

How I see peace bid — by Kissinger

FEW FOREIGN dignitaries visit Washington without at least attempting an audience with one out-of-power foreign policy luminary.

The newest of Washington's elder statesmen admits, "most foreign ministers and many prime ministers ask to see me. I am on the tour. My policy is, I'll see them after they've concluded their business here."

Comfortably situated at his unmarked office in downtown Washington at the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Henry Kissinger is beyond doubt the most powerful out of office secretary of state in memory.



HENRY KISSINGER

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In his speech, Kissinger focused on three themes:

- The fragile nature of the peace being established between Egypt and Israel.
- The necessity to find a private and Israel to want out of a "private understanding" — eventually an agreement to disagree — on matters such as the future of the West Bank and Palestinian self-determination.

INTERPRETING Kissinger's international views and his domestic motives continues to be a Washington preoccupation. It is said in the U.S. that President Carter's inner circle still regard Kissinger as a major political threat.

As Marvin Kalb recently noted in the *New York Times Magazine*, "According to one conspiratorial theory, Kissinger is seen as a kind of government in exile, plotting a return to power by a subtle use of plans and contacts, according to a more charitable view, he is a powerful leader of the 'loyal opposition,' plotting by the established rules of the game but pursuing the one goal nonetheless."

Whatever Kissinger's ultimate goals and motives, his capacity for work and involvement remain phenomenal. He holds eight paying jobs now in addition to many honorary positions.

All in all, Kissinger's current yearly income is about half a million dollars (\$81.62 million). But he does have exceptional expenses — \$150,000 (SR487,500) yearly for protection from a staff of five bodyguards and a considerable amount for a flock of lawyers to handle the two active lawsuits still against him — for his role in wiretapping 17 government officials and newsmen as far as his attempt to private 33,000 pages of telephone transcripts.

But beyond the money and power, Kissinger remains Washington's biggest superstar.

Kissinger has been regarded as a friend of the Israelis everywhere except in Israel where he is thought to favor the Arab view. Whatever his personal motives and beliefs his voice remains an influential one and knowledge of his current views on the Mid-east is useful to every interested party.

The Egyptian-Israeli negotiations are going to mark both a political and a spiritual change

Report by MARK BRUZONSKY from Washington

Then the former Secretary of State went on to point out that the Camp David agreement is more than a separate Egyptian-Israeli peace. In the exhilaration of the approaching peace treaty it is sometimes forgotten that there is also a West Bank agreement which has been signed by about 300 Jewish leaders.

And though insisting that "I will not engage in any discussion on its meaning, however, or any interpretation it will inevitably reduce Israeli control over the destiny of the Arabs living in the West Bank."

Furthermore, Kissinger added, "as that agreement has been written, I see no reference to any changes in the 67 frontiers."

This brought Kissinger to the second major point of his speech. While suggesting that the Israelis had "become clearer among themselves just what it is they have agreed to" and that this historical process is what has generated the progress of the U.S. and Israel to reach a "private understanding as to where this process is going to go."

"It is dangerous to Israel and dangerous to the Jewish community," Kissinger asserted, "to conduct diplomacy as a series of public confrontations with unilateral statements on each side which are then papered over."

In what could be taken as a criticism of both Prime Minister Begin and President Carter, Kissinger noted that "always in the past the U.S. worked out a strategic agreement with the road nobody asked and nobody has

ever asked. So I think that in the future of the West Bank some attempt might be given to go back to this good approach of de facto arrangements."

Then turning to the larger regional context of this Egyptian-Israeli peace, Kissinger made his third point to his Jewish audience.

"Israel and Jews all over the world have to not only be concerned about the survival of Israel," he insisted, "but also about the condition of stability and progress in the whole area."

"We have seen Soviet attempts, Kissinger noted, "to use individual Arab countries as a base for radicalization of the area. But we are seeing something even more fundamental now where the concepts of development that the West has introduced all over the world are producing political dislocations in which the originators of the concepts have been unable to give answers."

