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WOULD HONOR ITS TREATY AGREEMENTS THAN HAD BREZHNEV'S ON 26 OCTOBER,
 WHEN THE MOST SERIOUS PHASE OF THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS FOR SOVIET-US
 RELATIONS HAD JUST ENDED. PROMISING SOVIET ADHERENCE TO TREATY OBLI-
 GATIONS, KOSYGIN ASSERTED: "WE BELIEVE THAT THE US GOVERNMENT IS
 DISPLAYING A SIMILAR APPROACH TO THE AGREEMENTS WHICH HAVE BEEN CON-
 CLUDED." BREZHNEV HAD CLAIMED THE USSR WAS "CONSCIENTIOUSLY FULFILL-
 ING" ITS TREATY AGREEMENTS WITH THE US AND ADDED POINTEDLY, "NATUR-
 ALLY WE ARE EXPECTING THE SAME FROM THE OTHER SIDE." IN NEW DELHI,
 BREZHNEV ALSO SOUNDED MORE CONFIDENT THAN BEFORE, ASSERTING A FIRM
 SOVIET INTENTION TO DEEPEN DETENTE, AND NOTING THAT MOSCOW "OF COURSE
 PROCEEDS FROM THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE AMERICAN SIDE WILL ACT ACCORD-
 INGLY."//

KOSYGIN SEEMED CAUTIOUS AND REALISTIC ABOUT THE HURDLES FACING
 DETENTE, HOWEVER. HE DESCRIBED THE "STRUGGLE TO MAKE THE PRINCIPLES
 OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE A UNIVERSAL NORM" AS DEMANDING "STRENUOUS"
 AND "PROLONGED" EFFORTS. KOSYGIN CITED THE STANDARD SOVIET FOREIGN
 POLICY GOALS APPROVED BY THE 24TH PARTY CONGRESS IN 1971, WHICH LIST
 PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND THE AVOIDANCE OF WORLD WAR AFTER BUILDING
 COMMUNISM, INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST UNITY AND SUPPORT OF NATIONAL
 LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, SINCE THE CONGRESS, BREZHNEV'S OWN FORMULATIONS

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OF FOREIGN POLICY GOALS HAVE EVOLVED INTO A GREATER EMPHASIS ON
DETENTE AND ARMS LIMITATION.

KOSYGIN PRAISED BREZHNEV'S 26 OCTOBER SPEECH FOR ITS COMPREHEN-
SIVENESS AND "PROFOUND CONCLUSIONS," HOWEVER, AND ACKNOWLEDGED BREZH-
NEV'S PERSONAL ROLE, ALONGSIDE POLITBURO AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE
EFFORTS, IN RECENT SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY SUCCESSES.

ON THE CHINESE PROBLEM KOSYGIN ALSO STOOD SQUARELY WITH BREZH-
NEV. KOSYGIN LISTED THE "PRESENT CHINESE LEADERSHIP" AMONG THE
"ENEMIES OF DETENTE," AND PUT THE ONUS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF SINO-SOVIET
RELATIONS ON PEKING. "IF THE CHINESE SIDE IS REALLY INTERESTED IN
IMPROVING RELATIONS, IT MUST FIRST REPLY TO THE CONSTRUCTIVE PRO-
POSALS SUBMITTED TO CHINA BY THE USSR AND PROCEED TO DISCUSS THEM IN
A BUSINESSLIKE WAY." BREZHNEV HAD STRUCK SIMILAR NOTES IN HIS SPEECH
OF 26 OCTOBER AS WELL AS IN HIS TASHKENT SPEECH ON 24 SEPTEMBER.

(CONFIDENTIAL)

2. USSR: MOSCOW'S CLAMPDOWN ON ACTIVE DISSIDENTS CONTINUES TO
SHOW CONSIDERABLE SUCCESS. SIGNS OF DISARRAY AMONG FORMER CHAMPIONS
OF THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT ARE NUMEROUS. MANY WHO HAD BEEN ARRESTED
HAVE APPARENTLY LOST HOPE FOR THEIR CAUSE AND HAVE PUBLICLY RECANTED
OR COLLABORATED WITH THE AUTHORITIES IN RETURN FOR LENIENT TREAT-

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MENT. OTHERS HAVE EMIGRATED OR ARE CONSIDERING GOING INTO EXILE. THE REMAINING ACTIVISTS ARE BEING SUBJECTED TO INTENSE PRESSURES.

