evacuation issues.

John Burton of California irked older House colleagues by offering irrelevant amendments to the Vietnam evacuation bill at 1 a.m. Other newcomers talked past their allotted time. Some critics feel the leaders should clamp down. But the freshmen aren't all on the wild side. Chairman Dingell of the House Energy subcommittee counts on help from new moderates.

Senate Armed Services Chairman Stennis fumed when "new boy" Leahy of Vermont beat him to the TV mikes after a committee session.

MINOR MEMOS: A little late, the South Vietnamese embassy this week distributed a pamphlet titled, "Vietnam: Where do we stand?". . . . A dinner for the press given by the Federal National Mortgage Association began with a cocktail gathering called an "attitude adjustment hour."

May 1, 1975 (2) *Aerospace Daily*

INDIANS DESCRIBE SOVIET RESTRICTIONS IN SATELLITE LAUNCH

The Soviet Union barred Indian technical personnel from the blockhouse at Kapustin Yar from which the April 19 launch of India's first satellite was controlled, and it prohibited Indian photography of the event, Prof. U. Rao, director of the satellite project, reported in New Delhi. The Soviets are expected to provide photos and possibly a film of the launch soon, he added.

Rao said that all conversations between Indian and Soviet tracking stations used a "Sanskritized" code in which the launch vehicle was designated "Dhrona" and the spacecraft "Nethra." India's name for the satellite is Aryabhata.

The spacecraft has passed its "crucial phase" and is now certain to exceed its six-month estimated lifetime, he said. Control has been shifted fully to the Indian ground station at Srihari-kota, and India's second satellite, expected within two years, may be commanded from there from the start of its mission. Citing Indian work on solar cells and tape recorders, Rao said that from the next satellite onward, more and more components will be built in India.

* * *

THE PENTAGON has formally notified Congress that it is offering the consortium of four NATO countries 348 General Dynamics F-16 aircraft at a price, including support equipment and services, estimated at $2.119 billion. Chairman John J. Sparkman (D-Ala.) of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Tuesday placed in the Congressional Record a notification sent to him by Lt. Gen. H.M. Fish (USAF), director of the Defense Security Assistance Agency, as required by the Foreign Military Sales Act.

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RADIO - TV DEFENSE DIALOG

RADIO TV REPORTS INC. WASH.,D.C., SUMMARIES NOT TO BE QUOTED.

MONDAY, MAY 5, 1975 (BROADCASTS OF MAY 3, 4, 1975) PART I

SUMMARY OF NETWORK NEWS IN THIS ISSUE

The truck convoy carrying foreigners from Phnom Penh to Thailand finally crossed the Thai-Cambodian border Saturday, four days after beginning the two hundred mile journey. Among the five hundred and twenty men, women and children were a number of correspondents, including Sydney SCHANBERG of the New York Times, but, by mutual agreement, all have agreed to withhold public comment until the evacuation of all foreign nationals from Phnom Penh has been completed. A report on the arrival in Thailand of the convoy is filed by Jack PERKINS, the NBC Saturday Night News.

The first of the many thousands of Americans and South Vietnamese evacuated from Saigon last Tuesday began arriving at Subic Naval Base, the Philippines. David COHLER, NBC, reports that because of restrictions imposed on the refugees by the Philippines government, they are almost immediately being placed aboard flights to Guam, fifteen hundred miles to the west. And on the CBS Evening News for Saturday, Bruce DUNNING reports on the processing of the refugees on Guam. DUNNING notes that among those being processed first are former high-ranking officials of the THIEU regime, including the chief of the Special Police Branch that investigated Viet Cong political activity, the chief of the National Secret Police Branch responsible for surveillance of opposition politicians in South Vietnam and the chief of the Saigon Police.

The evacuation of more than a hundred thousand South Vietnamese refugees has provoked some criticism from U. S. political leaders. Edwin NEWMAN, NBC, and Dan RATHER, CBS, report that Senator George McGOVERN has termed the evacuation America's "final blunder in Vietnam," adding that the mass of refugees would be better off in their native country. Plans for the re-settlement of the Vietnamese refugees, on the other hand, is the subject of a report by Lesley STAHL, CBS. Included in the CBS report are film clips of remarks by Frank WISNER of the State Department; Wells KLEIN, representing the private agencies collaborating in the endeavor; and Julia TAFT of HEW.

