

# Which Way For Carter On Mideast, SALT?

*After The Jet Sale Vote, Strategic Policy Is Still At Issue*

The Senate 54-44 May 15 vote to uphold Carter's "package deal," sending jet fighters to Egypt, Israel and Saudi Arabia, has successfully blocked what opponents of the arms sale had frankly advertised as an attempt to reimpose a blanket Zionist veto over U.S. peace policies in the Middle East. However, the fact that key Zionist

shibboleth equally dangerous for peace proposals: the myth of a new "Soviet menace" in the Middle East.

Ribicoff, for example, correctly described Saudi Arabia as "central to the search for peace" and "a moral and economic force in the Islamic Arab world." He followed this with a summons to a closed-session for the full Senate at which, according to some press accounts, he concentrated on the purported "threat" to the Saudis from Soviet-backed South Yemen, Iraq and Ethiopia.

Only days earlier, Carter himself had erroneously portrayed Cuban military, economic, and technical assistance of six years standing in South Yemen as a "new" danger to regional stability.

Both charges in effect recall and legitimize the geopolitical ravings of Henry Kissinger, who excused his nominal support for the plane sales with the line that the Saudis have been encircled by "a gigantic pincer" of Soviet design.

## *A Promissory Note*

It is known to every informed person in Washington and other world capitals, however, that the Administration's decision to sell advanced F-15 fighters to the Saudis and the older model F-5E to Egypt's Sadat had nothing to do with military security per se for either Arab country, but was based on the necessity to provide a U.S. "pledge of good faith" in Mideast peace negotiations in the absence of any such demonstration by U.S. "ally" Israel. As even the *New York Times* is now compelled to report, Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan's schemes to force Sadat to sign a separate peace agreement with Israel *without* a resolution of the Palestinian question — the dominant aim of Israeli policy for the past six months — have ended in failure after a series of explicit rejections of this untenable approach by Carter.

Now the U.S. must rapidly make good on the "promissory note" represented by the plane sales, by putting forward a regional Arab-Israeli peace plan based on regional economic development, as proposed by Chicago banker Robert Abboud, Japanese Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda, and the U.S. Labor Party. Concurrently, the U.S. must revive the long-dormant U.S.-Soviet joint statement of last fall recognizing "the legitimate rights of the Palestinians" to create the climate in which a responsible Palestinian leadership can function as an active partner-in-peace with Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Israel.

## THE ADMINISTRATION

Lobby Senators agreed to the sale on the basis of protecting Saudi Arabia from a spurious "communist imperialist threat," may feed this victory for the Administration into a broader defeat by sabotaging U.S.-USSR SALT negotiations.

The reported behavior of Sen. Abraham Ribicoff (D-Conn) underlines the glory and the shame of the Carter Administration's "victory." Ribicoff, historically a faithful supporter of Israeli policy, supported the President by defining the issue in its sharpest terms. Yet, he also painted a lurid picture of Soviet penetration in this region.

"Who is to decide our foreign policy?" he asked the Senate during the arms-sale debate. "Should it not be the President and the Secretary of State and Congress? If we are not honest with ourselves, down what dark and uncertain road do we travel?"

Other once fervently pro-Israel Senators joined Ribicoff. Sen. Mike Gravel (D-Alaska) told the Senate, "I, like many members, up to now have a 100 percent voting record for Israel, and I have enjoyed the beneficence of that at the polls and in financial backing..." Reporting the massive pressure brought to bear on Senators by pro-Israeli organizations, Gravel acknowledged he might be "kissing away" electoral support, but "when you deliver an ultimatum once, you cannot deliver it two or three times...I think this will be a watershed year of Jewish influence in this country."

## *Anti-Communist Hitch*

But if the majority of the Senate followed Carter and Ribicoff in rejecting the "knee-jerk" Israel-my-country-right-or-wrong response which has contributed to the sabotage of every American effort to achieve a comprehensive Middle East years, they did so only at the price of promoting another

### *From Arms Sales to Disarmament*

While the arms sale is considered as having effectively removed a roadblock to Middle East peace prospects, the effect on the critical Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II) talks demands unequivocal action by Carter to dispel the "fear of the Reds" climate used to block Israeli demands for exclusive military support.

