

Confrontation gains steam

Carter's SALT push part of 'arc of crisis' policy

Behind the Carter Administration's highly publicized push for a conclusion of the SALT II agreement is a move to keep the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks going as a framework for superpower negotiation as regional confrontations erupt at any one of several probable flashpoints along Zbigniew Brzezinski's "arc of crisis" on the Soviet Union's southern flank.

Evidence of this compiled over the past week includes: National Security Advisor Brzezinski's April 4 speech to the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, detailing the "framework for negotiations" approach; Senator Edward Kennedy's address one day earlier to the New York Council on Foreign Relations, also stressing the need for "negotiations" as confrontation nears while euphorically reporting on the "progress" made thus far in "boxing in the Soviet Union"; and Defense Secretary Harold Brown's April 5 address to the New York CFR, declaring that under the SALT framework an unbridled strategic and theater arms buildup will be launched by the United States.

Policymaking circles make no secret of their commitment to confrontation. A key Haig-for-President organizer, Fletcher School geopolitician Scott Thompson, tells a caller the odds favor an "eyeball-to-eyeball" confrontation between the U.S. and USSR in as little as 90 days, while NATO commander Haig himself outlines a strategy for NATO expansion in the Third World to clean out Soviet influence in an interview in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. (See excerpts below.)

Hastening the tempo of the confrontation push are the Schachtian energy cutback proposals announced by President Carter. Although the Administration and the supporters of its policies are not saying so candidly, they are fully aware that in the medium-term, the Carter-Schlesinger energy program will have a crippling impact on U.S. industrial capability—and hence, on its capacity to match Soviet military might. They are compelled to seek a decisive showdown in the immediate period ahead.

What Haig and Administration strategists do not admit—as the Haig interview clearly reveals—is the

possibility that the Soviets will not respond to a NATO-initiated confrontation in the step-wise, "escalation-ladder" scenario envisioned by NATO planners. In view of many many observers, the Soviets' only possible military policy in the event of unavoidable confrontation will be an all-out thermonuclear attack. In this area of strategic warfighting, the Soviets have a marginal but decisive edge over their NATO adversaries.

Haig sees NATO move into 3d world

The following excerpts are from NATO Supreme Commander Gen. Alexander Haig's interview in the April 7 Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, one of West Germany's most influential national dailies. The interview was based on questions posed by the Zeitung's military affairs major in Hitler's General Staff during World War II. Subheads are added by Executive Intelligence Review.

"Nevertheless, because we have to expect a change in the leadership of the Soviet Union, which we can reckon as bringing new burdens, we must also realize that the West is facing a period of great danger." This period will be one, he said, in which the risks of miscalculation increase. Two elements can aid in creating strategic miscalculations: the East's continuing military progress and the possibility of misinterpreting the West's determination. "The future will demand an unusual amount of transatlantic agreement, trust, and concerted action."

Special attention must be paid to the strategic situation in the Mediterranean. General Haig offered the opinion that he would agree in still describing the situation in the Mediterranean as favorable. In this strategic zone, the Atlantic security system will be

strengthened by the American Sixth Fleet: "The Sixth Fleet has a central task. It has brought its combat readiness to a high level through numerous exercises and maneuvers. Its presence has eased the shadow of Soviet military strength which weighs down on the democratic states of the Mediterranean region. The military strength which the Sixth Fleet broadcasts has encouraged a self-expanding network of economic relations that are free from the intimidation attempts of foreign powers."

Nevertheless, NATO faces special problems in the Mediterranean. In spite of praiseworthy efforts in the past years, in spite of the lifting of the American arms embargo against Turkey, much is unsolved: "Greece, an ally worthy of our confidence, remains outside of NATO's integrated military structure. There are many political questions unsolved between Greece and Turkey. Turkey's economic misery has increased."

Mediterranean challenge

The challenge in the Mediterranean forces is the conclusion that the Alliance can no longer be allowed to rest on one-sided efforts from the United States. NATO as a unit must itself use its political, economic and security-technology active posts more effectively. The Atlantic interests cannot be protected in any other way.

"And finally, we ourselves must finally become clear about the effects on those countries of the Third World that lie along the Mediterranean coast and in the strategic Mediterranean triangle if we were to lose our capacity to control this section of the world whose geostrategic importance is of life or death importance." In spite of progress in the direction of peace in the Mideast, NATO cannot lose sight of the fact that the change that recently occurred in Iran fundamentally changed the military balance of power that existed at the beginning of the Egyptian-Israeli peace negotiations. The probability is great that a center for future crisis and conflicts could arise in the Mediterranean."...

