

temporary basis. The PLO, under the iron fist of General Assad, thus now looks toward the West Bank as a place for gaining a respite, rebuilding political autonomy. But because of the unstable nature of Arab politics, Israel's strategy cannot rest on the reliability of peace. Sadat? Who will be his successor? Vice-President Mubarak? All we know about him is that he was trained at a Soviet military academy....

So Israel's problem is the following: Israel is therefore not ready to concede the 1967 borders. Israel will do everything to keep the occupied territory that it can. The question then is: How to secure Israel's borders since the 1973 war, which — contrary to speculation — made the territories even *more* important as a security guarantee?

After 1973, Israel embarked on an effort to maintain the existing arms balance with the Arabs, a 1:3 ratio. But the Arabs have vast resources, and Israel cannot hope to maintain even that unfavorable ratio. As Dayan says, correctly, you cannot both get conventional weapons from the U.S. and keep the territories. The U.S. will use its leverage to force an Israeli withdrawal. Another convincing point in Dayan's argument is that the arms race is crippling Israel's economy. "We are destroying ourselves," says Dayan, and the Americans will demand a price.

So, what Dayan says is to use nuclear deterrent to retain the territories. There will be no peace, because the conflict is a basic conflict of nationalisms, and cannot be resolved. Concessions and demilitarization are impossible. So Israel can get out of most of Sinai, some of the Golan Heights, none of the West Bank, and make the cost — to the Arabs — of changing the status quo too high to pay.

This is not the government's strategy, that of Rabin and Allon. But the question is how to survive, to grow as a Jewish state? The answer is that Israel must make an all out offensive too costly for the Arabs: One atom bomb on the Aswan Dam would kill over 90 percent of Egypt's population. And thermonuclear weapons would destroy Arab oil fields, permanently. So that's the issue.

Marcus Raskin: The Middle East Link to SALT

I am not a believer in deterrence. Even between the U.S. and the USSR, other factors are more important in preventing war than the nuclear deterrent. In the Middle East, it is therefore wrong to think that nuclear weapons will allow Israel to keep the territories because that threat cannot prevent war. In an area where there have been four wars in 25 years, the danger is that one uses the weapons one has. If there is another war in the Middle East, atomic, biological and chemical will be employed. An armaments system is not a guarantee of a settlement.

Thus, there is little to trade off.

What about the great powers? Well, Dayan is absolutely right when he says that the U.S. would like to get our from under the Israeli noose. And the Soviets would like to get out of *their* locked dance in the Middle East, and their foreign commitments there. Therefore, the U.S., for instance, must not honor its arms sales commitments to Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Israel. Under the shadow of the threat of nuclear war, the U.S. and Soviets must confront the issue of armaments into the area. A Middle East settlement is ultimately linked to U.S.-Soviet disarmament, and SALT.

All Sides Denounce Carter's 'Mediator' In Cyprus

Clark Clifford, Jimmy Carter's emissary to the Eastern Mediterranean, was dispatched to Greece, Turkey and Cyprus last week on a trip to restore U.S.-NATO control over the Greece-Turkey-Cyprus axis and block out Soviet influence in the region. He was not greeted with a hearty welcome.

First, the Clifford "mediating mission" was preempted when Greek Cypriot leader Archbishop Makarios and Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash met for the first time in 11 years and took major steps toward a peaceful settlement of the long-manipulated Cyprus conflict days before Clifford's arrival.

Arriving in Athens Feb. 18, Clifford was received by the Greek Communist press with headlines: "Clifford Is Delivering the New Truman Doctrine to Greece." Remembering his "key role in drafting" the Truman Doctrine, which set up Europe for post-World War II dollar domination, Clifford declared that "it is appropriate now after 30 years that the U.S. reapproach

Greece and Turkey on the same basis as they did at that time."

Serious concern was expressed by Greek officials over Clifford's pressures on the government to reinstate U.S. military bases in Greece and return the nation to the NATO military command from which it withdrew in 1974. Earlier this month, Greece sent a communique to NATO headquarters in Brussels stating that Athens would maintain a "pick and choose" relationship with NATO, similar to that adopted by Gaullist France in 1967.

