

Foreign Policy Battle: Geneva, Detente At Stake

The Carter Administration spent this week reaffirming its commitment to an early Geneva peace conference based on an understanding between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization, despite a large and growing pressure campaign to prevent such a peace — or alternatively, a second term for Carter — being conducted under auspices of the Fabian liberal wing of the Democratic Party and the well-known “Jewish Lobby” of certain New York investment bankers.

FOREIGN POLICY

Speaking for the Administration, Zbigniew Brzezinski, the National Security Council chief, told NBC-TV’s “Face the Nation” program Oct. 30 that the U.S. and the Soviet Union view the Middle East crisis as the most likely immediate cause of a third world war, and for that reason, think of a peace settlement as an essential accompaniment to a lasting SALT treaty. Then Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, interviewed by *U.S. News and World Report*, declared both a Geneva conference and a SALT treaty to be immediate Administration objectives.

Most dramatic was the statement delivered by Carter himself before a hostile Jewish audience Nov. 2. The President told the World Jewish Congress meeting that he would do everything possible to bring about a Geneva conference by the end of the year, and a settlement dealing with both Israel’s need for secure borders and Palestinian concerns and rights.

The Administration, however, has a weak point in its failure to deal with the problem of James Rodney Schlesinger. Carter continues to defend Schlesinger’s energy policy as if this were not inconsistent with his hopes for a Middle East peace — which it is. Schlesinger, and other British-connected elements of the Administration’s Mondale branch, have based their hopes for a zero-growth energy program on the development of an “emergency” situation in the United States this winter, and the most likely pretext they could devise for oil and gas shortages and so forth would be renewed hostilities and oil embargo developments in the Middle East.

It was not accidental, in this connection, that President Gerald Ford’s efforts to prevent Middle East war at one point required what has been called the “Halloween Massacre,” when Schlesinger, most importantly, was tossed from office. Carter has not learned that lesson, and remains especially vulnerable to the conspiracy against his peace program on that account.

The Jewish Lobby, meanwhile, is going into a rage over Carter’s adherence to the Geneva policy and related detente with the Soviet Union, and leading spokesmen for their efforts in the past week turned out to be, not coincidentally, all former close associates and allies of Mr. Schlesinger — Senators Jackson and Moynihan, former Undersecretary of State Eugene Rostow, the Jewish Lobby’s *Commentary* magazine, Garment Workers Union president Sol Chaitkin. All are now situated in the so-called Coalition for a Democratic Majority, advancing “Israel’s interests” in a bloody Mideast conflict.

I The Administration Reaffirms Its Commitment To Peace And SALT

Vance Defends U.S.- Soviet Accord...

We reprint here portions of an Oct. 19 U.S. News and World Report interview with Secretary of State Cyrus Vance.

Q: How do you explain the sudden change in relations with the Soviets in recent weeks — the signs of a warming up after months of growing acrimony?

A: The principal reason is that progress has been made

in our SALT discussions. We have a whole complex of issues which are always under discussion between ourselves and the Soviet Union, but it’s quite clear that, from the Soviet standpoint, the central issue is the strategic arms talks. If progress is being made in these talks, then relations between the Soviet Union and the United States will tend to be good or better. If progress is not being made, it will have an adverse effect upon the relationship.

Q: For many years Washington has worked on the assumption that the Russians were bent on exploiting the

Arab-Israeli conflict and that they should be kept on the sidelines. Why have you reversed this policy overnight by issuing a joint declaration with the Soviets on Mideast peace negotiations?

A: The Russians have a role to play in the Middle East. They are one of the two co-chairmen of the Geneva conference. It has been our view from the outset that we should seek to work with the Soviets in a constructive way to try to move toward the reconvening of the Geneva conference and to search for a just and lasting peace. Therefore, we have sought to work with them in a cooperative fashion to achieve these ends. I think we are making some progress, and I think that it will help both of us in terms of bringing about a Geneva conference and also in making progress once a Geneva conference is convened.

Q: Aren't the Russians really bent on making mischief in the Middle East rather than ending the conflict there?

A: I don't think that's true. I think that we ought to proceed on the assumption that they are willing to work in a cooperative fashion unless we find the contrary to be true...

Q: Do you think a breakdown of a Geneva conference would lead inevitably to another war?

A: If we fail to get into substantive discussions, then the drift will be toward war.

...Welcomes Soviet Nuclear Blast Ban

These excerpts come from a news conference given by Secretary of State Vance Nov. 2.

... We have not yet had time to study the full text of (Soviet President Brezhnev's) speech, but we do share his view that there should be a down-turn in the arms race.