"And though these political dislocations may be quite unrelated to the Arab-Israeli dispute, yet they have the profoundest consequences," Kissinger stated.

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As Kissinger himself puts it, "I decided right then and there — during his first out of office vacation in Acrepolio at the beginning of 1977 — that I would not spend my 50th birthday in 40's," that I would not spend my 50th birthday in 40's."

Kissinger holds three academic positions — professor at Georgetown University, counselor at the University of California at San Diego, and International Studies and Senior Fellow at the Aspen Institute in New York City. He is a consultant to both Chase Manhattan Bank and Goldman Sachs Brokerage house.

He lectures lavishly for about \$10,000 (\$R32,500) an appearance. He is special consultant on world affairs for NBC, he was a 5-year, \$1 million (\$R3.25 million) contract. And his book — to which he is now devoting most of his time and which will appear in numerous languages, is expected to eventually bring Mid-east is useful to every interested party.

government in Israel about where we were going and what we wanted to do," even though tactics sometimes differed.

"It's very dangerous," Kissinger stated, "to let a series of crises develop and to try to solve them under the impact of deadlock. Even if this worked once, conditions are not the same on the West Bank as they are in the Sinai." Kissinger insisted in concluding his comments about Camp David, "I'm optimistic. In the Mid-east it's sometimes easier to do something than to talk about it." But he cautioned, "some relationship has to be found between the legalistic, traditional tradition of Jewish negotiators and the epic poetry tradition of Arab negotiators to the problem."

And by way of seeming to give advice to the Israelis about their usual insistence on legalistic decisions, he recalled the 1975 negotiations. There was then "a great debate about unimpeded access to the Abu Rudeis oil field at a time before any one realized there was only one road and the topography was such that no other could be built."

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becoming specific, "that the Shah is caught between those who think he has moved too rapidly and others who think he hasn't moved rapidly enough."

Kissinger then addressed the Carter administration's priorities by stating that "I'm not afraid to say that abstract human rights slogans by the U.S. are accelerating this problem in Iran."

"A pro-Western, stable Israel is absolutely essential for a peaceful Mid-east," Kissinger insisted. "If Iran should become a nuclear country, the whole pattern of relationships would fundamentally change, and the prospects of peace will be fundamentally affected."

Because of regional tensions, Kissinger continued, "a situation would arise where not because the peace agreements are unsatisfactory but because domestic evolutions have gone out of control we could see a total radicalization of all the Mid-east and a loss of all that has been achieved."

And in an almost apparent intimation Carter, Kissinger added, "the ultimate with whether a particular state with a particular leader was above or not or well-chosen for the occasion would be relatively trivial compared to these fundamental historical forces in our world."

In concluding his talk, Kissinger suggested that Israel, having gone through economic development and political change, could offer many lessons to the other countries in the area.

"It is essential that we understand the geopolitical challenges and the developmental challenges with political consequences we have totally neglected in a materialistic obsession with the belief that economic development is an end in itself and does not produce political and philosophical dislocation of the profoundest nature," Kissinger argued.

And the dangers presented by the turmoil in Iran which could bring about "a loss of all that has been achieved in the Mid-east," Kissinger, who was luncheon speaker following a morning address by former Israeli foreign minister Abba Eban, began with a few pointed jokes about his days of step by step diplomacy.

He recalled his first meetings with Eban when the then-former South African seemingly jested with him that "we Israelis consider objectives 100 per cent agreement with our prime view." But, Kissinger added, I found "it wasn't a joke."

"In my negotiations with Eban," Kissinger continued, "the only thing open for negotiation was the rate at which I would surrender. There evolved the myth that these poor, delinquent, helpless people were in Israel therefor production."

"I can assure you, the only issue for policy consideration in Jerusalem was how to maintain enough of my sanity, so I could sign the document they had drafted."

Kissinger also drew applause and laughter when he suggested that a stranger walked into the room where Eban and he were negotiating and were talking of them was the American Secretary of State. He would have assumed it was Eban.

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