The latest progress towards SALT II makes the point. Last week the Politico-Military affairs committee of the State Department released a joint communiqué of the U.S.-Soviet standing committee to limit conventional arms sales: "It was agreed that the problem limiting international traffic of conventional arms is urgent...and to solve it is to promote international peace and security and strengthen détente."

Simultaneously, the joint commission on limits of radiological weapons meeting in Geneva achieved what was described as a near breakthrough in limiting new types of weapons of mass destruction. On SALT itself, the commission on disarmament has been announcing agreements on technical aspects covering the U.S. cruise missile, the Soviet backfire bomber, and has set the numbers of allowable strategic missiles and warheads. It is reported that agreement on remaining questions can easily be reached in time to allow Carter and Brezhnev to initial a treaty at a summit conference.

### *Enter Kissinger, Stage "Left-Right"*

Disruption of Soviet-U.S. arms agreements can be traced on virtually every account to Henry Kissinger's hard confrontationist stance against the Soviets on the one hand, and to Ted Kennedy's network of "human rights" dissident campaigns on the other.

Kissinger, in a lying interview last week on NBC-TV, used the Zaire "Cuban-USSR" scare stories to challenge the very principle of negotiations with the Soviets. (See *International Report*.)

Interviews with Senator Kennedy's office, Pat Derian,

head of State Department's human rights division, and Kennedy-linked staffers at the Democratic National Committee reveal that the Kennedy side of the Kissinger operation is to limit all Soviet-U.S. relations strictly to SALT accords eliminating any possibility of trade expansion agreements or similar "entente agreements."

At the same time, Carter's National Security advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski, has scheduled a trip to China, where he will be holding "global strategic discussions" according to a National Security spokesman. But the word around Washington is that Brzezinski has nothing to offer the Chinese, given the policy fight in Washington, since China's one non-negotiable demand is that the United States pursue a policy of world-wide confrontation toward the Soviets. An NSC spokesman cautioned that nothing should be expected as an immediate result of Brzezinski's trip.

With Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko due in Washington this week for further negotiations, the possibility for real progress on détente is nevertheless wide open.

Acting as mediator, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has been in constant communication with President Carter concerning the progress of the 25-year trade deal recently signed by Brezhnev and Schmidt. With an estimated \$3.7 trillion market to be generated through the accords, U.S. high-technology exports are seen as vital to the success of the European initiatives.

### *Open to Manipulation*

However, without active public organizing for such a policy, the Carter Administration will quickly find itself on track toward a new Mideast war, "threats to U.S. oil supplies," and confrontation with the Soviets through Kissinger's "breakaway ally" option of an Israeli preemptive strike against Syria.

Indeed, the Israeli government has already released a statement identifying the Senate vote with "a state of

## Once Again... Who's Kissinger Now?

Henry Kissinger has recently lost 30 pounds. Friends say it comes from climbing up the Hill so often to brief GOP Senators on how to link SALT to the fall elections.

An inquiring reporter told us that Fritz Kraemer, Henry's self-confessed mentor thinks Henry may have lost more than fat when he went to China for the first time. "The Chinese are the most intellectually seductive people in the whole world," said the astute Mr. Kraemer. "They simply seduced Henry on his first trip."

Richard Perl, Scoop Jackson's China hand was more satisfied with his own China experience: "I wasn't dealing with the Chinese at that level. I found them more agile than seductive."

At the moment it appeared that the administration would win the vote for its arms sales proposals, Kissinger scurried to give his testimony, offering blackmail and insults rather than open opposition. He promised to deliver the vote if the Administration would offer a large number of additional planes to Israel, and

virtually called the President a liar when the White House claimed sales to Saudi Arabia is a continuation of U.S. policy in the Middle East.

It took no crystal ball to plot Henry's next move. Once the Administration made the concession on 20 additional planes to Israel, Kissinger pulled out the rug and directed the Senate's Israel Lobby to vote against the sales.

Jogging over to the Quadrangle Conference on Energy at Georgetown University Henry simply bleated that the OPEC nations are a threat to the world. Answering the Saudi's proposals to spend billions for U.S. technology with his usual display of feigned omniscience, he lamented, "The interests of all nations are complementary, but that's a platitude and not always so in the short term. The enormous overhang of wealth of the OPEC countries could become a weapon against the world monetary system."

war against Israel," and Israel Lobby spokesmen Sen. Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.), Sen. Pat Moynihan (D-N.Y.) and Sen. Richard Stone (D-Fla.) are already "predicting" Arab "intransigence," "renewed Soviet influence in the Middle East," and so on. "This victory will come back to haunt Carter."