President FORD journeyed to Norfolk, Virginia Saturday for the commissioning of a new carrier for the Navy, the U.S.S. Nimitz. The Nimitz, which cost six hundred and ninety-two million dollars to build, is the world's largest warship and the second nuclear carrier in the U. S. fleet. John COCHRAN, NBC, and Robert PIERPOINT, CBS, report that the President used the occasion of the ship's commissioning to reaffirm this nation's commitments to its allies.

U. S. naval power was also the subject of remarks by Admiral Elmo ZUMWALT. Speaking in New York, the former Chief of Naval Operations noted that U. S. naval strength has been diminishing in recent years because of insufficient funding by the Congress, and that, as a consequence, the Russians are pursuing a policy of "differential detente" -- behaving where they must and misbehaving where they can. An excerpt from Admiral ZUMWALT's address appears on the NBC Saturday Night News.

And finally, Kenley JONES, NBC, files an updated report on the case of former Green Beret officer Jeffrey McDONALD, who has been indicted for the murder of his wife and two daughters at Fort Bragg, North Carolina five years ago, and Morton DEAN, CBS, interviews Vietnam veteran Wayne FORBES, who reflects on the American involvement in the Vietnam war.

PREPARED BY THE AIR FORCE (SAFAA) AS EXECUTIVE AGENT FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE TO BRING TO THE ATTENTION OF KEY DOD PERSONNEL MATTERS WITHIN THEIR OFFICIAL RESPONSIBILITIES.

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NBC SATURDAY NIGHT NEWS NBC TV 6:30 PM MAY 3

Convoy Reaches Thai Border

EDWIN NEWMAN: The truck convoy of foreigners that left Phnom Penh, Cambodia four days ago made it across the border into Thailand this morning. These were men, women and children who had taken refuge in the French Embassy in Phnom Penh when Cambodia fell.

The French had wanted to fly them out and had said that the health of some was too frail to permit them to go any other way. But the Khmer Rouge, which now controls Cambodia, said no, trucks only.

NBC News correspondent Jack PERKINS was at the border crossing when the convoy arrived.

JACK PERKINS: The border between Cambodia and Thailand. The refugees came in buses and in trucks, five hundred and twenty of them; some sick; people of many nations displaced and caught when the Khmer Rouge took over Cambodia two and a half weeks ago. For these five hundred and twenty men, women and children it had been a most incomparable, bizarre, frightening, exhausting two and a half weeks. And the way they finally got out was as bizarre as all.

The journey to the border here from Phnom Penh is only some two hundred miles, but it had taken them four grueling days and nights. Why that was, what had happened on the journey, what had happened before that in the French Embassy in Phnom Penh they had agreed, all of them coming out here, not to reveal; not yet, because a couple of hundred more refugees from Phnom Penh are not out yet; presumably are coming, but who can say when. And until they get out, these people, including businessmen, Embassy people and about twenty reporters, have agreed to say nothing more publicly than this, a brief statement by reporter Sydney SCHANBERG of the New York Times.

SYDNEY SCHANBERG: Journalists who stayed in Phnom Penh and who were in the French Embassy compound agree to impose on themselves a news embargo. That is, we have decided not to write anything about the situation in Phnom Penh or about the trip from Phnom Penh to Thailand until the last person in the compound in Phnom Penh has left and returned and reached Thailand.

And the purpose of this is to insure the safety of the people in the compound.

PERKINS: Again, of these five hundred or so refugees, most were in good health. But there was some fever, dysentery, especially among the old and the children. But again, most were well and, for their deliverance from Cambodia, were enthusiastically expressive.

MAN: Thailand never tasted so good.

PERKINS: They would not talk about the conditions in Phnom Penh or the ride to the border that took three and a half days. They would not talk about any of that as long as any of their colleagues remained inside Cambodia.

But for them, from the appearances, it had been a very difficult ordeal and the joy of being out was overwhelming.

Jack PERKINS, NBC News, along the border between Thailand and Cambodia.

Philippines Restricts Refugees' Stay

NEWMAN: The government of the Philippines is being somewhat less than hospitable to refugees from South Vietnam, evidently to avoid offending the new government in Saigon. Most ships carrying Americans and South Vietnamese are being allowed to put into the American base at Subic Bay only for supplies and fuel. Where South Vietnamese are allowed to disembark, they are at once put aboard flights to Guam, fifteen hundred miles to the west.

Six ships from Vietnam arrived at Subic Bay today, among them the Carrier Hancock. David COHLER reports.

