

Administration Musters Senate Forces To Fight For SALT

“Guerrilla war” over the Administration’s SALT negotiating position has broken out in the Senate between the “Jacksonian” sabre-rattlers and the relatively saner “realists” who are supporting Administration initiatives. The Administration itself, however, as it pursues detente with proven seriousness, remains hamstrung by the “human rights” tactics which fouled up the first six months of Carter’s presidency.

FOREIGN POLICY

The parameters of the Senate battle were summed up in a front-page *Christian Science Monitor* article on Nov. 10, which stated that “The forces pushing the Soviet Union and the United States into a new period of summitry, arms control, and detente seem, at this moment, stronger than the forces pushing them apart... But Western diplomatic sources point out one deep pitfall ahead: a new burst of anti-Soviet distrust in the U.S. when prominent dissident leaders... are tried and sentenced.”

The “forces” pushing for detente showed their faces in the Senate this past week when Senator John C. Culver (D-Iowa) accused Senator Henry “Scoop” Jackson of leaking secret information from his own Senate Armed Services subcommittee’s closed-door sessions with Secretary of State Cyrus Vance on the substance of the SALT negotiations. Jackson and his office were responsible for a “torrent of leaks” on “top-secret details of the most important and sensitive national security negotiations of our times,” said Culver. Just short of labelling Jackson’s activities treasonous, Culver stated that “Such leakage has the effect... of sabotaging SALT.”

Administration Hits Nitze

But the opening volley against the sabre-rattlers came earlier in the week directly from the Defense Department when Defense Secretary Harold Brown released the Administration’s statement defending its SALT agenda and simultaneously accused Paul Nitze, policy-studies chairman of the warhawk Committee on the Present Danger, of misusing “classified information” in his “so-called expert analysis” given out to the press a week previous. Nitze charged that the Administration’s SALT package would give the Soviet Union a “strategic nuclear advantage.” Not coincidentally, Jackson is also a member of the hawkish Committee, and was clearly the source of the “classified information” referred to in the Defense Department’s statement. In addition to Nitze’s “expert analysis,” the columnists Evans and Novak published a description of the Senate subcommittee hearings in their column of Nov. 4, where they

portrayed “Vance’s performance as “disastrous” and went on to predict that the Armed Services Committee, led by its chairman Jackson, would reject the new arms pacts. Other similar reports appeared in the *New York Times* and *Aviation Week*, and from there found their way into press nationally. The *Washington Post* admitted in a Nov. 8 article covering Culver’s indictment that they, too, had been briefed by a Jackson staffer who told them that “Vance had been ill-prepared and was ‘out of it’ on the details of SALT and that many Senators had been angered over his testimony.”

Jackson is now being threatened with a Senate investigation of his activities. A request for such investigation has been submitted in writing to John Stennis (D-Miss.) of the Armed Services Committee by Culver, Thomas McIntyre (D-N.H.), Dale Bumpers (D-Ark.), Gary Hart (D-Col.), and Wendell Anderson (D-Minn.). Culver is likewise attempting to change the forum for Vance’s consultative briefings on the Hill from Jackson’s subcommittee to a 25-member advisory committee of the Senate appointed last year by then-Senator Walter Mondale. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, chaired by John Sparkman (D-Ala.), is also gearing up for a fight to “reclaim the initiative” on SALT from Jackson and his hawkish colleagues, according to one member of the committee. This Committee has demanded and is now having staff meetings with the Administration to get fully briefed on SALT, in order to have at hand the information necessary to wage something more “guerrilla war” against the SALT saboteurs.

Carter Reassures Brezhnev

With his letter to Brezhnev on Nov. 9 — delivered by U.S. Ambassador Malcolm Toon personally — Carter demonstrated that he does not intend to engage in brush-war skirmishes with the sabre-rattlers but intends to bring the fight quickly to a head and get it over with. The letter reportedly dealt with “substantive” issues of arms control, total nuclear test ban, and other subjects. In Brezhnev’s hour-long meeting with Toon, the emphasis, according to Thursday’s prominently displayed press accounts, was on “the urgency of finalizing the drafting of a new agreement on limiting strategic offensive arms on the basis of accords reached in principle.” Tass reported that Brezhnev interpreted the letter as “a definite change for the better in relations with the Soviet Union and the United States.”

