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Zorael

Pollard: One Year After

A convicted spy, he remains in prison while new information suggests he was duped

By Wolf Blitzer

Jonathan Jay Pollard, a former U.S. naval intelligence analyst convicted of spying for Israel, was effectively "set up" by Rafael Eitan, the veteran Israeli spymaster who served as Pollard's overall handler.

According to information provided by sources close to Pollard and subsequently confirmed by authoritative U.S. and Israeli officials involved in the case, Eitan insisted that Pollard accept money in exchange for sensitive American information. "The money was Eitan's idea, not Pollard's," one source said.

Pollard, now 32 years old, has been an ardent Zionist since high school. During his undergraduate days at Stanford University in California and his graduate studies at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University outside Boston, he often contemplated aliya.

According to the most recent evidence and in contrast to the many earlier press accounts, Pollard initially acted not in order to make money but only in order to help Israel. He had a naive and somewhat romantic image of Israel and the Zionist ideal — not all that uncommon for a young and intelligent Jew growing up in an isolated, largely non-Jewish community in the Midwest. He wanted to be part of the struggle to maintain Israel's survival.

He had originally volunteered to provide Israel with some limited information which he considered to be vital to its national security. But the actual transfer of money to Pollard clearly created a different situation.

According to the sources, Pollard was initially very reluctant to accept any payment from Israel. His motivation was purely ideological, not financial.

But Eitan instructed Pollard's first Israeli contact, Air Force Colonel Aviem Sella, then on leave in New York for graduate studies, to insist that Pollard be paid for his services. After repeated prodding, Pollard started to accept the money.

The sources said that Eitan had wanted to "entrap" the young American Jew whose information about Arab military capabilities proved to be very valuable. By forcing Pollard to accept the money, Eitan would be in a better position to demand that Pollard maintain his espionage link with Israel.

In addition, the sources said, the money enabled Eitan to specifically "task" Pollard to obtain certain classified U.S. documents, according to Israeli needs.

"The element of money was key," a

well-informed source said. "Eitan insisted that Pollard be put on the payroll as a way of guaranteeing his continued cooperation. It would further tie him to Israel and make it very difficult, if not impossible, for him to walk away."

Pollard's payment started at \$1,500 a month but eventually increased to \$2,500. He was also reimbursed \$10,000 for his first-class travel expenses for a November 1984 trip to Paris where he met with Eitan for the first time.

Sella, by then back on active duty in Israel after having established a close personal friendship with Pollard, had also flown to Paris for the meeting. Pollard clearly had come to deeply like and trust Sella.

Eitan, an experienced handler of spies all over the world, wanted the air force officer to be present in Paris in order to psychologically reassure Pollard about the entire operation. "It would make Pollard feel more comfortable to have Sella there," an informed source said. "Eitan dealt with Pollard just like he did with other spies."

FEATURE

Before leaving the U.S., Sella had introduced Pollard to Yosef Yagur, an Israeli Embassy science counselor who also served as Eitan's chief representative in America. Sella informed Pollard that Yagur would become his main contact. Thus, Yagur also flew to Paris for the meetings.

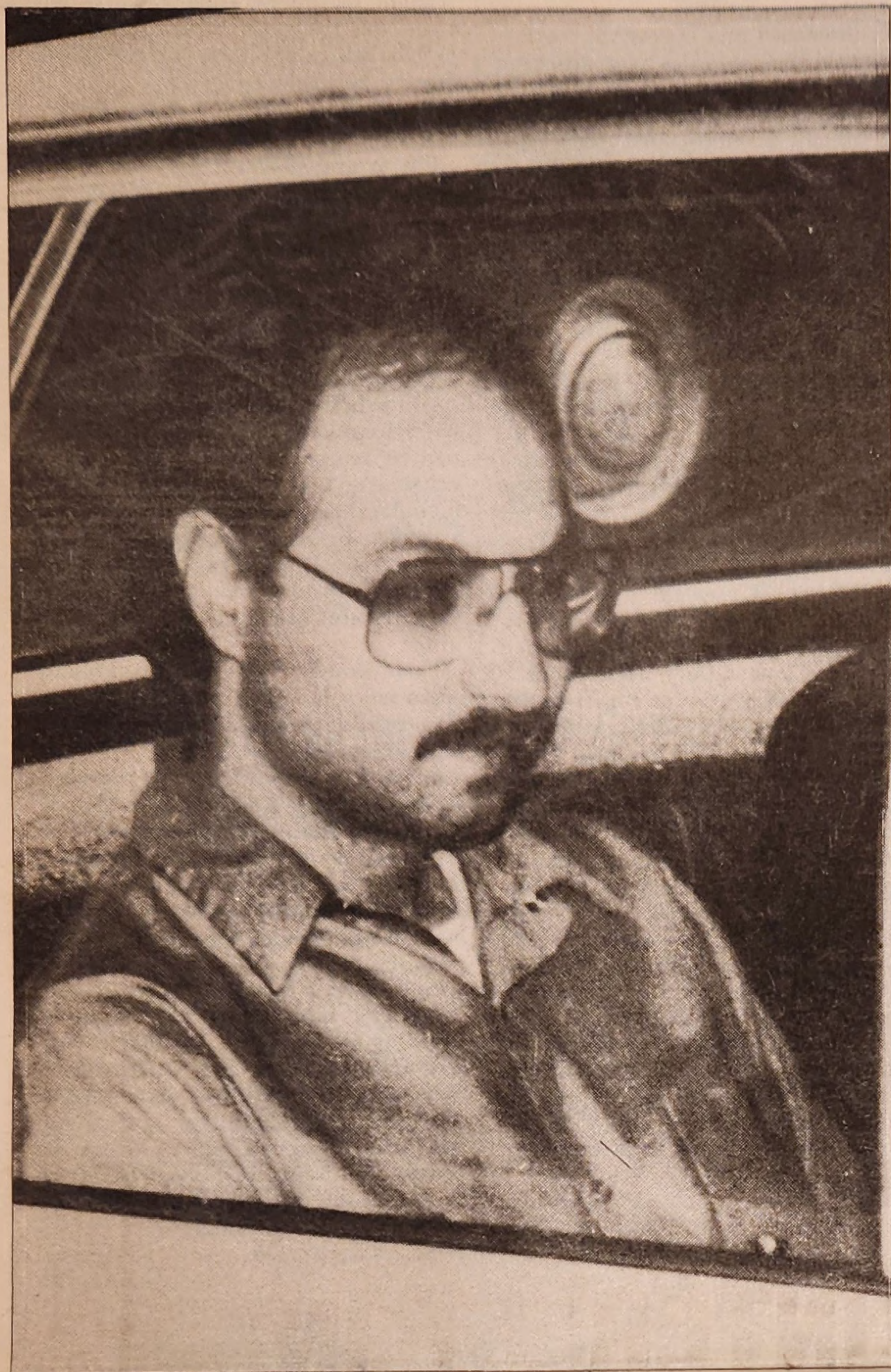
Pollard was joined on the trip by his wife-to-be, Anne Henderson-Pollard. The wives of Eitan, Yagur and Sella were also in Paris for the week-long meetings. Everyone stayed at one of the most exclusive hotels in the city and dined at the most expensive restaurants. While the men talked "business," the women went shopping and sightseeing.

Sella was also instructed by Eitan to purchase an expensive diamond and sapphire ring for Pollard to give to his wife — an indication of Israel's deep gratitude to him.

During the summer of 1985, Pollard and his wife traveled throughout Europe and then to Israel for meetings with Eitan. Pollard was reimbursed another \$10,000 in cash.

Later that year, Pollard was given the number of a foreign bank account. He was told by Yagur that \$30,000 had already been deposited in that account and that an additional \$30,000 would be deposited each year for the next 10

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Jonathan Jay Pollard

AP/Wide World Photo



Anne Henderson Pollard

AP/Wide World Photo

POLLARD,

continued from Page 11A

years. This money was to be in addition to the direct cash payments which Pollard received from Israel. Before his arrest, that sum came to \$45,000.

Playing on Pollard's long-standing ideological attachment to Israel, Eitan in the fall of 1985 also had Yagur show Pollard an Israeli passport, bearing Pollard's photograph, in the name of "Danny Cohen." This was designed to reinforce the notion of Pollard's ideological commitment to Israel and to make Pollard feel better about himself and the operation.

