

The Value of U.S.-Brazilian Consultation

By Frank D. McCann

SECRETARY OF State Henry A. Kissinger's agreement to consult Brazil on all major events of international significance should be taken seriously, because Brazil is South America's dominant power and will wield increasing influence on the African side of the South Atlantic basin. A United States policy that recognizes regional preeminence is realistic and serves our national interest by preserving a friendship that is as utilitarian as it is mutually attractive.

Ignoring the special nature of the Brazilian-American relationship, or worse, rejecting it in the name of Pan Americanism, would encourage Brasília's recent tendency to strike out alone or in concert with European powers and third-world states.

Portuguese-speaking Brazil rejected Pan Americanism because it submerged Brazil in a Spanish-speaking bloc, placing it on a par with lesser republics. It looked to the United States for a cooperative alliance to prevent their each being overwhelmed by the hemisphere's Spanish-speaking countries.

While Brazil's motives for seeking close ties are self-protective, they have

a more generous side that has been, and should continue to be, useful to United States interests. Because of its mixed Iberian, African and Amerindian heritage, Brazil has often acted as mediator and interpreter between the United States and the Spanish-speaking republics and would like to do so between Washington and the African countries. It is in an especially good position to do this in Angola, whose colonial history was long tied to that of Brazil—and, further, Brazil recognized the Luanda government of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola in November when Portugal pulled out.

Brazil is determined to become the principal non-African influence in Portuguese-speaking Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau. Brazilian policy makers have decided that their country's common linguistic and cultural heritage with the Africans will help promote Brazilian economic interests, among others, in Africa.

Brazil wants Angolan oil and would like to cooperate in the marketing of tropical products, and it wants to obtain a major share of Portuguese-speaking Africa's consumer market.

To oppose Brazil on Angola would be to oppose its most basic foreign objectives. How much better to establish a mechanism for discussion that will minimize the adverse effects of the United States' having bet on the losing side in the Angolan civil war.

On the face of it, Mr. Kissinger's agreement appears to be another example of Washington's supporting an authoritarian military dictatorship. However, we should understand that the Brazilian armed forces are not monolithic; there are officers who oppose brutality and torture.

The President, Gen. Ernesto Geisel, represents the more liberal wing of the officer corps, which wants to reduce military involvement in day-to-day politics (albeit preserving some veto or moderating power) by either returning the Presidency to civilians or increasing the role of Congress, or both.

American policy makers are wise to recognize that the Brazilian political situation is slowly changing for the better. Sadly, arbitrary arrests, torture and deaths have taken place, but President Geisel has those responsible on the defensive. His removal of Gen. Ednardo D'Ávila Melo, in whose São Paulo command two recent torture-related deaths occurred, is more symptomatic of the trend of events than the deaths themselves.

Lending prestige to the Geisel administration at this juncture, coming so soon after his successful reassertion of Presidential authority in São Paulo and weathering right-wing criticism for recognizing the government, in Luanda, will serve to strengthen the positive drift toward a more open, more civilian government.

If Brazil can ease itself out from under military rule with the clear approval of Washington, it will provide a powerful example to the Chileans, who have come to believe that Washington only supports Pinochet-type dictatorships. The message will be especially understood by those Chilean officers who, embarrassed at the mindless brutality of Gen. Augusto Pinochet and his henchmen, are ready to depose the general and open the way to a more reasonable and humane civilian government.

Though it may raise some false hopes, this mechanism more likely will serve to stem Brazil's drift toward Europe and its willingness to sell its United Nations votes for Arab oil—it supported the United Nations resolution linking Zionism and racism, United States International Atomic Energy Agency policies forced Brazil to buy reactors from West Germany, resulting in considerable ill will and encouraging the Brazilian scientific community to look to German universities for guidance. France is pressing for a broad-ranging agreement and in May President Geisel goes to Britain where another accord is in the works. Developments will likely show that Mr. Kissinger acted in the nick of time.

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Mink-Lined Gumshoes

By Russell Baker

News Item: The House of Representatives is about to launch a \$350,000 investigation to find out who leaked the Pike Committee's report on abuses in the Central Intelligence Agency.

CONGRESS telephoned. It was furious. "I've got to have \$350,000 right away," it said. Grandmother could tell from my face that it was bad news. "It's just Congress, Grandmother. Nothing to worry about."

"Has it been locked up again?" she asked. "Are you in jail?" I asked Congress. "I don't have time for questions," said Congress. "If you love me, come across with \$50 K right away."

"It wants \$350,000," I told Grandmother. "Pshaw," said Grandmother. "Let me talk to that Congress." She picked up the extension phone. "What in tarnation are you up to now, Congress?" asked Grandmother.

"Gee, Grandma," said Congress. "I've just got to have a new investigation."