The Administration is also pushing Congress, a bit more gently at this point, toward a reconciliation of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment of 1974, which was tied to the Trade Reform Act and “links” U.S.-Soviet trade to Soviet emigration policies. Carter met on Nov. 10 with the Soviet Foreign Trade Minister, Nikolai S. Patolichev for talks centered on the need for repairing economic ties

with the Soviet Union as well as a new arms accord. Preliminary steps toward abolishing the Jackson-Vanik Amendment have been taken by the Administration through various meetings with members of Congress over the past weeks. Despite this the Administration is still playing a dangerous game on the "human rights" issue which could sabotage all their well-laid plans for SALT. It's here where the Carter Administration reveals its Achilles

threats to heat up anti-Sovietism if the Soviets decide to come down hard on the "dissidents" at upcoming trials. The *New York Times* reported Nov. 10 that one of the reasons for Carter's reassurances to Patolichev on trade was as "an incentive for treating dissidents leniently."

But in Belgrade, at the Helsinki review conference this Wednesday, U.S. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg was allowed to issue a sharp attack on the Soviets for "gross human rights violations, in the case of Anatoly Shcharansky, Uri Orlov and Alexander Ginzburg." Soviet delegate Vorontsov came back at Goldberg with the charge that "the ideas advanced by Ambassador Goldberg are putting this meeting on the verge of a dangerous situation."

In this connection, Senator Jackson a few weeks ago resurrected the moribund Committee for a Democratic Majority together with his "Jewish Lobby" friend, Daniel Moynihan. The Committee has been actively working with the Committee on the Present Danger and the two are the basis for the anti-SALT machinations in Congress. In league with these groups, the Social Democrats USA (a trade-union oriented and anti-Soviet organization) is planning to stage "human rights" demonstrations throughout the country in coming weeks — promising a "really big show" in New York on Dec. 19 which will host Soviet "dissident" Bukovsky.

Social Dems:

Carter "Weak" Because He Wants Peace

The following is an interview with the Executive Director of Social Democrats USA, founded by "CIA Socialist" Michael Harrington.

Q: What is your view of the Carter Administration's foreign policy initiatives in SALT and the Middle East?

A: The nature of the SALT agreement is the key question. It won't get through Congress, if what is said is the proposal, because there are too many concessions by the U.S. Carter started out on a good foot with his proposal of last March, but now he is conceding to many demands of the Soviets. The Soviets have a strategy of dividing the allies by restricting the access of the allies to cruise missiles. The Administration's view is peace at any cost and this is the rhetoric of the late 1930's. The

policy is that of a weak president; it is not the leadership that is required.

Q: Do you then think the leaks on the SALT treaty, rumored to be from Senator Jackson's staff, were justified?

A: Leaking to create political pressure on the Administration, to make them bargain stronger, well, it is not too bad to do this. Then the Administration can say that they are under so much pressure they cannot give in to the Soviet demands.

Q: What do you see as the outcome of the Administration's policy?

A: The world is a fragile alliance of democratic states with one major totalitarian society. It is too similar to the world of the 1930's. It is necessary to defeat totalitarianism. There are many parallels to the 1930's — the totalitarian society is in an expansionist phase, it is heavily armed, and there are illusions in the West on how to deal with it: appeasement. People want to pacify the Russians — this was what was done with the Nazis in the Sudetenland. The Russians have a critical problem with their economy and we should get human rights agreements before we provide them with the technology they want.

Q: Do you think the outcome of the Administration's policy will be what it was in the 1930's?

A: War, well, no not in the nuclear age, but we will have the Finlandization of the West, a cutoff of our sea lanes, of our resources. We could have Europe sever their ties with us, if they see the Soviets strong. To the degree Carter pushes Israel it will strengthen those who believe they have to strike out to defend Israel. We will have a luncheon Dec. 19 with the Soviet dissident Bukovsky, because we are concerned about human rights in the Soviet Union.

Q: What are the key things that must be done about this?

A: We must have a growing economy and a growing defense.

Q: What are the steps needed for domestic economy?

A: We must have jobs, a youth employment program. We must stimulate the economy by tax cuts, we must have public service. We should have a lower interest rate policy than Burns has wanted. One member of our group, Paul Porter, who oversaw the Marshall Plan for a time, is writing for Senator Humphrey a key piece of legislation — the Urban Recovery Act. This will ensure that those who work in the cities live there and those working in the suburbs live there. We will relocate them.