It would supposedly encourage Pollard to believe that his services would indeed eventually result in his moving to Israel. Eitan, the sources said, did not want Pollard to think he was providing the information strictly for money.

"It's an old espionage ploy," an Israeli source said. "You constantly have to reassure your spies. Their emotional state can become unstable. They can get very nervous. Eitan thought that the passport would help to ease Pollard's concerns. Occasionally, he was showing signs of becoming very edgy about the whole thing."

Israeli sources confirmed that similar "passports" have been shown to other Israeli spies around the world. "They have to know that they will be welcomed in Israel if something should go wrong," one source said.

Court documents described the passport as "a demonstration of gratitude for services rendered in that it identified Mr. Pollard as a citizen of Israel." But other sources insisted that Eitan's passport decision was largely designed to psychologically reassure Pollard into continuing the operation.

According to the sources, some friction began to develop between Pollard and his Israeli handlers, especially Eitan, who kept putting increasing demands on Pollard for more and more U.S. documents. Even some of Eitan's closest associates in the espionage ring were reportedly upset by what they regarded as his "heavy-handed" behavior toward Pollard. "Eitan really took advantage of him," a source said.

The civilian employee of the U.S. Navy was seen by other Israeli operatives as very intelligent and deeply committed to Israel, but extremely naive about the darker side of espionage.

"He was really pretty innocent and foolish about the whole thing," one Israeli source conceded. "He originally had no idea what he was getting himself involved in. His biggest mistake was trusting Eitan."

According to informed sources, even Sella was said to have been personally upset by Eitan's attitude toward Pollard and Israel's subsequent decision to abandon him.

Sella, who is today the highly regarded commander of the U.S.-built Ramon Air Base in the Negev, is described by these sources as feeling very guilty about his own role in introducing Pollard to Eitan.

James Hibey, the lawyer representing Pollard's wife, Anne Henderson-Pollard, has insisted that Pollard never actually intended to harm U.S. national security interests. His sole motivation was his personal love of Israel.

Other sources close to Pollard said that he had even refused to provide Israel with some information which he felt could hurt the U.S. This is said to have deeply angered Eitan.

Pollard was originally motivated to help Israel after seeing some very sensitive information come across his desk involving potentially alarming security threats facing Israel. In the spring of 1984, Pollard served as a watch officer for the Anti-Terrorist Alert Center in the Threat Analysis Division of the Naval Investigative Service.

He quickly discovered that while some of this information directly involved very serious threats to Israel, it was not being passed along to Israel through official channels. Pollard, on his own, decided to give it to Israel.

Through a friend in New York, he was introduced to Sella later in 1984. Sella was then on leave from the air force studying at New York University. It was Sella who subsequently introduced Pollard to Yagur and Eitan.

Eitan, who until the mid-1970s was a high-ranking Mossad operative and who had been personally involved in the capture of Adolph Eichmann, later became the head of LEKEM, the Defense Ministry's scientific intelligence-gathering unit which has since been disbanded.

Very few U.S. government officials believe the Pollard operation was unauthorized.

Eitan, forced out of his intelligence job after Pollard's arrest, is today head of Israel Chemicals, the largest government-owned firm in the country. Yagur, also forced out, works for Eitan there.

Pollard, arrested by the FBI outside the Israeli Embassy in Washington on Nov. 21, 1985, after he and his wife had sought political asylum but were turned away by embassy officials, pleaded guilty last June 4 to the U.S. government's espionage charges.

His wife, who pleaded guilty to a lesser charge of unauthorized possession of classified documents, is also awaiting sentencing. She, however, has been released on bail. She has just undergone a major intestinal operation and is recuperating very slowly in Washington.

Her husband, Jonathan Jay Pollard, is confined to a small cell in a maximum security prison somewhere in Virginia. He remains isolated from other prisoners because he has received several death threats from neo-Nazi, white supremacy hate groups.

One year after they were arrested in a major spy scandal that rocked U.S.-Israeli relations and completely upset their own lives, they were still awaiting formal sentencing.

Needless to say, this past year has been pure hell for both of them and their families. Her health problems have merely compounded all of their agony.

Beyond that, they have amassed huge legal expenses which their families have so far been forced to try to cover. But there is simply no way they can. Her legal fees alone are already in excess of \$100,000. Pollard's are probably around the same.

Her father and grandfather — neither of whom is Jewish — have managed to come up with some of the money, but they still owe a great deal to her lawyer, James Hibey.

Her mother, who is Jewish, is divorced from her father and does not have very much money either. Most of the funds used to cover her legal fees so far have come from her grandfather's pension fund which was supposed to take care of him in his old age. He is a retired mine worker.

Pollard has been helped by his father, a soft-spoken and respected professor at Notre Dame University in South Bend, Indiana, his mother, and other members of his immediate family. But there are very real limits in their ability to cover these costs. They are not wealthy and they have very modest incomes.

Thus, the financial and emotional strains have been very great on both sets of families. Their lives will never be

the same.

Disillusioned and depressed, the Pollards and their families have also been very upset by the many allegations in the news media suggesting that Pollard was simply a self-promoter and braggart, out to make a few dollars by selling America's secrets to Israel. This was simply not true.

The Israeli government, in its effort to limit the damage from the scandal, has put forward a story that Pollard was part of an unauthorized "rogue" operation organized by Eitan.

Reportedly angered by his being eased out of the Mossad in the mid-1970s, he subsequently wanted to prove to his former intelligence colleagues that they had erred in their ways. Even with a much smaller staff and budget, he could obtain vital information for Israel which they could not. He supposedly had a personal incentive to exploit Pollard for everything he was worth.

But according to the official Israeli story, that was Eitan's personal decision, unauthorized by his superiors. He had violated Israeli policy guidelines by running Pollard in Washington. Israel does not spy on the United States. It was Eitan's mistake.

As a result, senior Israeli officials were supposedly justified by their subsequent decision to completely abandon Pollard after his arrest outside the Israeli Embassy on November 21, 1985, and to hand over evidence to the U.S. government against him. Yes, he had been told to come to the embassy if he could "shake" the FBI's surveillance. But he tried and failed to elude them. He was a big boy. He got caught and would have to pay the price. And Israel was going to let him twist alone in the wind.

Israeli leaders, while embarrassed, concluded that it was unfortunate and sad that Pollard and his wife would have to be suffer for their earlier indis-

cretion. But everyone had to realize that there was the more important issue of U.S.-Israeli relations at stake. Pollard, despite his feelings for Israel and his acknowledged service to it, would have to be sacrificed for the bigger picture.

But to the 32-year-old Jew who was passionately committed to Israel, the operation did not appear to be "rogue." After all, he had dealt with very senior officials — namely, Eitan, whose office was just down the hall from the prime minister's; Col. Aviem Sella; Yosef Yagur; and several others. He had been warmly received during a visit to Israel in the summer of 1985 where he met with other Israeli officials as well. He had no reason to suspect that his involvement was unauthorized by the highest echelon of Israeli government.

In fact, he had been repeatedly told that the opposite was the case—that the most senior leaders in Israel were indeed very grateful to him for his service.

Thus, whether or not the Pollard operation was really unauthorized has to a certain degree become somewhat moot at this point.

In the U.S. government, by the way, there are very few officials who believe it was unauthorized. They suspect that Eitan was doing what he was supposed to do and that his appointment to head Israel Chemicals, the largest government-owned firm in the country, was his reward.

As one of his final acts as the Israeli Embassy's number two diplomat in Washington, Elyakim Rubinstein, the new Cabinet Secretary in Jerusalem, met with Bernard Henderson, Anne Henderson-Pollard's father, and heard his very sad story. There is reason to believe that Rubinstein was touched by the personal tragedy that befell the Henderson and Pollard families. But no promises were made.

(Special to JW)



Gurriel Eisenberg, an Israeli businessman, speaking at the law offices of Jonathan Marks in New York, Thursday, has been accused of plotting to smuggle U.S. weapons to Iran and has sought subpoenas for Vice President George Bush and three other White House officials, saying he was told the Reagan administration approved the arms deal.