We welcome President Brezhnev's statement on a moratorium on peaceful nuclear explosions... we have been talking about for several months on the need to include all kinds of nuclear explosions, including so-called peaceful nuclear explosions, in a comprehensive test ban... in that same speech he said — and I am quoting him — “if attempts are made to lecture each other between the United States and the Soviet Union, the result will only be a build-up of distrust and hostility.”...

Secondly, you asked about the question, have we interceded with the Soviet Union with respect to individuals in the Soviet Union. The answer is: yes, we have. We have done so on a number of occasions, and we have done so recently, as well as a number of times in the past...

Let me say that we have discussed the question of the possibility of the trials with the Soviet Union. We have not, as has been suggested in stories which I have seen in the press, made any linkage between that and our discussions in SALT. But we have indicated that we view this question with great seriousness and have brought this formally to their attention...

... The key questions which remain for resolution are, as I think most of you know, the question of how the composition of the Palestinian element of a united Arab delegation would be formed. The second is the final form of the working groups which would be needed to carry out the work of the Geneva conference after the opening sessions...

... We are seeking a lasting peace. All of the leaders in the Middle East who are involved in these discussions agree that the only way to do this is to do it by seeking a comprehensive agreement or agreements.

Next, in order to get such comprehensive agreements, it is necessary to deal with three basic issues.

The nature of peace; the question of withdrawals and borders; and, thirdly, the Palestinian question.

All three of these issues have to be dealt with if one is to get a comprehensive and a lasting peace. It cannot be done if any one of those three is not dealt with...

... If we are to stop an upturn in the arms spiral, it is essential that we get a SALT agreement. I think if we can achieve the SALT agreement which we are working on now, we will do that. We will do it by the means of obtaining a reduction in the number of nuclear weapons...

Carter: Partisanship Could Imperil Mideast Peace

The following are excerpts from President Carter's speech Wednesday, Nov. 2 to the World Jewish Congress in Washington, D.C.

“... intemperance or partisanship (could imperil) the best opportunity for a permanent Middle East peace settlement in our lifetime...”

“This is not a time for intemperance or partisanship. It is a time for strong and responsible leadership and a willingness to explore carefully and thoughtfully the intentions of others...”

(The United States) “cannot merely be idle bystanders (in seeking peace in) this most dangerous region of the world... The three key issues are the obligations of peace, including the full normalization of political, economic and cultural relations; second, the establishment of effective security measures, coupled to Israel's withdrawal from occupied territories and agreement on final, recognized and secure borders; and, third, a resolution of the Palestinian question.”

II From The Soviet Side, Brezhnev Offers Concession On Nuclear Blasts

Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev proposed a ban on all underground nuclear weapons tests and a moratorium on all underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, at a special session of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee and Supreme Soviet Nov. 2, opening the celebrations of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution.

The Brezhnev speech represents potential, unwarranted abandonment of the USSR's long-standing refusal to bargain away its programs for peaceful use of nuclear energy, and would, if implemented, necessarily lead to the cancellation or delay of major development projects such as the diversion of northward-flowing Siberian rivers to the south for agricultural and transport purposes.

Brezhnev clearly hopes that this move will give President Carter an additional bargaining chip to overcome vocal opposition in the U.S. to the fragile deal recently struck with Moscow on the Mideast and strategic arms limitation (SALT). The outcry of the

"Israel Lobby" against Carter's Mideast peace efforts, the efforts of Senator Henry Jackson and others to block the SALT accord, and the war-cries of Paul Nitze and the Committee on the Present Danger all serve to heighten Brezhnev's anxiety on this score.

Bernard Gwertzman in the *New York Times* Nov. 2 warned that the Soviet Union must tone down its treatment of dissidents lest "anti-Soviet agitation" in the U.S. intervene to reverse all the recent progress in Soviet-American relations. On the same day, *Pravda* expressed Soviet nervousness about the effect all this will have, warning that NATO's arms buildup policy "contradicts" both the Belgrade Conference and SALT.

There are indications, however, that the Soviet leadership is far from united behind Brezhnev's current concessionary line. Gwertzman quotes an Administration source as saying that "the KGB and some in the Politburo" strongly oppose any easing of the crack-down on the dissidents, while others believe that moderation is necessary to prevent a deterioration of relations with the U.S.

III The Coalition To Wreck Geneva Inside The Jewish Lobby

An alliance of leading American Jewish organizations, the anti-Soviet Coalition for a Democratic Majority, and key right-wing social democratic Congressmen such as Senators Moynihan and Jackson, has spent most of the past week conspiring against President Carter's attempts to get a Geneva Middle East peace conference underway during the current year.

This conspiracy has been highly vocal, and featured prominently in the *New York Times* and related Eastern Establishment media. On Oct. 30, for example, the *Times* ran an extraordinary front-page feature detailing the plans for a national assault by leading American Jews against Carter's Mideast policy. The article went so far as to suggest that Carter's "Southern Baptist" background would be used to demonstrate his intrinsic lack of concern for Israel.