DAVID COHLER: After four days and nights at sea, the first of the many thousands of Americans and South Vietnamese evacuated out of Saigon last Tuesday arrived here at Subic Bay Naval Base. There were a total of two thousand evacuees aboard the attack carrier Hancock, and, although their quarters were comfortable, though cramped, they were happy to set foot on dry land.

Most on this ship were Vietnamese nationals. To avoid difficulties with Filipino immigration authorities, they were taken just offshore to Grandie (?) Island for processing, the term used here for checking their papers and documents.

The two hundred Americans from the Hancock were taken to a separate area at Subic. Many of them were under contract to the Defense Attache Office and declined to be filmed.

Authorities here either could or would not say what arrangements have been made for U. S. Ambassador Graham MARTIN and former South Vietnamese Premier Nguyen Cao KY. Both were re-

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ported aboard the Command Ship Blue Ridge still at sea.

David COHLER, NBC News, at Subic Bay in the Philippines.

NEWMAN: In this country, more than ninety-six hundred South Vietnamese have now been released to settle where they will. The State Department gave out that figure today.

There are twenty-seven thousand Vietnamese on Guam, including forty-five technicians from what had been South Vietnam's Air Force. The technicians say they were taken out against their will and they want to go back to their families, and they've asked President FORD to help.

McGovern, Byrd Comment on Refugees

NEWMAN: Senator George McGOVERN said today that most of the South Vietnamese who came out were not in danger and that they left out of panic. McGOVERN said that ninety percent of those who left would be better off going back and that the United States should help them to do so.

Senator BYRD of West Virginia, the Assistant Democratic Leader, said that other countries should take the refugee load off the backs of American taxpayers. BYRD mentioned Brazil, Venezuela, Iran, Indonesia, the Philippines, Japan and France.

Ford Commissions the Nimitz

NEWMAN: President FORD went to Norfolk, Virginia today for the commissioning of a new carrier for the Navy, the Nimitz.

John COCHRAN reports.

JOHN COCHRAN: Named for the fleet admiral of World War II fame, the Aircraft Carrier Nimitz is the biggest warship afloat. Her official cost, six hundred ninety-two million dollars. Privately, Navy officials say that's a conservative estimate.

There was nothing conservative about her commissioning. The Navy provided full honors for the ship and the President.

Former naval officer Gerald FORD told the crowd that aircraft carriers made possible the final evacuation of Americans and Vietnamese from Saigon. The President said the new carrier, the Nimitz, can show the world the United States still has vast power.

PRESIDENT GERALD FORD: To all this great ship is visible evidence of our commitment to friends and allies and our capability to maintain those commitments.

We are strong. We will continue to be strong. We will keep our commitments, and we will remain a great country.

Zumwalt Sees Loss of Naval Superiority

NEWMAN: Admiral Elmo ZUMWALT, the former Chief of Naval Operations, said today in New York that American naval strength has been dwindling for years because Congress won't put up the money that is needed. The result, ZUMWALT said, was that the Russians follow a policy of differential detente. They behave where they must and misbehave where they can.

ADMIRAL ELMO ZUMWALT: The Soviet Union, with one-half of our gross national product, is spending over twelve percent for military capability while we, with twice their gross national product, are spending only a little over five percent. And therefore, as Secretary SCHLESINGER has recently revealed, they have outspent us in total numbers of dollars ever since 1971.

And how can any American expect that we can keep them within reach as they outspend us? They are considered good and reliable allies, even if they have to invade you from time to time to demonstrate it. We are considered very poor allies, and we're seeing accommodations tilting away from us and tilting toward Moscow all around the world today as a result.

Update on the McDonald Case

NEWMAN: Five years ago, the wife and children of Army Captain Jeffrey McDONALD (?) were murdered at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. The case got a lot of publicity because McDONALD was a Green Beret officer, opposition to the Vietnam war was growing, and McDONALD said a group of hippies killed his family after clubbing him unconscious.

In January of this year, McDONALD himself was indicted for the murder, and pre-trial hearings begin on Monday.

Kenley JONES reports.

KENLEY JONES: This is where the murders took place, a small officers' quarters apartment at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. The apartment has been sealed during the five years the case has been under investigation. It was occupied by Captain Jeffrey McDONALD, a Green Beret medical officer, and his family.