Justice Department to Review Case Against Israeli Arms Dealers

The Justice Department will review the case of four Israelis charged here with conspiracy to sell American weapons to Iran to determine if their action was part of a covert operation by the U.S. government, a spokesman said last week.

The Justice Department, which is prosecuting the case, will prepare arguments that will incorporate the recent revelations about the U.S. government's role in arms sales to Iran, according to John Russell, a Justice Department spokesman.

The 17 were indicted in April on charges of conspiracy to resell to Iran some \$2.5 billion worth of surplus American military hardware, part of which was already in Israel.

Defense attorneys in the case have made numerous counterclaims in which they contend top U.S. officials, including Vice President George Bush, Marine Corps Commandant General P.X. Kelley and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, approved the arms deals.

All the government parties have denied their involvement, and the U.S. Attorney's office has filed papers claiming the U.S. government has not sold arms to Iran in recent years. But last Wednesday, President Reagan acknowledged that such sales took place within the past year.

The recently disclosed evidence that the American government cooperated with Israel and international arms dealers, such as the defendants in the case, sheds new light on the attorneys' counterclaims.



Hats Off to St. Edward's Church

We join with the Palm Beach County Anti-Defamation League in honoring St. Edward's Church in Palm Beach. After years of the Junior Assembly of Palm Beach refusing to allow Jewish youngsters to attend the Assembly's weekly dance classes, St. Edward's church, working with ADL and a group of concerned parents, formed a cotillion for all the children in Palm Beach without regard to their religious background. While the women of the Junior Assembly teach their children that an individual's worth and value is related to religion, the congregants of St. Edward's Church teach theirs that religion has nothing to do with an individual's merit—a simple but incredibly important lesson for children and for the community.

Childers Isn't the Only One

Some political observers expressed surprise last week when Florida State Senator Don Childers of West Palm Beach backed away from his promise to support Ken Jenne of Fort Lauderdale as senate president. After he reneged on his pledge to Jenne, Childers joined a conservative coalition supporting Cocoa Beach Senator John Vogt.

Childers' action was predictable. As we have pointed out on a number of occasions, Childers' political agenda—his positions favoring school prayer, the teaching of creationism and censorship, for example—has its pedigree in the ultra-right-wing philosophy of the New Christian Right. It was perfectly logical to assume before the elections that Childers, if elected, would use his senate position to push for that conservative agenda.

What is surprising is that several Jewish political leaders in South County failed to see what was so obvious and, instead, supported Childers during the election. The nearly incredible explanation given at the time was that Childers had supported traffic-improvement projects in Delray Beach. Those South County Jewish leaders who supported Childers have effectively delivered control of the state senate to a coalition of ultra-conservatives. We would hope that those leaders are held accountable by the people they purport to represent.

Next Week:

CJF: The Issues and Mood

LETTERS

Such a State

To the Editor:

It is a sad commentary when the "State" of Israel, formerly under the mandate of Great Britain, is in a state of confusion and war. Since its establishment in 1948, I wanted to know who originated and designated the subversive term, "State" of Israel. As an American of Hebrew parents, living in the state of Florida, I resent it.

In 1944 I noticed the French coins of 1943 stamped Etat (State) Francais,

before and since changed to Republique Francaise. That was a French State (Vichy) under Nazi control.

Israel is a nation, land, home or government, not a state. United States of America is not State of America. Union of Socialist Soviet Republic, United Arab Republic, Union of South Africa, British Commonwealth and the Irish Republic are not states, to prove my point.

Bela S. Tulberger
Margate

'The Pits'

To the Editor:

After being criticized by the Kremlin for describing the Soviet government as "the pits," Mayor Edward Koch of New York City replied: "Why shouldn't they denounce me? I happen to be someone who believes and has said time and again that the Soviet Union is the equal of Nazi Germany in terms of the number of people that its government, beginning with Joe Stalin, killed."

Mayor Koch is right about the Soviet

regime being "the pits," but he is wrong about the USSR equalling Nazi Germany in exterminating people. Hitler, who may have killed as many as 12 million, was a minor leaguer compared to Stalin and his bloody successors. Reliable authorities estimate that the Soviets have killed at least 40 million people since 1917, and possibly as many as 83 million.

Ray Flow
Lake Worth

Free Our Brethren

To the Editor:

As Americans, we speak many languages. In the Soviet Union, Jews must keep quiet in all of them! At an international convention of surgeons, the discussion centered on the question of what was the most difficult operation to perform. An American surgeon declared the most difficult operation was brain surgery. A French surgeon claimed the most difficult was heart surgery. A Russian surgeon maintained the most difficult operation was tonsilectomy because it is so difficult to get a Russian to open his mouth!

Russian Jewry was once the spiritual and cultural reservoir of world Jewry. It enjoyed a creative community with great rabbinical seminaries, academies of higher Jewish learning, world-renowned scholars and writers, and a highly developed Yiddish and Hebrew press.

Today, in the Soviet Union, Jews are denied human and religious rights. At great personal peril, 400,000 Jews in the Soviet Union have registered their desire

to emigrate to Israel and be able to express their Jewishness as free people. An immensity of Jewish intellect is imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain. Our efforts to free them must go forward with renewed vigor.

Our community has adopted two refusniks: Yuli Edleshtein and Cherna Goldort.

Please plan to attend the Community Plea for Soviet Jews on Wednesday, December 10, 7:30 p.m., at Temple Beth El. Also, the Interfaith Outcry for Soviet Jewry on Tuesday, December 9 from 9-11 a.m., at Faith Lutheran Church, 555 U.S. Highway 1, North Palm Beach.

Is ours to be the generation that puts the comfort of our existence in freedom, ahead of efforts to free our brethren from Soviet oppression? You have the answer. They are our extended family. Do not turn away from them.

Toby F. Wilk
Lake Worth

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Why Israel Wants Iran To Win

By Yedidya Atlas

Although no end is in sight to the six-year Iraq-Iran war, Israeli military officials are still worried about the possibility of having to face a combined attack on Israel's northern border by the armies of Syria, Jordan and Iraq. The recent efforts of Jordan's King Hussein to forge an alliance between Syria and Iraq, presumably under Soviet auspices, has heightened Israeli concerns.

According to Israeli sources, the current hope in Jerusalem is to see Iraq defeated. In the event of a cessation of hostilities between Iran and Iraq, these sources point out, there is a likelihood of Iraq's newly developed military might being unleashed against Israel — a likelihood, these sources add, which Jerusalem can hardly ignore.

As a consequence of the six-year Gulf war, these sources also note, Iraq has vastly increased the strength of its "People's Army" to nearly one million men, which includes six armored divisions, up from four in 1980, and three highly trained mechanized divisions.

In 1980, the Iraqi army had 3,000 tanks, 2,500 APCs, and 2,000 artillery pieces. Today, the Iraqis have 5,000 tanks, including the improved Soviet built T-72, and 3,500 APCs, including the MP-1, equipped with 77-mm. cannons and Sagger anti-tank missiles. A vital part of Iraq's new arsenal are its 24 surface-to-surface FROG-7 and 12

SCUD missile launchers. In the past year, the Iraqis have used them in massive attacks against Iranian population centers with huge losses of civilian lives.