Since then, the *Times* has run a full-page advertisement paid for by the blanket organization for American Jewish groups, the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations run by ultra-Fabian Rabbi Alexander Schindler, with the provocative headline, "Will Middle East Peace be the Next Hostage to Palestine Liberation Organization Terror?" On Nov. 1, the *Times* carried a news story on a poll conducted by CDM coordinator Seymour Martin Lipset and appearing in the latest issue of the American Jewish Committee

house publication, *Commentary* magazine. The poll was said to "demonstrate" that a large minority of Americans would strongly oppose Carter if he dared try to bring the PLO into peace talks.

Much of the Israel Lobby and CDM mobilization has, however, involved the private circulation of planned attacks on Geneva and supporters of an overall Mideast peace policy. With the aid of reports from investigative journalists, the *Executive Intelligence Review* has been able to piece together the following elements of the assault:

"Geneva May Never Take Place"

"It looks like we've the postponement of Geneva — maybe indefinitely. You know, Geneva may never take place." In a Nov. 1 interview, a Middle East affairs coordinator for the Anti-Defamation League insisted that the next phase of the U.S. Mideast diplomacy was up to the whims of he and his "Jewish Lobby" cohorts: "If Carter pushes too far on this question we've got a deal in the works with the Republicans that will knock this Administration out of the running for the next round of elections."

The confidence that Geneva was averted was seconded by a leading member of both the CDM and Social Democrats, U.S.A. "It looks like no Geneva this year.

Next year — who knows? That is largely dependent on some Carter concession towards the PLO — and if he did that, he could be in real trouble. We're seeing a rightward drift in the U.S., a desire for a strong policy that is working against this policy of constant concessions."

"Focus The Attack On The PLO..."

"If Israel and its supporters were smart," a pro-Israel strategist at the California-based Rand Corporation emphasized Nov. 2, "they would concentrate all their guns on the issue of the PLO as terrorists. This could rally people in a very emotional way and box the Administration in."

"... And The Russians"

"We're very concerned about this policy of bringing the Russians in," CDM coordinator Benjamin Watenberg told a caller. "Doing this is just plain bizarre. I've shared my concern with prominent Jewish leaders. They know well what capabilities there are to deal with the Republicans on this issue, and they can really screw Carter. I myself am seeing a lot of people in Washington on this question."

An aide to Sen. Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), honorary chairman of the CDM, added that the Administration's policy toward the Soviets on the Mideast and related issues was "facile babble...craziness. These guys — Brzezinski, (NSC aides) Quandt and Hunter, Gelb over at State political-militare — are part of a sort of foreign policy establishment that thinks you have to play up to the Soviet moderates. Total craziness! They don't understand a damned thing....They're catering to the PLO, appeasing the lunatics." Moynihan, he warned, would withhold support for the Administration on the Panama Canal and other issues if this "trend of appeasement" continued.

"Heads Will Roll At The Department Of Defense"

"Carter will commit political suicide if he makes any gestures towards the PLO and tries to impose a Geneva settlement on Israel," a Senate Foreign Relations Committee aide threatened Oct. 28. "He must know this, so you have to wonder, why is he pushing along this track? The reason must be the rotten core of anti-Israel bureaucrats over at State and Defense. Take this recent Cordesman report (an article in the latest issue of *Armed Forces Journal*, written by an Undersecretary of Defense in the Ford Administration, Anthony Cordesman, warning that Israel's constantly expanding military might threatens to drag the U.S. into an undesired war — ed.). Cordesman didn't write that! He got all his information from the coordinator of the Mideast Task force at Defense, Janka. We're going to call Janka onto the carpet for this — for releasing classified intelligence. In fact, we're pretty damned sick of a lot of the mentality prevailing at Defense, and I can say with confidence that heads are going to roll over at Defense."

The SFRC aide's threat followed a string of violent condemnations of Cordesman from the Anti-Defamation League, which labeled the *Armed Forces Journal* piece "anti-Israel and anti-Jewish." Reacting to a report released in the Jewish Telegraphic Agency that Cordesman is only reflecting a "prevailing sentiment" at both Defense and State, the ADL called for an official government investigation into the origins of the *Armed Forces Journal* article.

Cordesman and his Defense Department cothinkers were also bitterly attacked by the former head of Middle East intelligence for the Air Force, Joseph Churba, in an interview with the Long Island-based *Jewish Week* recently. Churba warned that if this trend of thinking merged into official Carter Administration policy, then "Jackson and Moynihan" would launch a major national public protest against the Geneva policy, forcing Carter to retreat.