His wife, Colette, his five year old daughter Kimberly and his two year old daughter Kristine (?) were the murder victims. McDONALD claimed the apartment

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was broken into by a group of hippies, three men who looked something like this, and a young girl who kept chanting "kill the pigs; acid is groovy." He said he was beaten and stabbed repeatedly in the livingroom of the apartment. When he regained consciousness, he said he found his wife dead or dying in the master bedroom and the two children dead in their beds; all three had been brutally beaten.

After the funerals, the Army conducted a preliminary hearing to determine whether there was enough evidence to court-martial McDONALD for the murders. After the hearing here was concluded and no charges were brought against McDONALD, he applied for and was given a discharge from the Army which allowed him to pursue his private medical practice.

McDONALD today is on the emergency room staff of a hospital in Long Beach, California. Federal prosecutors say new scientific analysis of evidence, not available five years ago, is the basis for McDonald's indictment. McDONALD will not talk about the case, except to say there is nothing new to be said.

The parents of McDONALD's murdered wife, Colette, disagree. The case was re-opened after Mr. and Mrs. Alfred KASABE (?) swore out a criminal complaint charging McDONALD with the murders. KASABE says he made the decision after studying transcripts of the preliminary hearing.

ALFRED KASABE: I read this transcript through, oh, innumerable times; maybe twenty, thirty times. And the more I read it through, the more I realized that the story as he told it had to be a fabrication. It could not have happened the way he said it happened.

JONES: McDONALD's attorneys will ask the judge Monday to move the trial from North Carolina to California where there is an ample supply of character witnesses who can be expected to testify that the man accused of takinglives is now in the business of saving them.

Kenley JONES, NBC News, Fort Bragg, North Carolina.

CBS EVENING NEWS CBS TV 6:30 PM
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Refugees Enroute to Guam, Philippines

DAN RATHER: Amid the Pacific islands that became household names in World War II, American Navy ships and other vessels are sailing tonight for the Philippines and for Guam carrying victims of a newer war -- seventy thousand refugees who fled South Vietnam in the final hours of that conflict that ended last Tuesday. Thousands more will arrive in the United States this weekend.

At Subic Bay, the Philippines, the U.S.S. Hancock and other ships arrived with ten thousand people. An armada of American and Vietnamese ships carried others to Guam.

The Philippine government, determined to avoid any trouble with the new communist regime in Vietnam, says the refugees can stay at Subic Bay only three days at most. American planes began shuttling them immediately to Guam. And the Philippine government promised to arrest Marshal Nguyen Cao KY if the former South Vietnamese leader arrives at Subic Bay aboard the U.S.S. Blue Ridge. U. S. officials said KY will be off the ship before it docks.

On Guam, Bruce DUNNING found some other high-ranking Vietnamese officers.

BRUCE DUNNING: The men going through the gate into the immigration processing area were once some of the most powerful and most feared men in Saigon; three of them brigadier generals who headed police operations in Vietnam. They were escorted past the lines of other Vietnamese evacuees who wait long hours to be cleared to go to the U. S.

The men were grim-faced and refused to talk to newsmen as they went through the processing. This man is being processed under the name of Tung Bai (?). But other Vietnamese identified him as General Nguyen Tai Dai (?), chief of the special police branch that investigated Viet Cong political activity.

With him was a man who claimed to be an infantry colonel. He was identified as General Tran Van Chau (?), chief of the National Secret Police Branch that handled surveillance of opposition politicians in Vietnam.

Another man ran into some snags as he processed, accused -- wrongly, as it turned out -- of juggling figures on his application form. He was Saigon's police chief, General Trang Si Thanh (?).

As the generals completed their processing for a trip to the United States, a group of noncommissioned officers was pleading for a trip in the other direction. The group consists of forty-five aircraft mechanics, a small number out of the nearly two thousand Air Force men who escaped from Vietnam with their

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planes to Thailand. These men, however, said they didn't realize the planes were going out of Vietnam when they boarded in Saigon. They were then in the midsts of a shelling attack, they said, and they thought the planes were just being taken to a safer airfield.

Master Sergeant Tien Thanh Thong left behind his wife and two children in Saigon.

M/SGT TIEN THANH THONG: If we go back to South Vietnam, the communists will kill -- will kill on us [sic]. But we are ready to be killed.

DUNNING: The forty-five men have written a letter to President FORD asking him to arrange their return to Saigon.