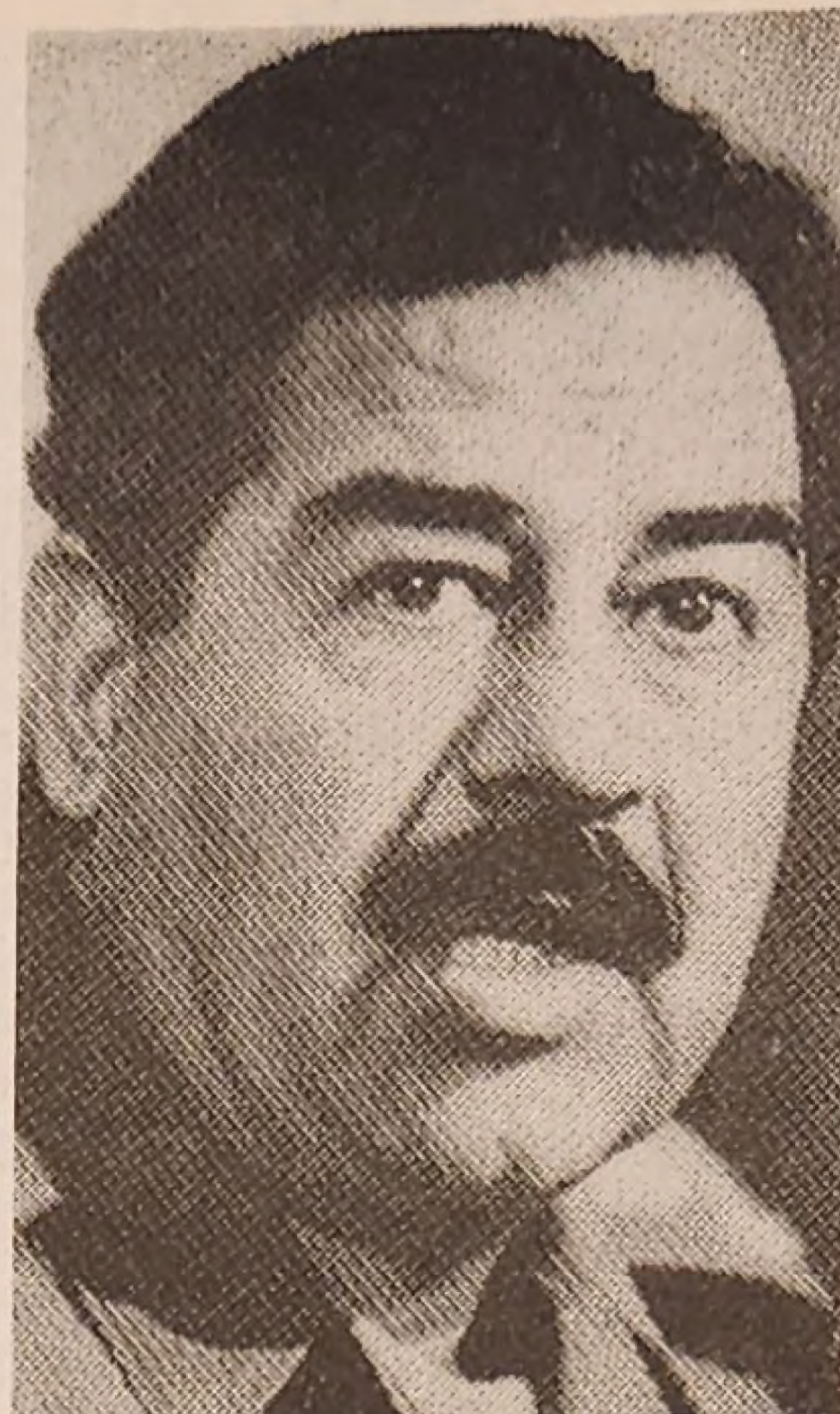
COMMENTARY

Iraq's airforce has also been supplied with new first-line fighter jets, mostly Soviet MIG-23s and MIG-25s, as well as some French Mirage F-1s. In 1980, Iraq had 500 combat planes and bombers, many of them older models. Today's Iraqi air corps has been increased 20 percent, to 600 planes and bombers, of which 450 are top-of-the-line models, which, besides the MIG-25 and Mirage F-1, also include the Soviet Suchoi-20 and Suchoi-7 bombers.

Iraqi ground forces are now also being assisted by Soviet MI-24 (Hind) attack helicopters, 60 French Gazelle anti-tank helicopters and German BO-105 attack helicopters.

Iraq's air defenses have also been bolstered by a substantial increase of both static and mobile ground-to-air missiles, such as the Soviet SA-8s, SA-9s and 100-150 of the French Roland missiles. Israeli army intelligence estimates place the number of such air defense missile batteries at a minimum of 200, an increase of 130 batteries over the 1980 figure.

Unquestionably, Iraq's army has improved considerably as a result of her



Iraqi President Saddam Hussein

being bloodied in the current war with Iran. Military experts, including observers who recently visited Iraq, report a substantial improvement in Iraq's military performance.

Iraq's newly developed military might be unleashed against Israel

All levels of the Iraqi army have gained invaluable combat experience. There also has been a vast improvement in military mobility, including troop and heavy equipment transportation,

which is of particular significance to the Israelis because of the construction of the joint Iraqi-Jordanian Autostrada enabling the quick dispatch of Iraqi forces to Israel's northeastern border.

There are also reports of a radical improvement in Iraq's middle military command. Baghdad has implemented a system of promotion for officers with successful combat and command experience, as compared to the pre-1980 custom of "political" promotions. Today's Iraqi officer corps is comprised of relatively young, seasoned combat officers. Inefficient officers have been removed regardless of social and political position.

All this has not made Israel sleep easier. Despite relatively "moderate" statements issued of late by Iraqi officials concerning the Arab-Israel conflict, it appears that such utterances have been dictated more by Iraq's present need for constant injections of arms and ammunition from the West, than by any major policy changes towards the "Zionist entity."

Iraqi President Saddam Hussein declared in the early stages of the Gulf war, "When Iraq emerges victorious from our war with Iran, then Israel will cease to exist."

A recent editorial in the official Iraqi newspaper, *Al Iraq*, made clear that no change in policy towards Israel has occurred.

"With the ultimate successful completion of the war with Iran, Iraq will be able to return its attention to its historical struggle with Zionism. As a result of the military experience gained from the Iranian conflict, Iraq will be better equipped strategically and tactically, both qualitatively and quantitatively," the paper commented.

(Special to JW)

Mr. Atlas is a freelance writer in Jerusalem who has written before on Arab military affairs.

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Malcolm S. Forbes Jr.

September 21, 1987

The Honorable John Whitehead
Deputy Secretary of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Z, uel

Dear John:

Your bolt-from-the-blue action last Friday to block funding of the U.S. - Israel radio transmitter agreement is deeply disturbing. It jeopardizes one of the President's personal foreign policy initiatives, one that will pay enormous dividends for a small outlay of dollars. In 1988, we are talking about only \$50 million--monies for which OMB has found offsets.

If the Administration does not request funding from Congress this year, the government of Israel cannot help but to view this as a serious breach of faith. Moreover, a failure to act now may result in delaying the project by as much as a full year, which will only increase its final cost.

Because of President Reagan's keen interest in public diplomacy and his understanding of the need for giving people in Communist countries unhindered access to reliable news and information, he personally launched this initiative during his first term with a handwritten letter to then Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres. The President's personal interest has never flagged. You were with us this June when the President proudly presided over ceremonies where the agreement between us and Israel was signed.

There was never any question on either the American or the Israeli side at that time that funding for the project would be sought immediately. Only now, at the eleventh hour did anyone learn you were opposed to going ahead this year.

Now it is true that Israel receives considerable aid from the U.S., but in no stretch of the imagination could this project be classified as a giveaway to our critical, steadfast ally. Of course, Israel will benefit from the construction activity on its soil. But Israel did not seek this project; our government did. The station is being built to serve U.S. interests and in furtherance of the President's foreign policy aims. For both the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, the Israel project is the linchpin of a transmitter modernization program that will enable the United States to reach tens of millions of new listeners in the USSR, Eastern Europe, and elsewhere. The station will contribute enormously to overcoming Soviet jamming, which has recently been intensified against RFE/RL.

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The Israel relay station is obviously in the fundamental interests of the United States. In a larger sense, of course, it is of basic benefit for the whole free world. Providing reliable, accurate information to the people of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union is vital for us in an age where public diplomacy is becoming ever more critical.

John, it is one thing for Congress to reject or modify a Presidential policy. It is quite another for the executive branch itself to decline even to seek funds from Congress after making a commitment to a foreign government. Surely you, as an officer of this administration, would not want to to unilaterally jeopardize the President's own initiative.

I plead with you to reverse immediately this hasty action before real damage is done.

Sincerely,

Malcolm S. Forbes, Jr.
Malcolm S. Forbes, Jr.
Chairman of the Board

cc: Charles Z. Wick
Director, USIA

Israel

Israeli Emigration: A Zionist Dilemma

GERALD L. HOUSEMAN and CARL E. LUTRIN

The "wandering Jew" has been a constant of Jewish experience; but wandering away from Israel is considered strange, indeed wrong. Israel has been historically, culturally, and religiously viewed as the ultimate goal of these wanderings — the final respite. No words better express the core of Zionism than "next year in Jerusalem." Jews have seen fit, all the same, to leave Israel in significant numbers in recent years, and facing and dealing with this problem is now an imperative for both Israel and world Jewry.