Nitze And Co. Fire Torpedoes At SALT

Paul Nitze, policy chairman of the Committee on the Present Danger, released on Nov. 1 a detailed analysis of the projected SALT arms limitation agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union, in which he charged that the Soviets would gain an overwhelming nuclear advantage if the agreement were ratified.

"I believe we're locked into inferiority and don't know how to get out of it," Nitze told reporters. He focused his heaviest criticism on prospective range limits for the U.S. cruise missile and in effect accused U.S. arms negotiators of failing to obtain sufficient limitations on Soviet deployment of so-called heavy missiles and the Backfire bomber.

The *Baltimore Sun* Nov. 2 promised that "Nitze's views will carry great weight in a Senate already uneasy about the pacts." Syndicated columnists Evans and Novak, frequent conduits for CPD material whose articles during the last two weeks have been devoted to leaks about comparative U.S.-USSR military strength, on Nov.

5 flatly predicted "a SALT treaty would fail ratification in the Senate today," and claimed Secretary of State Vance had given "a performance (which) bordered on the disastrous" in testimony before the Senate Armed Services committee chaired by Henry Jackson.

The *New York Times* has also featured frequent recent leaks from "Pentagon sources," the latest of which reported Soviet production of 100 mobile missiles with a range of at least 2,400 miles which "is expected to complicate talks on limiting strategic arms."

Nitze is a former Deputy Defense Secretary under Lyndon Johnson. His background in psychological warfare goes back to the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey which conducted saturation bombing of German and Japanese population centers during World War II. He is believed to have been responsible for statements uttered by Jimmy Carter during the 1976 presidential campaign during which Carter refused to rule out a first strike against the Soviet Union.

“Jackson Would Rather See No SALT Agreement”

The following is part of an interview with an official of the Center for Defense Information, a private think-tank which has been a leading lobbying group for a SALT treaty.

Q: To what extent has Henry Jackson organized against the SALT treaty?

A: Jackson is aiming at pushing the Administration for additional things. Jackson helped draft the March SALT proposals. There is a continued feeling in the Carter camp that Jackson must be recognized. Jackson's main concern is the cruise missile question and Jackson's staffer Richard Perle has told people that Jackson would rather see no agreement than a bad one. The White House will do all they can to satisfy Jackson, while they still think he could support an agreement, and of course, he has not yet publicly come out totally against the agreement.

Q: What do you think about the Brezhnev statement calling for a ban on nuclear testing and peaceful uses of nuclear explosions?

A: The Soviets understand that there are hawks in the U.S. And Secretary Brown has warned the Soviets that the U.S. needs progress from them, that the U.S. needs to have made clear Soviet intentions, and if they don't show restraint, it will be hard for us to do so.

Nitze Called Cold Warrior

The following are excerpts of a statement made by Carl Marcy, codirector of the American Committee on East-West Accord and an associate of Paul Warnke, head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency negotiating the SALT treaty.

“Paul Nitze is guilty of unwise and unauthorized release of classified information and of seeking to substitute his judgment and that of the narrow group for which he speaks for the judgment of the Secretary of State, the Defense Secretary, the national security affairs adviser, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the president — all of whom are involved in the current SALT negotiations. There seems to be a few old cold warriors who neither die nor fade away, but would brandish their sabers forever rather than help pave the way for a just and lasting peace, a reduction in international tensions and a lessening of the possibility of nuclear war.”

‘Human Rights’ Revised To Wreck U.S.—Soviet Relations

In an effort to spur the Administration to revive its anti-Soviet “human rights” campaign of last spring, the *New York Times* ran a major story Nov. 2 declaring that President Carter and Secretary of State Vance have warned Soviet leaders against going ahead with the trials of Soviet dissidents.

According to the *Times*, Vance, who met with Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin Nov. 1, threatened the Soviets with imperiling U.S.-Soviet relations if they go ahead with the trials. Under pressure from the Jewish Lobby and Senators Jackson and Moynihan and their affiliates, the Administration has apparently voiced concern to the Soviets about their actions against the dissidents, but has issued no strong public attacks.

Attempting to speak for the Administration, the *Times*, quoting unnamed officials, declares that “now the two countries seem to be working in a more normal at-

mosphere toward a strategic arms limitation package... in addition the two countries are discussing the reconvening of the Geneva Middle East conference... Marshall Shulman, Mr. Vance's Soviet advisor, has advocated taking steps to improve economic relations with Moscow...but all these moves could be torpedoed if trials set off the expected anti-Soviet agitation in the United States.”

On Nov. 2, the press barraged Vance at a press conference, demanding, “Has the Administration suggested that going ahead with these pending trials might endanger bilateral relations?” Continually refusing to repeat the strong attacks on the Soviets voiced by the Administration last spring, Vance answered, “We have not, as has been suggested in stories which I have seen in the press, made any linkage between that and our discussions in SALT.”