The strongest denunciations of Clifford's mission, however, came from Turkey, where he arrived Feb. 20. Outraged Turkish officials recognized the trip to be part of a confrontation strategy which could lead to world war, charging that "the Clifford trip has far more significance than Cyprus per se." It marks the beginning of initiatives by the Carter Administration "to make changes in the world balance of power." This, said the officials, involves an "interventionist foreign policy,

such as interfering in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union."

The Turkish press accused the United States of meddling in Turkey's affairs, attempting to buy Turkish cooperation by promising to lift the U.S. arms embargo. The Turkish Foreign Ministry dismissed Clifford's trip as "untimely and unnecessary;" it could only complicate a Cyprus settlement he stated.

Turkey's attack on Carter foreign policy in general is consistent with the steady growth of its economic and political ties to the Soviet Union, a relationship that the Carter Administration is intent upon breaking by imposing its NATO "solution" on Cyprus. That "solution" involves keeping regional tensions aflame.

This week Makarios declared that Clifford's mission will not make the "slightest contribution" to drawing together the two sides in Cyprus. Rauf Denktash, who earlier denounced Clifford's trip as "indecent," attacked the U.S. government for rushing to name a "mediator" as soon as progress in Cyprus had been achieved.

Clifford was denounced by West Germany, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union. The Soviets called the Clifford trip a NATO provocation charging that his "new plan" for Cyprus involves the transfer of British bases there to the U.S. and Cyprus' renunciation of its non-aligned foreign policy. The West German *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* newspaper reminded its readership that Clifford's involvement in the Truman Doctrine's anti-communist campaigns cost the Eastern Mediterranean at least 100,000 lives. "The recent spectacular developments in Cyprus," notes the *Times* gleefully, have "restricted the scope of Mr. Clifford's mission."

In an effort to discredit Makarios, to make it impossible for Denktash and the Turks to deal with him, the *Washington Post* invented the idea that the Archbishop

like other heads of state (Venezuela's Perez and Jordan's King Hussein) was maintained for years on the CIA's payroll. Makarios, who is committed to Cyprus' non-alignment reportedly stated that these charges are "even unworthy to be refuted." According to the U.S. press, he is considering legal action against the *Washington Post* and an official protest to the Carter Administration. The British-linked Greek newspaper *Kathimerini* also denounced the *Washington Post* "revelations" as an attempt to sabotage President Makarios' "hardest diplomatic fight for a Cyprus settlement."

Those charges had no impact in Cyprus or Greece and *Kathimerini* exposed the fact that the CIA has been trying to assassinate Makarios, and backed the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974. According to the Greek socialist leader Andreas Papandreou, NATO is preparing a covert operation to get rid of Makarios and replace him with his rival Glafkos Clerides, the former Cypriot Vice President. Clerides visited Washington last month to meet with Cyrus Vance and other administration staffers who are coordinating the operations against Makarios.

In Greece, Prime Minister Constantine Karamanlis is moving away from NATO. He has announced a new government policy to advance relations with the Arab world, in the context of an already established policy of economic and political cooperation with the neighboring Balkan socialist countries. Following a tour of the Arab states by a delegation from the Greek Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Greek government announced the establishment of a Greek-Arab bank with the participation of Libya, Kuwait, and Bahrain, and a Greek-Arab Mediterranean Studies Center for the development of traditional Arab-Greek cultural ties. Karamanlis himself is expected to visit all the leading Arab countries, possibly in the fall of 1977.

Turkish Press: Carter's "Interventionist Policy"

The following are excerpts from an article which appeared in the Turkish daily Cumhuriyet on Feb. 20, the day of Clark Clifford's arrival in Turkey.

According to the official circles in Ankara, President Carter's personal envoy Clark Clifford's visit to Ankara goes far beyond the Cyprus issue and is the beginning of some initiatives connected to Carter's plans to change the global balance. These circles said that Carter, in order to establish a strong NATO whose backing he will need to implement his 'interventionist foreign policy,' has taken a hard line to force allies into concessions, and Clifford's visit to Athens and Ankara can be given as an example of this....