Just how many Jews have left Israel recently? How many of these regard themselves as permanent emigrants who plan to stay abroad? These are difficult questions to answer, and the different sets of numbers, as well as the classification of what is in fact a *yored*, an emigrant, have caused heated disagreements.

The Bank of Israel's statistics on this are calculated on the basis of persons who are abroad for more than a year. This may not be reliable since a large number of Israelis go abroad for study, professional development, or extended travel. The government's Central Bureau of Statistics, by contrast, merely subtracts the number of people who leave from the number who return in order to find a figure. Some argue that this method is too sloppy. Any Israeli who returns, moreover, even if it is just for the purpose of visiting her or his family, is erased from emigration totals.

So it must be asked, what is the most reliable way to determine who is an emigrant? Should non-Israeli-born children of *yordim* be counted? It might be suggested that they should, since the children of a couple that had remained in Israel would be Israelis. But the children,

of course, did not choose to emigrate. Also, at what point can we say with any precision that a person has become a *yored*? After being abroad for a year? Or two, or four? This problem of defining a *yored* is exacerbated by the great reluctance of many *yordim* to admit that they have left Israel for good. Many will insist that they are planning to return.

Since any reasonable discussion of the problem cannot be undertaken without finding some approximate figure to work with, we must make our own stab at producing a number. Peter Grose, in a recent book published by the authoritative Council on Foreign Relations, stated that 350,000 Israelis are presently living in the United States.* Since sizeable numbers of Israelis also live in Australia, Canada, France, South Africa, and West Germany, to Grose's figure one would have to add at least 150,000, for a total of 500,000. The chief demographer for the Israeli government, Elon Rabi, and one of Israel's foremost academic demographers, Sergio Della Pergolla of Hebrew University, both estimate the number of Israelis living abroad to be about 375,000. In this essay, we will assume a figure of 400,000.

Even if this figure is off by as much as 200,000 or more, it can be seen that a significant fraction of Israelis has decided, for reasons that vary from person to person, to abandon the Zionist dream of making Israel the one Jewish homeland. We are looking, then, at a very serious problem.

Emigration is a serious concern

* Peter Grose, *A Changing Israel* (New York: Vintage Books), 1985, pp. 50-51.

for Israel because of the nation's precarious geopolitical situation and the challenge it poses to Zionism. Emigration is also a problem for Diaspora Jews, who sympathize and often identify with Israel and regard that nation's security as vital to their own. Since Jews who emigrate are more likely to assimilate within the American and other cultures than if they were to remain in Israel, *yeridah* can be said to contribute to the dilution of Jewry as a whole.

Israel's hostile neighbors have imposed or provoked the horrors of war upon it six times since its founding: the War of Independence, the 1956 Suez War, the 1967 Six-Day War, the 1970 War of Attrition, the 1973 Yom Kippur War, and the 1982 war in Lebanon. Only one peace treaty has been signed to date with an Arab nation; even in this case, the relations between Egypt and Israel are frequently called a "cold peace." In no way can Israel assume that war with the nations of the region will not occur again.

Quite obviously, one of the important defenses of Israel is the measure of availability of military personnel. The much more numerous armies of the enemy and the relative brevity of the Middle East wars have shown that security and survival depend upon forces available for immediate deployment. Israeli emigration is a genuine threat to the nation's survival. There are enough Israelis in New York City alone to make up three Israeli army divisions.

But no nation survives by arms alone. The belief system that stems from a political culture is also of cardinal importance to national purpose. Self-identity, national identity, and, indeed, the reasons for fighting any war launched by invaders are all intertwined in a complex fabric of

nationhood. Zionism, it goes without saying, is the heart of Israel's self-understanding; it stands for the ingathering of the exiles, not their exodus and estrangement. Zionism has sought the "political regeneration and the restoration of . . . Jewish sovereignty in the land of Israel as the basis of the collective free existence. [It means] regaining . . . our country and establishing our state."^{*} This is also affirmed in Israel's Declaration of Independence, which welcomes the exiles, calls for an end of the Dispersion, and heralds the state's openness to Jewish immigration. Emigration is clearly a negation of a core belief of the Zionist ideal and of the hopes and dreams that guide and build the Jewish state.

The Zionist goal is that the nation should remain a Jewish state; yet the most casual review of Israel's demography demonstrates the shaky foundations of the future Jewishness of Israel. The 3.3 million Jews have a low birthrate, while the 1.3 million Arabs have a high one. In addition, there is little hope for the development of any further significant waves of Jewish immigration. (One must hope that the trickle of Soviet Jews allowed to emigrate under Gorbachev will become a flood, but the immediate prospects for this are slim.) The immediate aftermath of Israeli independence brought 320,000 Jews, the remnant of the Holocaust; later years brought some 700,000 Jews from North Africa, Egypt, and Yemen, and there have been small numbers from 102 different countries over the years. The recent influx of Ethiopian Jews should be viewed as a miracle. The 1970s saw some 250,000 Jews allowed to leave the Soviet Union, but the majority of these chose to go to the United States or other Western countries. The only large remaining number of Jews who might be a source of immigration — those still in the Soviet Union — is therefore a problematic group at best.

Under the circumstances it is not at

^{*} Isadore Twersky, *Reformulations of Zionism in Transition* (New York: Herzl Press, 1980), p. 352.

all rash to say that Israel faces Jewish depopulation. In 1981, 10,000 more Jews left Israel than arrived. For the year 1985 the deficit was 5,000. As Israel's economic woes continue and the perception of American prosperity persists, the long lines of Israelis seeking visas at the American Embassy in Tel Aviv will continue to exist or grow. Israel will continue to lose its most valuable and irreplaceable resource — its people.

It should hardly be surprising that emigration is viewed in a harsh, negative light by Israeli citizens, the government, and even by Diaspora Jews. This stigma can be seen in the use of the Hebrew word *yored*, which comes from the verb "to go down" or "to descend." It also helps to explain why few Israelis freely admit that they are really leaving Israel permanently.

Why do Israelis want to leave? There are probably as many reasons for Israelis to emigrate as there are Israelis. Life in Israel can be difficult. Judy Siegel, an American now living in Israel, expressed this in an article in *The Jerusalem Post*, July 18, 1980:

In America you don't have to care. You can live without caring who is President, what is the state of military readiness . . . you don't have to turn on the news every hour. In Israel, you care, you worry when the State Controller's Report exposes shortcomings, when the U.N. Security Council condemns us, when a Savoyan child is kidnapped, when Cabinet ministers are reshuffled, when the price of frozen chicken is raised, when West Bank mayors are wounded . . .

The arduousness of life in Israel is made more difficult by national demands. No nation demands more of its citizens in terms of taxes, military service, or other important commitments. Without doubt, the war in Lebanon raised further questions among Israelis about the price they must pay for the existence of the state. Such questions may be more vexing if the individual does not have a strong identity with Judaism. In the aftermath of the Yom Kippur War, a soldier wearily lamented in a letter to the *Jerusalem Post*: "Can't one be a person? Must I always be a person and a Jew? If a Jew says nothing to me, and a person says some-

thing to me, can't I escape the killing . . . go some place only to be a person?"

Adding to this real pain is the fact that, as in all societies, there are those who are disaffected by the gap between professed ideals and the realities of political and social life. A former Israel Defense Forces officer now living in Montreal expressed this disillusionment: "I refused to believe that getting ahead in the IDF is a matter of connections. I thought that Zionist fulfillment means not only building settlements and towns, but also filling them with meaningful content."^{**} Not finding people who would or could change things in Israel, he became a *yored*. We can make no mistake: every little corruption observed in daily life, not to mention the more important ones reported in the press, adds to this disillusionment. Israel is not supposed to be like any other state or society. Or is it? The problem of normality vs. specialness is no small part of the dilemma of Israeli emigration.