The steady buildup of the Soviet nuclear forces has forced the Seventh Army and the Alliance in the past couple of months to make an inventory of just how high its own "nuclear requirements" are. And in addition to this NATO wants to test in which way the present inventories can be modernized. "Up until now no decisions have been made. But it is obvious, that, whatever decision will be taken, will have to be made according to the principles of shared burdens, shared

risks, and shared positive results."...

"The so-called radiation weapon—enhanced radiation/enhanced blast—is a defensive weapon for close distances. It is an antitank weapon. Nevertheless, the greatest problem that we have to solve and that faces the Alliance is how can we meet the threats that come to us from a great distance. The Soviet SS-20 rocket and the Backfire bomber threaten us. The Alliance is at a disadvantage in this weapons sector. Soviet weapons with medium and long distance ranges diminish the effect of the Atlantic deterrence potential. Therefore our most urgent task must be to do everything to modernize NATO's long range weapons systems." ...

"Deterrence"

And if for once a military dispute cannot be avoided in Europe, then this conflict must be limited "to the lowest possible step of armed dispute": NATO must therefore continue to get those troops prepared that are necessary to realize its strategy of "flexible response" in reality; through mutual protection of solidarity in the alliance. This demands the modernization of the West's tactical nuclear forces, a broad mesh of a reserve system, and getting military bases prepared. All of this is necessary to guarantee a "deterrence continuum," and, beyond this, to be able to produce credible deterrence at every level of a possible conflict. "Of course this does not mean that NATO itself will necessarily have to equal the order of magnitude of the Soviet arms potential, for the appearance of reaction on the part of the West would be unsuitable."...

"The problem of security does not only have a military and a political side. Security and economic potential go together. "What we have here is an obvious contradiction between our social economics requirements and our growing desire for security. What must be comprehended above all else is that these are not given entities that rule each other out. We cannot allow ourselves the luxury of working out a compromise with one at the cost of the other. It is a fact that all Western industrial nations have their social and economic problems. And it is precisely because we all have the same problems that they require similar, integrated solutions in monetary affairs, in trade, and in a whole row of further border areas in the social and economic sector to which we have to address ourselves."

In his evaluation and consideration of Atlantic security policy, General Haig said that one should not "only" look at Europe. He does not see any danger of

the European strategic zone being overrun, for NATO's core area, for what he calls the "Atlantic heartland," namely Middle Europe—the Federal Republic, the Netherlands, and Belgium. "I have already said, if I am not contradicted by unforeseen developments, that we can meet an aggression from the Warsaw Pact. Our deterrent is effective for this period. And when we make the effort, it will also be effective in the future." He sees the danger coming from another section of the political weather map. "In the next period, we will very probably be confronted with various situations that result from the Third World's own dynamic. What it will come to in this is how the Soviet Union attempts to use this dynamic." ...

"A syndrome of inevitability"

In order to make it clear what he was driving at, General Haig suggested, a brief overview of world politics would suffice: "In the past year the following things have occurred: the establishment of governments that are dependent on the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, in South Yemen, and in Ethiopia; the establishment of Soviet naval and air bases in Aden and Ethiopia, a growing increase in Soviet influence in South Africa, and the invasion in Cambodia and North Yemen by auxiliaries supported by the Soviet Union." The people of the Western world cannot be allowed to underestimate the consequences of illegal Soviet adventures in the Third World, which could lead to a threat against our raw material sources including energy. Furthermore, the Russians could conquer a series of military bases that directly threaten our economy's life lines. A "syndrome of inevitability" could arise that could bring those Third World nations that are friendly to us to allow those people whom they consider to be the winners to enter their country.

"Of course, there is no question that the activities of the Soviet Union beyond the borders of NATO lead to consequences that are disadvantageous for the security of the Alliance. And in addition to this the accompanying effects of these activities are further complicated by the fundamental change in the strategic atomic field. For almost thirty years the United States' strategic and nuclear superiority was the decisive factor in all local or regional crises. With the coming into being of a new strategic balance of power at the beginning of the 1970s this deciding factor is no longer taken as given, and the present regional military balance has become more important...."

'Eyeball-to-eyeball in ninety days'

Fletcher School of Diplomacy Professor Scott Thompson described in an interview made available to NSIPS London's crisis-scenario for putting Alexander Haig in the White House by 1980—or sooner. Thompson, a former Rhodes Scholar, is a member of Britain's International Institute of Strategic Studies and a close friend of Robert Moss and other British intelligence insiders, as well as of Haig.

I had all the Republican leaders from Massachusetts at my house Dec. 15 to hear Haig speak. This was the day before he addressed the Tufts (University) conference on "How the World is Blowing Up." Haig has the best handle on this of anyone I know ... Everyone was really impressed.