The general view in the capital regarding Clifford's visit is as follows:

Carter does not want any potential hot spots which would threaten the balance in the areas controlled by the United States.... Carter's concern with Cyprus is rather connected to the elimination of the conflict in the

southern flank of the NATO in order to be freer in his interventionist foreign policy, which has already begun to appear in the form of intervention into the internal affairs of the Soviet Union.

Since obviously it is out of the question that Carter could demand concessions only from Turkey, both Greece and Cyprus too will come under pressure from the U.S.... Carter is not concerned with the interests of either Greeks or Turks, but he rather plans to repair the gap in the southern flank as soon as possible in order to proceed with his interventionist policy.

Knowing that economies of Turkey and Greece can no longer carry the added weight of the arms race, Carter will try to use the arms embargo as a trump card to force Turkey and Greece to stay in NATO.

Pravda "Concerning a Trip"

The following is an article which appeared in Pravda Feb. 19 on Clifford's trip to Athens:
ATHENS; Feb. 18 (TASS). The special emissary of the

President of the U.S., C. Clifford, arrived in Athens for talks with the Greek government.

NICOSIA, Feb. 18 (by Pravda's own correspondent, V. Drobkov). Reports on the beginning of a "fact-finding mission" by C. Clifford have aroused great interest in Cyprus. This is because C. Clifford was appointed by the American Administration to investigate the situation in Cyprus, and also to feel out the possibilities for a compromise between the two quarreling NATO allies — Greece and Turkey.

For this purpose C. Clifford, one-time head of the American Pentagon, and at other times U.S. Administration foreign policy advisor on a number of programs, is to visit Athens, Ankara, and Nicosia.

It must be said that both in Athens and, especially, in Nicosia, the new American initiative has evoked serious concern. The obvious attempt by the U.S. to tie together two independent problems — the question of restoration of peace and justice on Cyprus, and the complex disagreements between Athens and Ankara — causes alarm. This raises the danger of equating the Cyprus crisis to a NATO "domestic squabble." There is a danger that some NATO agreement will be reached behind the back of the Cypriots and against their interests on a whole range of matters from the renewal of American military aid to Turkey to the quarrel between Athens and Ankara on the continental shelf in the Aegean Sea.

The choice of a former U.S. defense minister for the role of mediator only bolsters this apprehension. As the Athens paper "Rizospastis" said, the appointment of C. Clifford once again attests to the constant aspirations of the American administration to carry out a NATO version of a solution of the Cyprus problem.

The Cypriots are also unsettled by numerous reports in the Western press about the existence of some "new plan" to resolve the Cyprus problem. This "plan" somehow envisions the transfer of English bases on Cyprus to NATO or U.S. control; repudiation by Cyprus of its non-aligned policy in favor of a pro-West position, and removal of Archbishop Makarios as President under the pretext of creating a "secular state." It is not difficult to see that all these "ideas" are long term goals of the militarists of the North Atlantic bloc, and have more than once led to imperialist provocations against Cyprus.

C. Clifford's mission has already elicited criticism in wide circles of both Cypriot communities. Representatives of progressive public opinion have come out against the mission. Doubts about its success and necessity have been expressed in official circles. As President Makarios recently told journalists, he does not consider that the arrival of the American mission can, at least now, contribute to a rapprochement of the two sides' positions. The leader of the Turkish community R. Denktash expressed regret, that the U.S. hastened to appoint its "intermediary" just when some progress had been achieved on Cyprus.

Now, when as a result of the two meetings between President Makarios and the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community R. Denktash, certain preconditions have been established for mutually acceptable resolution of the problem, the interference of transoceanic "mediators" is, at the very least, inopportune. Behind the speed with which the C. Clifford mission was sent here there is a suspected attempt to interfere in the process of regulation and force a solution on the Cypriots in interests other than their own.