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE DISSIDENT MOVEMENT, REPORTEDLY ORDERED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE IN DECEMBER 1971, HAS HAD TWO PRINCIPAL TRIUMPHS TO DATE. THE FIRST WAS THE SILENCING OF THE CHRONICLE OF CURRENT EVENTS, WHICH CEASED PUBLICATION IN 1972 AFTER A SERIES OF ARRESTS AND INTERROGATIONS. THE SECOND WAS THE CAPITULATION OF PYOTR YAKIR AND VIKTOR KRASIN, FORMER LEADING SPOKESMEN OF THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT WHO COLLABORATED WITH THE KGB AND DENOUNCED THEIR FORMER ACTIVITIES AND ASSOCIATES IN A SHOW TRIAL HELD FROM 27 AUGUST TO 1 SEPTEMBER. THEIR EXAMPLE HAS BEEN FOLLOWED BY AT LEAST TWO OTHERS: IRINA BELOGORODSKAYA, A MOSCOW DISSIDENT AND IVAN DZYUBA, A UKRAINIAN NATIONALIST. BELOGORODSKAYA REPORTEDLY GAVE EVIDENCE AGAINST OTHER DISSIDENTS, AND DZYUBA PUBLICLY RECANTED IN RETURN FOR RELEASE FROM CONFINEMENT IN MID-NOVEMBER.

THERE ARE OTHER SIGNS OF DEMORALIZATION AMONG ACTIVE DISSIDENTS. THERE HAVE BEEN AT LEAST TWO RECENT SUICIDES, AND MANY DISSIDENTS ARE SEEKING TO JOIN THOSE WHO HAVE GONE INTO EXILE IN THE WEST OR ISRAEL. ANDREY SAKHAROV, WHO WITH NOVELIST ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN CONSTITUTES THE MOST PROMINENT REMAINING VOICE OF OPPOSITION, TOLD WESTERN

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JOURNALISTS ON 28 NOVEMBER THAT HE INTENDS TO SEEK TO LEAVE THE USSR WITH HIS FAMILY. HIS DEPARTURE WOULD ADD TO THE PRESENT MALAISE IN OPPOSITION CIRCLES. AMONG THE FACTORS WHICH PROBABLY LED SAKHAROV TO SEEK AN EXIT VISA WERE KGB HINTS TO HIS WIFE THAT SHE MIGHT BE TRIED OR INCARCERATED IN A MENTAL ASYLUM. THREATS OF THIS SORT WERE GIVEN ADDED FORCE ON 26 NOVEMBER WHEN YURI SHIKHANOVICH, A MOSCOW DISSIDENT, WAS ORDERED CONFINED TO A MENTAL HOSPITAL.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE REGIME CONTINUES TO OPERATE WITH AN ELEMENT OF CAUTION. AT LEAST ONE DISSIDENT WHO IS NOT KNOWN TO HAVE RECANTED--ANDREY AMALRIK, AUTHOR OF WILL THE USSR SURVIVE TILL 1984--HAD HIS THREE-YEAR PRISON TERM REDUCED TO A PERIOD OF EXILE AFTER AN APPEAL. AMALRIK WILL SPEND HIS EXILE IN THE SOVIET FAR EAST, FAR FROM WESTERN JOURNALISTS. HIS HEALTH HAS NOT BEEN GOOD, AND THE GRANTING OF LENIENCY MAY HAVE BEEN INFLUENCED BY CONCERN FOR THE CRITICISM THAT WOULD HAVE RESULTED FROM HIS DEATH IN A LABOR CAMP. //THE EMBASSY REPORTS THAT// AMALRIK HAD CONDUCTED A 117-DAY HUNGER STRIKE PRIOR TO HIS RELEASE, SUGGESTING THAT PRESSURES STILL OPERATE BOTH WAYS. (~~CONFIDENTIAL~~)