The few studies that have been done on why Israelis leave show that the major reasons are the economic problems of the country, and a lack of professional opportunities. Aharon Fein of Hebrew University, in a recent Ph.D. dissertation, asked Israelis to rank their reasons for leaving the country. He found that most people left because of a lack of job opportunities, a perceived higher standard of living in the United States and other countries, and a general dissatisfaction with life in Israel. Interestingly, factors such as military reserve duty, discrimination, lack of privacy, and a lack of patriotic sense of duty were found to be unimportant. Dov Elizur, who carried out a study of Israelis living in the U.S., found that emigrants gave personal and professional reasons for leaving Israel. These included greater opportunities for professional training, enhanced possibilities for higher education, and a greater likelihood of being able to

^{**} Cited in Charles Leibman and Eliezer Don-Yehiya, *Civil Religion in Israel* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 1982, p. 130.

put their talents to use. His study also showed the desire to experience another country as an important motivation for abandoning Israel.

A study of Israeli students in the United States by Paul Rittaband seems to corroborate some of the findings of Eilur and Fein. Only 50 percent of the students surveyed felt that ability was important in advancement in Israel, while 74 percent thought it is important in the U.S. Similarly, 20 percent thought that family connections were very important in moving ahead in Israel, with only 6 percent saying this was the case in the U.S. Students were also more likely to believe that political connections are more important in Israel (28 percent), but much less so in the U.S. (3 percent). Rittaband also found, not surprisingly, that Israelis who failed their matriculation examinations were more likely to come to the U.S.

Israel is, of course, a small and developing nation. As such it necessarily lacks a large range of economic and professional opportunities. Almost 90 percent of America's Jews attend college. Almost 30 percent are professionals, and the average income of America's Jewish population is among the highest of the nation's ethnic groups. According to some studies, it is the highest. Most Israelis are well aware of the "rags-to-riches" stories of their compatriots who migrated to the U.S. and became millionaires. These include Meshulam Riklis and his Rapid America Corporation, the Sasson of designer jean fame, the Nakash brothers of Jordache Jeans, and movie producers Menahem Golan and Yoram Globus.

Survey data tend to be verified by looking at aggregate data, the statistics of emigration. Economic conditions clearly tend to "push" Israelis out of their country. Steven Plaut of the Technion-Israel Institute of

Technology found that for every 10 percent increase in inflation, the outmigration from Israel increased by 14 to 47 percent. For every 10 percent increase in unemployment, he has calculated the *yeridah* total rises by 2 to 4 percent. These things work both ways, because for every 10 percent reduction in unemployment, emigration declines by 12 to 40 percent.

It has become easier to leave Israel in recent years; the stigma associated with emigration appears to be dissipating. "It has become too easy to give up on this country, and it has become more acceptable," according to Yaacov Tzur, the Minister of Immigration and Absorption. Though the reasons for this are not entirely clear — war-weariness, inflation, or other tensions, coupled with the attractions of the American, Canadian, or other "promised land" — the odium once attached to leaving has diminished.

Emigration from Israel has been facilitated by the emergence of a large number of cohesive expatriate communities in the U.S., Britain, Canada, France, South Africa, and West Germany. By far the largest of these societies of emigrants are New York and Los Angeles. Asher Friedberg, formerly the Coordinator of the Prevention of Emigration, has said that "If 20 years ago a person emigrated to an unknown place, 10 years ago he migrated to friends; now he emigrates to a community of friends."

Is there anything that can be done to stop this hemorrhage? Is amelioration possible, if not a solution? Not even Israel's most reliable and zealous champions can bring immediate peace to the Middle East or ensure that triple-digit inflation will not again rear its ugly head. It is even doubtful that much can be done to

alter the historical concept of the "wandering Jew."

A number of possibilities for dealing with the problem do exist, however. To begin with, an agreed-upon definition of a *yored* must be derived from the morass of data generated by the government, the Bank of Israel, and various demographers. Such a process would provide more and better data on the number of Israelis living abroad. Secondly, it seems clear that more and better educational and professional opportunities must be made available in Israel. More chairs at Israeli universities can be endowed, for example, with Diaspora help. North American business and professional people could help to provide "internships" for Israelis, which would specify a return to Israel for at least a minimum period of years after completion. Israeli skills in agriculture and development are needed in areas of Africa, Asia, and Latin America; although the Israeli government cannot finance programs to bring Israelis to where they are needed, Israel's friends could help out with such an effort. Again, participants would be required to return to their country. Economic reforms within Israel, especially those aimed at untangling its infamous bureaucracy, would surely be a benefit in coping with the emigration problem; at the same time, it would be wise to re-establish an agency to deal with the problem of emigration. This requires admitting that emigration is a crisis that will not simply go away. Emigration poses a powerful long-range threat to the security and existence of Israel. Israel and its friends and supporters must begin to act. ■

GERALD L. HOUSEMAN is professor of political science at Indiana University at Fort Wayne. CARL E. LUTRIN is a professor of political science at California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo.

Israel

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1987

ON MY MIND | A. M. Rosenthal

The Making of Gaza

A year ago I traveled through Gaza. I thought then and believe still with all the emotion Israel arouses that all who love her should journey in Gaza.

There are places on earth where aridity and bleakness are more stark, where oppression is far worse, where anger is as hot in the eyes of the young men who stand by the roadside and stare. But for those who care for Israel, that is evasion.

They know that this should not be, that Israeli soldiers should not patrol year after year in alleys of hatred. That was not what Israel was meant to be or do or stand for.

Yes, there is a double standard for Israel. She is judged by higher standards than, say, those Arab neighbors who preach death and hate and slaughter in the name of God. The double standard is not only a matter of pride and duty to Israel's biblical roots but of strength in the world today.

It is the belief that Israel lives by principles of decency that won her essential support in the United States, decade after troubled decade.

And now, newspapers and television screens are aflame with the bitterness of the young men of Gaza, that strip of territory Israel does not want but cannot let go for fear it would become a P.L.O. state. Twenty years of Israeli occupation have only heightened hatred in Gaza, as would another 20.

This is all true. But if there is to be any honest effort toward an end to the misery of Gaza and the tragedy of Israel as occupier, other truths must be faced. So far almost nothing has been said about them. The haters of Israel simply use Gaza as a club against her. Her supporters abroad do little but shake their heads in reprimand or embarrassment.

The one basic truth that must be faced is that the tragedy of Gaza was created by the refusal of the Arab nations to recognize the right of Israel to exist and by their attempt to destroy the Israeli state, beginning at birth.

In 1947, the United Nations, with the backing of every major power, voted to partition the British mandate of Palestine into Israeli and Palestinian states. If the Arabs had accepted that, there would today be a separate Palestinian state 40 years old; Gaza and its people would be part of it.

But the Arab states fell upon Israel and in utter fury tried to kill the old dream and new reality of the Jewish

Seeing history whole.

state. They seized and divided what was to have been the Palestinian state.

Egypt took the Gaza strip. Jordan, now admired in the West, seized the West Bank. It also captured most of Jerusalem, defiled Jewish holy places, banned Jews and destroyed hopes of internationalization of the Holy City.

Israel lived within mortar range of the Egyptians, the Jordanians and the Syrians, who had snatched heights overlooking Israel; the mortars were fired. For 20 years, the territory that was to have been a Palestinian state under the U.N. plan was used by the P.L.O. for attacks against Israel, with the approval and support of the Arab occupiers.

Then, in 1967, Israel stunned the Arabs and the rest of the world by trouncing Arab armies. She threw the Jordanians out of the West Bank and Jerusalem, the Egyptians out of Gaza and the Syrians out of the Golan Heights.

Israel found herself in control of territory that had been illegally occupied by the Arab states. Israelis were determined to push back their borders so that they would never again live looking down Arab gun barrels. Thus began the era of Israeli occupation, creating a safer state in the short run but also stoking the hatred — and danger — now being acted out on the dry soil of Gaza, and spreading.

What difference does it make, so many years later? For one thing it cleanses the mind and perhaps the soul to combine sorrow and criticism of Israel with recognition of historic reality.

History is a loaf, not slices of bread. Unless yesterday is understood, the anguish of today is distorted and the peace possible some tomorrow put off indefinitely, perhaps forever.