Then Grandmother really gave Congress what-for. Hadn't we just bought it a brand new investigation last year? That C.I.A. investigation?

"That investigation wasn't comfortable," Congress said, "and besides it leaked all the dirt."

"What kind of investigation are you thinking of buying now?" she asked. "This is the latest model, Grandma," Congress told her. "The new investigation will investigate to find out who leaked the findings of the old investigation to the newspapers."

Grandmother hit the ceiling. "You mean to tell me you want to spend \$350,000 to find out who passed a few papers to the scribes?"

"They were secret papers, Grandma," said Congress.

"Secret papers, my foot!" said Grandmother. "I read 'em all in the newspapers and they were just the usual stuff about Henry Kissinger fibbing his way around the world and the C.I.A. sticking its nose into other peoples' business. Call that secret?"

"You don't understand, Grandma. It was the only secret we had. The President and Kissinger have warehouses full of secrets, and we've got none. As soon as we get a secret of our own, some flink jakes it. With our new investigation, we'll find out who's spilling the beans."

Grandmother's harsh tone softened as she heard Congress's plaintive story. She had always had a soft spot in her heart for Congress.

"There, there," she said. "Old Gramps isn't going to send her Congress away empty-handed."

"You're really swell, Grandma."

"But \$350,000 seems a little pricey to find out who slipped some paper to the newspaper boys. I'll tell you what I'm going to do."

While Congress listened, Grandmother said she was going to put Congress in touch with a man named Spade, Sam Spade.

"I'll only take Sam two or three days—four at the most—to find out something as simple as that," she said, "and he'll work for \$25 a day and expenses. The whole job shouldn't cost you more than \$150."

There was a long pause at Congress's end of the telephone. "Gee, Grandma," Congress finally said, "we'd look cheap if we bought a \$150 investigation."

Grandmother's face creased in loving smiles. "Bless you, Congress. Old Gramps doesn't want her Congress looking like a pumper. Tell you what I'm going to do."

While Congress listened, Grandmother said she was going to put Congress in touch with an investigative newspaper reporter. "I'll probably take him three or four weeks to find out who turned over the paper because those fellows drink a lot," she said. "But he'll ask you three or four thousand dollars for the job. Those buzzards make as much

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\$36,000 a year now for his investigation that Sam Spade does for a day."

Congress spoke in a wheedling tone. "Grandma," it said, "you ought to see this new investigation. It costs with twenty outside consultants will take 1,000 man days of investigation and 1,000 hours of legal work."

Grandmother did some fast calculating. "Thunderation!" she said. "That's like having one detective one lawyer work for four solid years. And just to find out who passed papers to the press? I'll bet Sam Spade and Perry Mason working together could crack the case in an afternoon."

"But this has class, Grandma," said Congress. "Twenty consultants, 2,100 detective-and-legal hours on 'Grandma!'"

Grandmother could never say Congress. It was her favorite word. "Of course you'll get the money," said.

"Gosh, Grandma, thank!" Congress. "And just for that raise your Medicare taxes this year. Doesn't that Congress make feel good all over?" she asked.

Giscard: II—European

By C. L. Sulzberger

FRANCE makes no secret of the fact that it is seriously concerned about a growing appearance of paralysis in United States foreign policy, as recently displayed in Africa and even Europe. This is not a matter of conflict between Paris and Washington, only of preoccupation here.

Certainly in the Elysée Palace, there is reluctance to discuss this delicate subject. Yet the mere fact that its existence is known not only to diplomats but also to leaders of other European states, above all West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, who reviewed it last month in a meeting with President Giscard d'Estaing, makes the matter moot.

Even Mr. Giscard d'Estaing is said by his friends to feel it is wrong for Washington to advertise so openly its inability—for reasons of internal political debate—to react to threats abroad. At the highest level this is considered very serious. It should not be forgotten that the French Government, since de Gaulle, has consistently endorsed strong executive authority, which it now finds lacking across the Atlantic.

While France feels that its own policy during the Angolan crisis was logical and ultimately led Paris to take an initiative in recognizing the Popular Movement's Government once it had clearly won, the French point out there was little chance of an alternative because of U.S. flabbiness.

Had the United States given explicit indication that it would counterbalance any external intrusion in the contested area—like that of Cuban troops and Soviet equipment; or had it threatened to break off key negotiations with Moscow unless a halt was called, it is felt the result might have been less inhumane. The course of Russian intervention could have been changed. But the necessary opposition never occurred.

This is a realistic nation and it would seem that Giscard has decided on two basic courses of action. To start with, he appears to feel that the European Community must make a greater defensive effort because of the apparent irresolution and political weakness of its superpower partner.