§3. USSR-INDIA: MOSCOW AND NEW DELHI HAVE GOOD REASON TO BE SATISFIED WITH THE RECENTLY CONCLUDED VISIT

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PRAVDA LAUNCHED ITS TOUGHEST ATTACK ON ISRAEL IN SEVERAL WEEKS
LAST FRIDAY, ACCUSING TEL AVIV OF TRYING TO PURSUE ITS PRE-OCTOBER
COURSE AND OF PLACING EVERY POSSIBLE OBSTACLE IN THE WAY OF A POLITI-
CAL SETTLEMENT. THE FOLLOWING DAY, MOSCOW RADIO GAVE ITS TACIT AP-
PROVAL TO CAIRO'S DECISION TO BREAK OFF THE TALKS AT KILOMETER 101
AND WARNED OF A SHARP INCREASE IN TENSIONS CAUSED BY ISRAELI ACTIVI-
TY. A TASS OFFICIAL, HOWEVER, HAS EXPRESSED NO SPECIAL CONCERN OVER
THE BREAKDOWN OF THE TALKS AND HAS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SOVIET-DEPEND-
ENTS ARE RETURNING TO EGYPT.

//WHAT IS ESPECIALLY NETTLESOME TO THE USSR AT THIS JUNCTURE IS
THE BUDDING US-EGYPTIAN RELATIONSHIP. SOVIET OFFICIALS IN CAIRO HAVE
QUESTIONED BOTH US VISITORS AND THE EGYPTIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY ABOUT
RELATIONS BETWEEN CAIRO AND WASHINGTON.//

IN RESPONSE TO THE SOVIET DEMARCHES, AND IN AN APPARENT EFFORT TO
ENSURE THAT EGYPT'S MAJOR SOURCE OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT IS NOT CUT OFF
AT THIS CRITICAL JUNCTURE, THE EGYPTIANS ARE DEMONSTRATING OVERT
GRATITUDE AND AFFECTION FOR THE USSR. IN FRIDAY'S AL AHRAM, FOR
EXAMPLE, INFLUENTIAL EDITOR HAYKAL TERMED THE SOVIET-EGYPTIAN RELA-
TIONSHIP "VITAL AND IRREPLACEABLE FOR ARAB PEACE." //HE WROTE THAT
RELATIONS WITH THE US SHOULD NOT BE PERMITTED TO DIMINISH THE SOVIET

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ROLE.// (SECRET)

5. ARAB STATES - ISRAEL: ISRAEL AND EGYPT APPEAR TO BE EDGING TOWARD AN AGREEMENT TO RESUME DISENGAGEMENT TALKS AT KILOMETER 101.

AN EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN SAID ON 3 DECEMBER THAT INDIRECT DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL ARE UNDER WAY AND RESULTS CAN BE EXPECTED "PERHAPS IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE." CAIRO STILL INSISTS, HOWEVER, THAT BEFORE IT WILL AGREE TO RESUME THE TALKS TEL AVIV MUST INDICATE A WILLINGNESS TO CHANGE ITS "INTRANSIGENT" BARGAINING POSITION ON TROOP PULLBACKS. LOWER LEVEL CONTACTS BETWEEN ISRAELI AND EGYPTIAN MILITARY COMMANDERS, MEANWHILE, ARE CONTINUING. LOCAL COMMANDERS ALONG THE FRONT ARE KEEPING IN TOUCH AND MEETINGS HAVE BEEN HELD AT KILOMETER 101 TO DISCUSS MATTERS SUCH AS THE TRANSFER OF SUPPLIES TO SUEZ CITY.