Peace, which in the end must mean recognition of Israeli security and Palestinian reality, is possible.

Israelis must create a unified government capable of negotiating. Arabs, including Palestinians, must recognize that their attempts to kill the Israeli state in 1948, and almost ever since, led to what is happening today. To pretend Israel brought this on herself is a hypocrisy and falsehood that blocks the future.

The only way to move on is to face the reality and lessons of the past. Otherwise, Arab and Jew are trapped in a cycle and the young men of Israel and Gaza will face each other in hatred year upon year, perhaps for their lifetimes. □

STATEMENTS MADE BY MORRIS B. ABRAM, CHAIRMAN, CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS, DECEMBER 21, 1987:

The continuing series of riots and acts of violence in the West Bank, Gaza and parts of Israel have been planned, instigated and incited by Palestinian terrorist groups led by the PLO and Moslem fundamentalist groups. They are being carried out by people who have no interest in dialogue, no interest in negotiations and no interest in a peaceful solution to the problems of the region. In the face of this continuing series of provocations, Israel has sought to react with restraint.

In the short range, order must be restored, lest anarchy triumph. In the long term, there must be dialogue and negotiations around the table between Israel and Palestinian representatives who are prepared to live in peaceful coexistence with Israel. Israel stands ready for such negotiations at any time. Those who have rioted, and those who plan the riots, must understand that they cannot change the political situation by violence.

The inspired and coordinated violence and regrettable loss of life in the territories and in Israel itself is dangerous and disfiguring to peoples who have no alternative but to find a way to co-exist in peace.

The first requirement is to reestablish order. Next, there must emerge -- and be protected against Arab extremists -- a representative group of Palestinians who believe in nonviolence and who are prepared to accept Israel's continuing invitation to negotiate.

Responsible Arab leaders, especially King Hussein, should act promptly with the Government of Israel so that the peaceful pattern of day-to-day life may be restored and a beginning made, at long last, in the task of finding a just and lasting solution to the problems of the area.

Conference of Presidents Of Major American Jewish Organizations

(212) 752-1616 • 515 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10022 • Cable Address: COJOGRA

Statement by Morris B. Abram, Chairman of the Conference of
Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations --
January 27, 1988

I have received a note from Prime Minister Shamir that I want to share with you. But I want to begin by restating a few, simple principles:

First, that Israel has a right to exist as a nation, in peace with its neighbors.

Second, that Israel has the right and the responsibility to protect the security of its people and the integrity of its institutions.

Third, that in the context of violence and disruption aimed to intimidate, to terrorize and to undermine the foundations of a democratic society, Israel must restore order as the precondition to any redress of grievances.

The use of force is sometimes indispensable to restore order. We must also distinguish between those who are causing the violence and those who are seeking to stop it. The violence is real; the weapons that are being used by the Palentinians are Molotov cocktails, rocks, crowbars and knives. The targets are often small isolated groups of Israeli soldiers who are the victims of hit-and-run attacks intended to maim and to kill.

FACTS ABOUT GAZA

- * Pre-1967: Gazans were denied Egyptian citizenship - only a few of them were even allowed to enter Egypt. Those who were allowed into Egypt, were banned from government jobs and denied union benefits given to native and other foreign workers. Under Israel, the Allenby bridge was opened and Gazans were free to receive visitors from other Arab states. The people of Gaza also had the choice to enlarge their own businesses or to work in Israel.

There was a permanent nighttime curfew enforced in the Gaza Strip by Egyptian patrols. Once Israel moved in, the curfew was ended.

- * When Israel acquired Gaza after the 1967 war, unemployment was as high as 48% in the refugee camps and 40% in the villages. Unemployment dropped to 4 percent in 1983.
- * Infant mortality rate in Gaza in 1967 was 87 per 1,000. In 1983 the mortality rate went down to 41 per 1,000.
- * By 1983, new housing units, enabling over 7,000 families or 40,000 persons, to move out of crowded refugee camps. This move is discouraged by the Arab world, fearing if the Gazans leave the refugee camps they will lose the world sympathy.
- * In the Camp David negotiations, Israel was willing to return the Gaza Strip to Egypt. Egypt refused.
- * In the Camp David Accords there was a program set up for autonomy for the Palestinian Arabs in the West Bank and the Gaza strip, for a period of 5 years, with negotiations for a permanent disposition of the territories, with territorial concessions to be made by Israel. This plan was rejected outright by the Palestinians.
- * For years it has been stated repeatedly by the Arabs that the Palestinian refugees are being intentionally kept this way to further the war against Israel. If there were no refugee problem, there would be no world sympathy for the continuing battle against Israel.
- * Immediately after the 6 Day War, Israel publicly indicated willingness to enter into peace negotiations with the Arab countries who attacked her. Israel was prepared to make territorial concessions, and again stated so publicly, in exchange for peace.
The Arab answer was given at Khartoum: no negotiations, no recognition, no peace.
- * In Gaza, under Nasser's Egypt, there were no institutions, no representation at even the humblest levels, no voluntary associations, no free press, nothing organized even in the sense of Boy Scouts or a football team.
- * There were no universities in the West Bank or the Gaza District in 1967. Under Israel's administration, 5 universities have been established.

The Palestinian Arabs have been placed in a no-win situation. They are paying the price for the "logic" of their Arab "brothers" who made them refugees to begin with, and have been keeping them refugees for 40 years - the longest period of time in history that a group of people have had refugee status. Without the "Palestinian Problem", there would be no fuel in the ongoing war against Israel.

The Palestinian leadership continually leads the people from one tragedy to another, and has continued to do so for more than 20 years.

The situation, with the exception of Egypt, sadly has not changed much. Today in 1988, the majority Arab position with regard to Israel, remains basically unchanged from their 1948 stance.
Some examples:

- * On February 17, 1976, Yasser Arafat met with Illinois Senator Adlai Stevenson in Beirut. The "Washington Post" reported on the 29th of February 1976 that at that meeting Arafat allegedly put forth a proposal for setting up two buffer zones: one in the West Bank and one in Gaza, under U.N. supervision, as the first step toward a peace conference and the PLO's recognition of Israel's right to exist.

On March 1, 1976, PLO spokesmen in Beirut and New York, as well as the PLO media, "The Palestinian News Agency" denied Arafat's proposal as reported by the Post and claimed that it was a deliberate distortion of Arafat's words. Abu Iyad told the Beirut newspaper "El Muhrar" in connection with this: "We will never recognize Israel and any claims to that effect are completely false."

- * In November of 1978, Illinois Republican representative Paul Findley, met with representatives of the PLO including Arafat and quoted Arafat as if saying the following: "The PLO will accept an independent state in the West Bank and Gaza with a corridor. At this point, we will renounce any use of violence."

The next day, PLO spokesman Muhammad Labadi quickly announced that the report of Arafat's statements to Findley were inaccurate. Labadi told the UPI that Arafat discussed with Findley only the PLO position based on resolutions of the Palestinian Council: the Palestinians are willing to establish an independent state, from the Israelis, in any part of Palestine liberated or evacuated in the future.

- * Arafat appeared only a few weeks ago on ABC television "Nightline" where once again he told the viewers of the possibility of peace with Israel and the Palestinian's willingness to recognize Israel.

January 5, 1988 on Radio Rabat coming from Baghdad, Arafat said, "these waves will continue until the end of the Israeli occupation and the seizure of power in the holy Mosques in holy Jerusalem."

ARABS AND PEACE

- * The Arabs rejected the Peel Plan - then wanted it when the U.N. voted for a partition
- * The Arabs rejected the Partition Plan borders - then wanted them after they lost the War of Independence
- * The Arabs rejected the 1948 borders - then wanted them when they lost the 1967 war.

At each crucial period, when the Arabs have been faced with a choice - a choice between the way of compromise leading to peace, and that of war and extremism, their solution is to act as if it is possible to choose war and destruction, but if that did not work, the previous alternative of compromise would still be open.

- * The Arabs rejected the Camp David accords for autonomy leading to independence and peace.
 - * The Arabs rejected Secretary of State Shultz's plan for a Washington summit with Israel, the U.S., Russia and Egypt - the very same international forum that Jordan claims it is waiting for.
- * Jordan ruled the West Bank from 1948 - 1967 and the West Bank residents did not then ask for a separate Palestinian state...