There are only two countries in West Europe that can seriously attempt this, France and Germany. Britain is again reducing its military budget. The other allies can make scant additional effort. Therefore, both Paris and Bonn agree to step up defense, with the West Germans working directly within the NATO setup, the French continuing tangentially.

Giscard apparently feels should concentrate on two of the problem. The small deterrent force should not be to remain static but should be subjected to continuing technological improvement. And, over the years, France's conventional must be reorganized and strengthened.

It is often felt that General de Gaulle believed France should work for international equilibrium that while the United States was far more powerful than the Union, it was sensible to give more sympathy and support might normally have been expected.

The Giscardien theory is often to analyze French problems in terms of past appearances. The Government pursues its own actions. Anyway, it is clear to Paris is less concerned with a world balance than a search for the means of avoiding West confrontation.

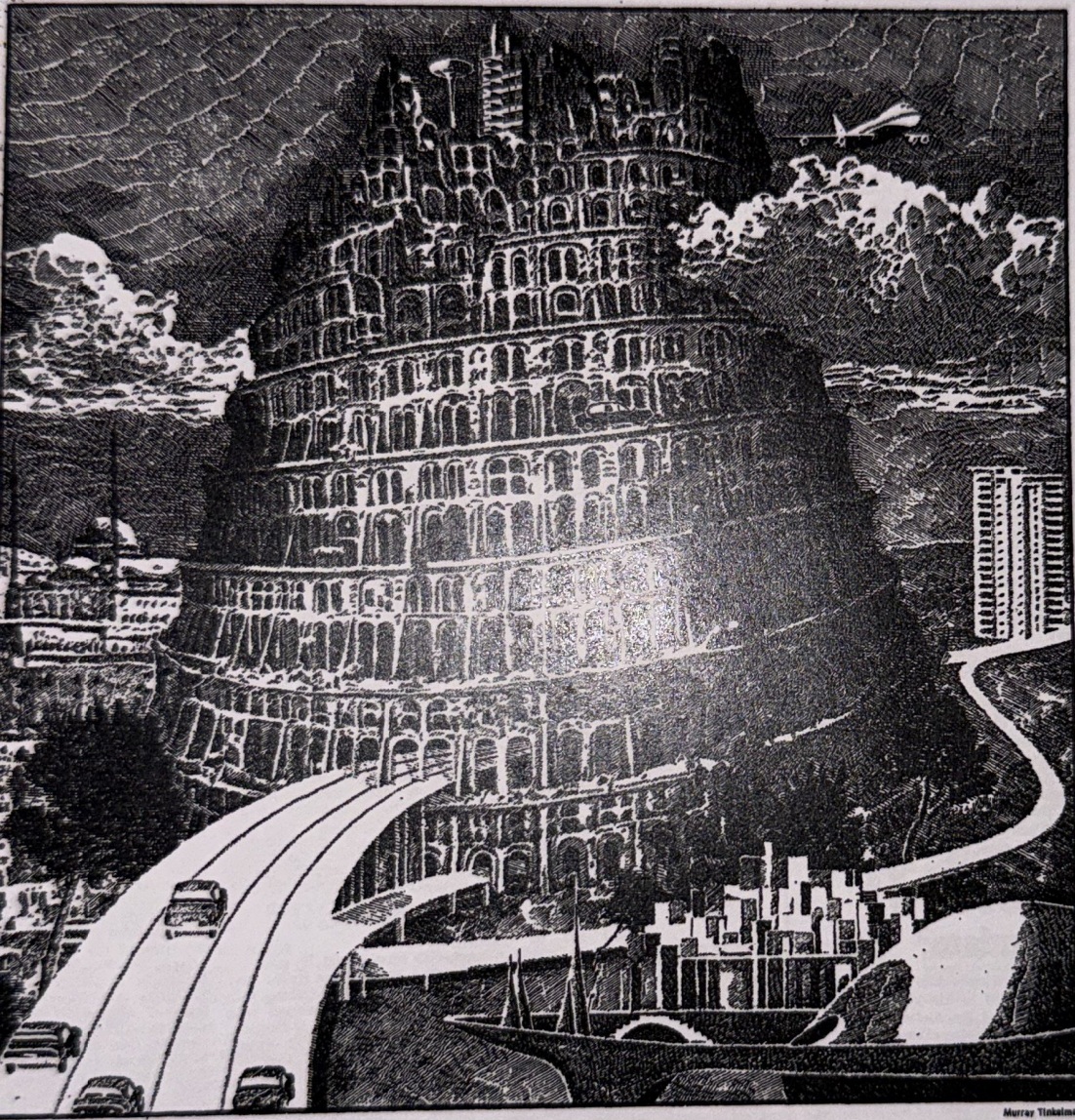
One may add to this analysis Giscard is not as convinced others that the world situation has been upset. Rather

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military "reversal," perhaps only creation of overall equilibrium; but that alone, meaning to previous U.S. advantage, it necessary for Europe to its effort. France never opted the Atlantic alliance although NATO's integrated "tion."