*Post*, a British-owned Israel Lobby mouthpiece.

Moreover, Congress will remain a fertile field for combined operations by the Kissinger-Israel Lobby axis. The coalition put together to defend the plane sales drew more than half its strength from conservative Republicans and Democrats sensible of the lunacy of present Israeli policy. But these same forces are open to

Kissinger's anti-Soviet manipulations if not offered a positive definition of U.S. national interest in the Middle East. And more than half the Senators in Carter's own Democratic Party voted against him on this key issue, including "off-and-running" 1980 Presidential candidate Ted "China Doll" Kennedy and the usually pro-Carter stalwart Herman Talmadge (Ga.).

Israel Lobby spokesmen continue to brag about the campaign funds that will not be flowing into the Democratic treasury in this election year: "If I were working at the Democratic National Committee, I'd worry about not getting paid."

## Hornswoggled Again

### Kissinger Leads His GOP Opponents Against The Soviets

*Much of the debate over the Carter Administration's Middle East arms sales package was shaped by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, in conjunction with such organizations as the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), around the "issue" of a purported growing Soviet "geopolitical strategic threat" to the existence of the United States. Kissinger was especially effective in playing on the anticommunist fears of conservative Republicans. Many of these same conservatives backed former California Governor Ronald Reagan in his unsuccessful 1976 campaign for the Republican presidential nomination in part because of their hatred and mistrust of Kissinger's foreign policy. AIPAC, the Committee for Democratic Majority, the Committee on the Present Danger and other organizations and associations comprising the network popularly known as the Israel Lobby, plug directly into such Democratic Senators as Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY) and Lowell Weicker (R-Conn).*

*The following excerpts from recent statements on Mideast policy by Reagan, Weicker and Moynihan, show a trend now widely in evidence in Congress.*

#### "Reagan Sheds Light On Palestinian Question"

*The following excerpts from Ronald Reagan's April 10 address at a Bonds for Israel dinner in Chicago were printed in the Citizens for the Republic Newsletter, Vol. II, No. 7, May 1, 1978:*

...The best and most helpful thing we can do is to stand by, meanwhile keeping the Middle East free of Soviet influence. That, I'm afraid, will require more will and determination than this administration has displayed in these last several months. It does not reassure our friends nor discourage our enemies when we cancel the B-1 bomber, stop production of our Minuteman missiles, withhold funds for the MX mobile missile and show a lack of resolve about producing and displaying what could be the most effective deterrent weapon yet conceived—the neutron bomb....

#### U.S. Responsibility

The Soviet Union is building the most powerful military machine ever devised. While we are determined to prevent a war, they are preparing to win one. Are we going to close our eyes and minds as we did almost a half century ago when the thunder of hobnailed jackboots echoed on the wind, foretelling the inhumanity, the slaughter of the innocents that followed?...

#### Weicker: Carter Pursues Showdown With Israel

*We reprint a statement released May 8, 1978 from Senator Weicker's office:*

WASHINGTON—Senator Lowell Weicker (R-Conn) said today that "the Carter administration, from its inception had deliberately pursued a policy of confrontation with the government of Israel."

Weicker said the policy began before Prime Minister Menachem Begin took office and is a "blatant effort to divide both the American people and even the people of Israel on the matter of the government of Israel."

On the other hand, Weicker said, "Our relationships with the Arab states carry the unmistakable odor of appeasement, and the arms package is only the latest evidence of it."

The Connecticut Republican noted that Carter's National Security advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski "has made abundantly clear his view that the world order politics, which he believes will replace balance of power politics, requires that the U.S. disengage from its historic alliance with Israel.

"When people start talking about world order, I have a chilling sense of *deja vu*," he said. "The vision of a world order always seems to require that certain groups be trimmed off in the interest of orderliness and a neat package.

"We know from history that time and time again, when national leaders run into difficulties, they found it convenient to blame their problems on the Jews. And we know the results. If there is a meaningful distinction between those historical proclivities, and the signals