"Most of us still have our families in Vietnam and we would not for any price be able to live by ourselves in a foreign country. We therefore do hope that with your humanitarian plan in mind you would find a way to send us back to South Vietnam as soon as possible, no matter what the communist government is reserving for us."

It's signed "Yours faithfully, forty-five unwilling evacuees."

Bruce DUNNING, CBS News, Orote Point, Guam.

McGovern: Evacuation "Final Blunder"

RATHER: Senator George McGOVERN said today that the mass evacuation of the Vietnamese refugees may be America's "final blunder in Vietnam." He said most of them would be better off in their native country now that the initial panic has subsided. His words.

McGOVERN said he will introduce a bill making U. S. ships and planes available to any refugees who voluntarily decide to go home.

Report on Refugee Resettlement Plans

RATHER: The government's estimate today of the number of Vietnamese refugees coming into this country is up to one hundred twenty-seven thousand, three times the administration's original prediction.

Lesley STAHL reports from Washington on the current plans for their resettlement.

LESLEY STAHL: Decisions about the refugees are made here in the Operations Room of the Inter-Agency Task Force. It's headed by State Department Vietnam hands who've worked non-stop on the evacuation, but have paid little attention to the question of domestic resettlement. They have now turned that problem over to a number of private relief organizations.

FRANK WISNER: We have been in contact, as I said, with the voluntary agencies who have the longest record, longest experience in the resettlement of evacuees in this country. These are people who go back and have resettled tens and tens of thousands of foreigners from all sorts of lands -- Hungarians, Cubans, Ugandan Asians. And their record's been very good. And I'm very pleased with what they have to say.

STAHL: But the agencies complain that they've not been getting the kind of full support from the administration that they need.

WELLS KLEIN: I think the administration, the State Department and its Task Force pulled one major error, which is that they were totally preoccupied with the evacuation and the logistics of Guam, and that [sort of thing]. And what they did not do was to say to half a dozen people "don't worry about the evacuation; go over in this corner and start thinking about what should be done when the refugees get to this country. Get in touch with the voluntary agencies; start making plans. We need lead time." This was not done and we're paying for it now.

STAHL: The Department of Health, Education and Welfare plans to assist the agencies and also to take care of unemployed refugees by reimbursing state and local governments for their expenses.

JULIA TAFT: This will be money for welfare and Medicaid, and social services, language training, certain kind of skills training, although many of the people who are coming over do have skills already. But just the basic social services and income maintenance and health that might be required for these people to become self-sufficient.

STAHL: Congress defeated the Refugee Aid Bill last week because it mentioned military support for the evacuation. The administration told Congress at that time that the refugee program would cost roughly three hundred million dollars over the next six months. When the administration comes back to Congress next week, it will be asking for twice that amount.

Lesley STAHL, CBS News, on Capitol Hill.

Nimitz Commissioned

RATHER: This country's latest super carrier, the USS Nimitz, cost six hundred ninety-two million dollars.

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That was two hundred and fifty million more than planned.

President FORD today officially put the monster ship into service. Robert PIERPOINT was there.

ROBERT PIERPOINT: The U.S.S. Nimitz is the world's largest warship. Shown here in sea trials, the Nimitz is over three football fields long, displaces ninety-five thousand tons, takes more than six thousand men to operate. The Nimitz is powered by two nuclear reactors making her the second nuclear carrier in the Navy. The Enterprise was the first in the fleet; two others, the Eisenhower and the Vinson are under construction.

The Nimitz took seven years to build, cost close to seven hundred million dollars, without the one hundred aircraft she carries.

Today in Norfolk, Virginia, President FORD participated in the commissioning ceremonies that officially makes the Nimitz a fighting ship.

PRESIDENT GERALD FORD: The Nimitz joins the fleet at an auspicious moment when our determination to strengthen our ties with allies across both great oceans and to work for peace and stability around the world requires clear demonstration.

PIERPOINT: President FORD's visit to this ship emphasizes two points: a continued commitment to a strong U. S. Navy, even when its ships, like this carrier, cost well over a half a billion dollars each, and a continued commitment to America's military alliances around the world, despite what has happened recently in Indochina.

Robert PIERPOINT, CBS News, Norfolk, Virginia.

Report from Danang, South Vietnam

RATHER: North Vietnam said today it is reopening its border to the South Vietnamese and said it is launching a massive reconstruction program that will give jobs to people in the South. Other reports say factories in the South are reopening.