FOR THE SECOND CONSECUTIVE DAY, RELATIVELY HEAVY EXCHANGES OF FIRE ERUPTED ON THE SYRIAN FRONT. THE SYRIANS APPARENTLY AGAIN FIRED ON ISRAELI CONSTRUCTION ACTIVITY NEAR THE CEASE-FIRE LINES WITH SMALL ARMS, ANTI-TANK, AND ARTILLERY. DAMASCUS CLAIMS TO HAVE DESTROYED ONE BULLDOZER AND A HALF-TRACK AND KILLED OR WOUNDED 15 ISRAELIS AT A COST OF ONE SYRIAN KILLED AND FOUR WOUNDED. THE ISRAELIS ADMITTED TO FOUR WOUNDED.

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TEL AVIV PLANS TO PRESENT REPORTS TO THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS UCD OTHW INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS CHARGING EGYPT WITH TORTURING ISRAELI PRISONERS OF WAR, ACCORDING TO AN ISRAELI RADIO BROADCAST. THE BROADCAST CLAIMED OFFICIALS DEBRIEFING THE POWS LEARNED OF TORTURE AND EVEN MURDER BY THE EGYPTIANS. IN AN INITIAL RESPONSE, AN EGYPTIAN EMBASSY SPOKESMAN IN LONDON DENIED THE ISRAELI ALLEGATIONS AND COUNTERED WITH CHARGES OF ISRAELI MISTREATMENT OF EGYPTIAN POWS.

//SOME INFLUENTIAL ISRAELIS, MEANWHILE, MAY BE ARGUING FOR A MORE FLEXIBLE ISRAELI POSITION CONCERNING A POSSIBLE US SECURITY GUARANTEE FOR ISRAEL AS PART OF A MIDDLE EAST PEACE PACKAGE. IN A NEWSPAPER ARTICLE ON 2 DECEMBER, AN ISRAELI JOURNALIST, WHO IN THE PAST HAS REFLECTED MINISTER OF DEFENSE DAYAN'S VIEWS, CALLED FOR A FRESH LOOK AT THE IDEA AND ADDITIONAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE US. NOTING SENATOR FULBRIGHT'S CALL FOR A SENATE-CONFIRMED US-ISRAELI DEFENSE TIE, THE JOURNALIST POINTED OUT THAT SUCH CONFIRMATION WOULD BIND FUTURE US ADMINISTRATIONS AND WOULD BE MUCH MORE MEANINGFUL THAN PREVIOUS ARRANGEMENTS. IN AN APPARENT RESPONSE TO PRIME MINISTER MEIR'S POSITION THAT INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES ARE NO SUBSTITUTE FOR DEFENSIBLE BORDERS, THE ARTICLE STATES THAT AMERICAN "PHYSICAL AND

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CONCRETE" GUARANTEES SHOULD INFLUENCE ISRAEL'S DECISION ON SECURE BORDERS.//

ANOTHER ISRAELI JOURNALIST PROBABLY REFLECTED THE VIEWS OF MORE HARD-LINE ISRAELI GROUPS WHEN HE STATED IN THE JERUSALEM POST ON 30 NOVEMBER THAT THE ISRAELI DEFENSE FORCE (IDF) MUST FIND A NEW DETERRENT FORMULA TO IMPRESS UPON THE ARABS THE HOPELESSNESS OF FUTURE MILITARY ACTION. THE AUTHOR CLAIMS THAT ONLY CONTINUED MOBILIZATION AND A PERMANENT HIGH STATE OF ALERT WILL KEEP THE ARABS AT BAY, BUT ADMITS THAT ISRAEL WOULD FIND THIS "INTOLERABLE." THE IDF, HE SAYS, MUST THEREFORE DEVELOP A DOCTRINE THAT EXPLOITS FULLY ISRAEL'S NEW WEAPONS SYSTEMS AND SUPERIOR MANPOWER.

SOME EGYPTIAN COMMENTATORS CONTINUE TO EMPHASIZE THE MILITARY OPTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST EQUATION. ONE COMMENTATOR CLAIMED ON 3 DECEMBER THAT EGYPTIAN ARMED FORCES ARE IN A CONSTANT STATE OF ALERT AND THAT ISRAEL'S BEHAVIOR CAN BE INFLUENCED ONLY BY AMERICAN PRESSURE OR ARAB MILITARY PRESSURE. (~~CONFIDENTIAL~~) E-2 IMPDET.

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