You know, I had Fritz Kraemer—the guy who made Kissinger what he is—at my house two months ago and he described the differences between Haig and Kissinger: "I know Henry better than Haig," Fritz said. "When Henry comes into a room, he feels very insecure, because he knows he's not one of the group. He's very uptight, and he puts on a big performance to prove himself and get accepted.

"Haig is entirely different. When Haig comes into a room, he knows he'll be respected by everyone there. He knows he's on the inside. He's very suave—a very 'with it' fellow."

Both Haig and I agree that he doesn't have a chance to get nominated in 1980 unless the national mood changes. There's a good chance of this happening. I believe there is a 90 percent possibility that we will become involved in an eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation with the Soviets. It's hard to imagine that this won't happen very soon.

I would have thought—and Haig agrees with me, though he won't say so publicly—that this could have happened any time in the last two years. Everyone in Europe knows that, with the shape NATO is in, the Russians could sweep through Europe to the Channel in a week. But the Soviets have been very shrewd: they've not responded in the way we expected. I think they're waiting first to get SALT and the 1980 elections through before making a major move.

Such a U.S.-USSR confrontation could come out of a Soviet occupation of northern Iran, or Soviet use of the Palestinians as a surrogate military force or—much more likely—a serious deterioration in Israel's security. The U.S. will naturally want to do something, to go to the brink when this happens. But we won't be able to. *We'll back down.*

Carter and Vance have internalized the idea that the U.S. is number two, and their mind-set is to beg the Soviet Union for concessions. ... They won't have the guts to do what is necessary...

What will happen then? Well, I think the country will start saying, 'We're tired of being pushed around by the Russians. Carter is a patsy. We need a man on a white horse to take over.' Carter will become a patriot then, just like Neville Chamberlain finally did. He'll realize that none of his present advisors are capable of handling the situation, and he'll bring Haig and like-minded guys into the Administration. He'll be just a figurehead while these men run the government. One of the things we'll have to figure out is how, as an honorable man, we can close down GM and begin producing cruise missiles around-the-clock without the Soviets knowing. We'll have to carry out preparations to recoup our losses vis-a-vis the Russians....

The "man on the White Horse" syndrome is Connally's scenario for getting elected, too. Connally is a tough guy, no doubt about it. He's the CPD's (Committee on the Present Danger —ed.) candidate. But I think he and Reagan will cancel one another out. He's also plagued by being an ex-Democrat and by the milk scandal. He'll probably end up as Haig's Secretary of State....

Connally is a hard-liner, but Haig is much more of a hard liner than people realize. A lot of people feared him in 1974 as a serious danger to constitutional government. There were a lot of knee-jerk conservatives

and right-wingers who thought he was going to run a coup when he became Acting President. He impresses people as a fascist ... Schlesinger was one of the people who misread Haig's intentions. People were wrong, though. Haig is just an extremely patriotic person....

Who's supporting Haig? Well, David Rockefeller, definitely. A lot of old Republican money on the Street (Wall Street—ed.) is behind him ... Ely Jacobs, for example. Heinz in Pennsylvania is very pro-Haig. Haig visited him when he was in Pennsylvania last month...But Haig doesn't have an organization yet, so a lot of people who probably will support him if his candidacy takes off aren't doing so yet.

Is Kissinger behind Haig? Hah! Kissinger is trying to be behind everybody's campaign. As soon as he hears of a new candidate, he goes running up to him offering his services. He really wants to get back in (the government—ed.). It's really pathetic. But Haig has no use for him, and neither does Connally.

I expect Haig to begin campaigning as soon as his resignation from NATO takes effect in June. He'll play an enormous role in the SALT debate. He already has, actually. Every time he gives a speech, he'll say he hasn't seen the SALT document yet, so he can't comment, but then he goes on to detail why it's such a rotten deal for the U.S.

One thing I suggest you do: Watch the SHAPE conference in Brussels May 8-9 carefully. Haig is inviting a whole bunch of non-NATO people, including myself, and it should be very interesting.

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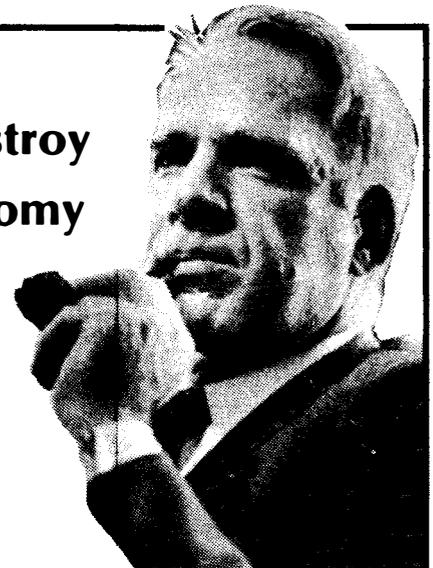
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