Peter KALISCHER has been travelling through the North and South to see the aftermath of the war for himself. Here is his exclusive report on Danang, South Vietnam.

PETER KALISCHER: The Danang marketplace the afternoon the first American newsmen and one woman go on a guided tour of areas now under the control of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, what was once known as the Viet Cong. There must be ten thousand people here, more motor bikes and scooters than we saw in all of Hanoi. The Esso gas pump is smashed, but it's business as usual in jerry cans.

Dr. Thomas HOSKINS of Morristown, New Jersey, of the American Friends Service Committee, who came to work in the German hospital two days before the takeover and stayed on.

When the revolutionary army came in and took over everything, including this hospital, what did they ask of you? What was their attitude toward you?

DR. THOMAS HOSKINS: On the first day, the Friday night, I was quite involved in work here. And that turned out to be the day of the takeover.

The way I learned about it was I noticed that the shooting in the streets stopped at about noon, that patients began to return, staff members began to return. I didn't realize that the city had been liberated, frankly, until I got out in the streets that evening. I saw jeeps with citizens in them flying the liberation flag. I saw tanks coming down the streets, this time driven by students decked out in Buddhist flags; a very different scene than before.

And my first meeting with the cadres of the Liberation Front here at the hospital was when they came on Monday, I believe, and introduced themselves and asked me what I thought of the situation. And I told them.

KALISCHER: Was there anything you could possibly describe as a bloodbath after the revolutionary army took over?

DR. HOSKINS: Nothing whatsoever. Nothing whatsoever.

KALISCHER: Right now Danang has the best of two worlds -- peace and sacks of American supplies abandoned by the Saigon marines and either looted on the spot or distributed by the revolutionary army -- no profiteering allowed.

The dominant note is one of relaxation. The final battle has been fought. For better or worse, the war is over, and how could it be for worse?

Peter KALISCHER, CBS News, Danang.

Anniversary of Kent State

RATHER: Memorial observances are being held this weekend on the campus of Kent State University where five years ago tomorrow National Guard gunfire killed four students protesting the Indochina war.

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Veteran Reflects on Vietnam

RATHER: This historic week has been a time of reflection too for the millions who served in that war. Morton DEAN reports on one veteran whose story begins in Quangtri, South Vietnam four years ago.

MORTON DEAN: He wrote and sang a different kind of protest song. In February, 1971, Wayne FORBES was angry that the U. S. was not going all-out to win in Vietnam.

WAYNE FORBES (Singing): I've heard veterans/soldiers say/we could end this war tomorrow/we could end it today.

DEAN: It had been a bad day for FORBES; his unit hit hard; one of his closest friends killed. FORBES was a helicopter pilot, daring, heroic; Distinguished Flying Cross, Silver Star, Bronze Star, four Purple Hearts; a hawk.

FORBES: I believed that what my small unit was doing there in the northern part of Vietnam on the DMZ was correct. We were keeping the communists from coming south into a -- into a -- a democratic republic. And we were right. We were keeping the bad guys from coming south.

DEAN: And now?

FORBES: And now? I think you have to be realistic about it and say there wasn't really anything we could do about it.

DEAN: The night after Saigon surrendered, we caught up with FORBES in Abbeville, Louisiana. His views about why we fought and who was right had changed.

Wayne FORBES, hawk that I remember from 1971, dramatic change in you....

FORBES: Very.

DEAN: ...in your words.

FORBES: Very. I -- when we talked I was so committed to that situation; so committed to the battle; so egotistical that I thought that I could probably whip anybody that stepped up in front of me that I was fiercely (?) hawk. But I've changed my opinion a little bit, and I think maybe the North Vietnamese won because they were right.

DEAN: That's a big change for you.

FORBES: Quite a big change. Quite a big change.

DEAN: FORBES, who had volunteered for additional duty in Vietnam, is still seeking adventure; still flies for a living; ferries helicopters to Peru where he carries oil rigs into the jungle. He says he thinks about the war frequently; it just won't go away, about what the war cost. And on this week the war ended, he thought about it some more.

FORBES: What was it worth? All of these things -- it's wasted. All of my -- all of my friends over there who didn't make it back were wasted.

DEAN: There were a lot of them.

FORBES: Quite -- quite a few. Many, many.

DEAN: Morton DEAN, CBS News, Abbeville, Louisiana.

NBC SUNDAY NIGHT NEWS NBC TV 6:30 PM
MAY 4

Pre-empted by NHL Playoffs

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