The greatest concern here not over the degree of shift in armed strength but in the weakness of the West, both States and the European Community's paralysis is seen as Europe's as structural.

Paris can only hope the United States will be corrected next year's Presidential election. Europe the Giscardien solution to be basic reform. This initial creation of a de facto "torato" of France, Germany Britain to get things moving. Then, ultimately, a formal treaty could be negotiated method has been worked out since the lesser E.E.C. nations must first realize they aren't ignored and that their participation is needed. In all this sense of guidance and new sense of urgency is rendered urgent in this world.



Murray Tinkelman

(Re)building Old-New Jerusalem

By Charles M. Haar

FIVE YEARS ago, the original plan for the future development of Jerusalem, reflecting the conventional wisdom of the 1960's, stressed the cleaning of large areas, the construction of expressways, the tearing down of the old central business district and the substitution of more modern (and therefore, by definition, higher) buildings. Soon, thereafter, fortunately, there was a period of intellectual withdrawal from the bigger-is-better syndrome, and we could benefit from the perceived mistakes of the old planning theories as already applied in the metropolitan centers of the United States and Europe.

Hence, the first report of the Jerusalem Committee, an international advisory board, recommended a plan based on the strengths and values of the city as developed over time (its delicate social fabric, its intercommunal cooperation, its unique hills and valleys light and special local stone) and on the human scale of life that has cast a spell for centuries.

But while the report was accepted in principle by the Mayor, Teddy Kollek, and political administrators, they still had to contend with countervailing forces for large-scale building. The economic trends of the land market, and the experience of national defense as envisioned by certain ministers.

How could planning principles withstand the pressures, and in the defining and in the day-to-day solution of problems how could a general vision of the city be preserved? These were the basic questions at a recent meeting of the committee, in Jerusalem.

What we found is most encouraging to report. The planning of Jerusalem has indeed been turned about, and the overall goals for the future have been formulated as organizing principles.

● To impose a coherent form upon the city's future growth, a green belt is being established around the urbanized area itself, and a necklace of parks and landscaped areas, designed for active use, has been interspersed around the walls of the Old City. Accomplishing these open-space objectives involves both considerable public expense and the ingenious use of donations from landowners.

● Heights have been scaled down on many proposed developments. On the whole, the bowl-shaped contour and human scale of the city promises to be preserved, although here and there building proceeds at a scale criticized by some experts. Laws of private property and development rights have meant, however, a continuous struggle between the expectations of individual developers and the new planning goals and needs of society.

● Eleven hundred buildings have been registered for special protection, to insure the preservation of monuments and historic districts. The Akas

Mosque is being restored by the Moslem community, whose craftsmen are demonstrating that medieval skills are not totally lost.

● The city's unique architectural heritage is not only being preserved but actively enhanced. Diggings continue, under the supervision of distinguished archeologists. Of special note is an archeological park that will enable the 20th-century visitor to experience historical buildings, districts and ways of life.

● Planning and development activities under way recognize that Jerusalem after all is not a monument or a sterile museum but the vibrant and cosmopolitan capital of a modern nation. The central business district is being restored and new territory set aside for commercial facilities. Industrial-development plans emphasize job creation in electronics, pharmaceuticals and medical technology to supplement the employment base furnished by the Government.

● The lessons of our model-cities and poverty programs have been carefully distilled by the Jerusalem administrators. One result is the creation of planning districts for different economic, ethnic and religious groups, as well as the setting up of smaller decentralized city halls where local needs and desires can be expressed in the details of planning.

While the present redirection of the city's planning is encouraging, certain developmental issues still require more careful attention: retention of the vitality of the diverse cultural groups; accommodating the automobile, al-

ready the ruin of some of the world's greatest cities; harnessing of the forces of industrial development and mobility and migration; the specific means used to set priorities for capital expenditures.

However, beneath the committee's deliberations is a question of far larger import—the fate of the entire city and the nation of which it is a part. Most communities planning their future do not face such a question.

Given Israel's precarious position, a sense of uncertainty and danger necessarily intruded, at least subconsciously, into the meeting of the Jerusalem Committee.

In this light, the plan assumes a heroic stature by addressing the long-range and more pressing needs of Jerusalem's citizenry (for housing, jobs, green spaces) as if the nation's larger fate were not at stake.

After all, Jerusalem is an international center in which competing forces—political, social and religious—are at work, a city that has resonance far beyond its own borders and Israel's. Jerusalem's fate, depending on the larger world picture, is not at this time absolutely clear. Obviously, the national leadership proceeds as if things will work out well, and everyone hopes they will. This hidden concern gave the committee's entire proceedings a special poignancy.

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