PLO radio on December 10, 1987 gives some idea as to the reason for the constant rejection of the Arabs to peace: "O heroic sons of the Gaza Strip, O proud sons of the West Bank, O heroic sons of the Galilee, O steadfast sons of the Negev...the fires of revolution of these Zionist invaders will not fade out, until our land - all of our land - has been liberated from these usurping invaders." It also called for continuous struggle until "the banners of Palestine are hoisted on the Strip and on the courageous Bank and also on the minarets and churches of Jerusalem."

At the Persian Gulf council meeting in January, 1988 the "moderate" Saudi Arabia King Fahd directed

comments to Iraq, reproaching them for "not helping liberate the Holy Jerusalem and Arab Islamic land in Palestine controlled by Zionist colonization".

The PLO tactic of violent confrontation and provocation in the Administered territories, trigger a cycle of violence that results in the condemnation of Israel.

MORE FACTS

- * The Gaza Strip is 28 miles long and about 5 miles wide, a narrow, flat strip of land along the Mediterranean coast to the Egyptian border.
- * Judea-Samaria (West Bank) is a mountainous region, about 70 miles long and about 30 miles wide on the West Bank of the River Jordan
- * There are 35 miles between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with Israel in between.
- * The majority of the residents of the West Bank hold Jordanian citizenship; The residents of the Gaza Strip are stateless.
- * Jordanian law is followed on the West Bank while British Mandate law is the rule of the Gaza Strip. These legal systems are based on the laws that were in effect before 1967.
- * In every Arab country it has been impossible to introduce maps showing Israel. This is even true for Egypt, with whom we have had peace for 10 years. The same holds true for Jordan.
- * Between 1948 - 1967 Jordan annexed the West Bank; In 1970 the Jordanian government killed over 20,000 Palestinians during rioting. The Western media was very low key.
- * There were no constitutional rights for anyone in the Egypt of Nasser - especially in the Gaza Strip
- * About 2 months ago approximately 30 Palestinian students demonstrated on campus at Yarmouk University in Irbid, Jordan. The campus was declared a military zone and the security forces intervened. There were 8 students were left dead.
The Western media was very low key.
- * Two weeks ago, more than 2,000 students demonstrated in sympathy of the Palestinians at the University in Fez, Morocco. The security forces intervened leaving 3 dead and 80 wounded.
The Western media was very low key.
- * In 1969 and 1970, 76 West bank residents and Gazans were killed by the PLO and 1,122 were wounded.
The Western media was very low key.
- * In 1986 100 Muslims were left dead after riots in Egypt The Western media was very low key.
- * In the Moslem Shiite riots in Mecca, 400 were left dead.
The Western media was very low key.
- * In December 1987, on the Mexican border a young Mexican was shot in the back by the border patrol after he allegedly threw rocks at them. American officials defined it as self-defense.
The Western media was very low key.

David Harris

2/17

Max-

As discussed. Regards.



PLO
a small



The American Jewish
Committee

OFFICE OF THE WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE,

2027 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 265-2000

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

February 12, 1988

By Hand

The Honorable Edwin Meese
Attorney General of the United States
Department of Justice
Constitution Ave. and 10th St., NW
Washington, DC 20530

Dear Mr. Meese:

We deeply appreciate the initiative that was taken by those Senators and Congressmen who sponsored legislation to close the PLO offices in the United States. Their diligence in pursuing this objective brought the issue to a head, culminating in the recent State Department directive mandating the closing of the Washington PLO office.

Recently, that directive was upheld in the Federal District Court in the District of Columbia and is now proceeding through the appellate process. Our organizations submitted a brief in the District Court in support of the State Department position.

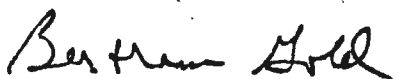
We are aware, however, that there is an impression abroad that the closing of the New York office of the PLO, which the United Nations authorities maintain is covered by the headquarters agreement, is a matter of high priority for the American Jewish community.

Our concern throughout has been that a clear message be sent to the nations of the world that in the opinion of the United States the PLO is not another political entity but is an instrument of international terrorism whose presence in any guise is not welcome in this country. That purpose has been largely accomplished by the closing of the Washington office.

Therefore in our view the manner in which the Administration responds to the recently enacted legislation requiring the closing of the New York office as well does not touch upon our fundamental concerns but is primarily a matter of how the Administration will reconcile a Congressional mandate with its own perception of our country's international obligations.

Please feel free to be in touch with us if there is any further information we can provide.

Respectfully,



Bertram Gold
Executive Vice-President
American Jewish Committee



Phil Baum
Associate Executive Director
American Jewish Congress

January 6, 1988

Dove H

Memo To: Members of the Governing Council
Members of the Commission on International Affairs
Division and Regional Presidents
Regional Directors

From: Phil Baum
Raphael Danziger

TALKING POINTS TO REBUT ISRAEL'S EQUATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA

Since the beginning of the current unrest in the West Bank and Gaza, the obscene equation of Israel with South Africa has gathered momentum in the media. Even ABC's first-rate program "Nightline" has featured a simplistic comparison between Israeli and South African political statements and riot-control television images. Understandably concerned by this media campaign, many friends of Israel have asked us to help them rebut this preposterous comparison. Hence the brief talking points below.

- Whereas in South Africa an 18-percent privileged white minority (under 6 million) rules by force an 82-percent non-white majority (over 27 million) which has virtually no political rights, within the State of Israel an 83-percent Jewish majority (3.5 million) shares power with a 17-percent Arab minority (700,000) in a democracy where each person--Arab and Jew alike--has one vote, is eligible to be elected to public office, and enjoys full equality before the law.

- As for the West Bank and Gaza, their status is entirely different from that of South Africa. Israel has commendably refrained from annexing the territories, and is thus barred under international law from granting Israeli citizenship to their Arab residents. Yet even if these territories are included, Jews maintain a better than three-to-two majority over the Arabs (3.5 million versus 2.2 million)--a proportion vastly different from that obtaining in South Africa. In contrast, solely for reasons of race, South Africa's white government refuses to grant full citizenship to its non-white majority.

- In stark contrast to South Africa, where the white regime's basic ideology of apartheid is grounded in the concept of the blacks' racial inferiority and lack of inherent rights, Israel's fundamental document, the Declaration of Independence issued on May 14, 1948, states:

In the midst of wanton aggression, we yet call upon the Arab inhabitants of the State of Israel to return to the ways of peace and to play their part in the development of the state, with full and equal citizenship and due representation in all its bodies and institutions, provisional or permanent.

- Unlike South Africa, there is no racial, ethnic, or other apartheid in Israel. Israeli Arabs are free to come and go as they please and to use public facilities in all places of accommodation in Israel side by side with the Jews and without distinctions of any kind. Because of the danger of terrorist incidents, travel in Israel by non-citizens resident in the territories is subject to security considerations. As in the United States and elsewhere, racism, although prohibited by law, unfortunately exists in Israel among some individuals.

- Whereas South Africa's white government has adamantly refused to negotiate power-sharing or ending apartheid with black leaders, Israel has long sought direct negotiations with Palestinians from the territories or with a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. Therefore, while black South Africans have no realistic alternative to violence against their country's armed forces, the Arabs in the territories do have that opportunity. The real problem is that those Palestinian leaders who have been ready to take advantage of such possibilities have either been assassinated or intimidated from doing so by PLO terrorists.

- Whereas South Africa is totally closed to the foreign media, Israel has been host to one of the largest foreign-correspondent contingents in the world. The Israelis have granted foreign journalists free access to the entire country, even to scenes of actual confrontations between violent demonstrators and Israeli army units sent to contain them--sometimes to the detriment of Israeli operations. In doing so Israel has even exceeded the standards adhered to by the United States and Britain, which barred the press from the scenes of military operations in Grenada and in the Falkland Islands, respectively.

- These fundamental differences between South Africa and Israel are well understood by all Western democracies. Therefore, while these nations have subjected South Africa to increasingly stringent political, economic, and cultural sanctions, none have been imposed on Israel which, conversely, has enjoyed progressively closer ties with most of the democracies.

January 6, 1988

Israel

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- Unlike South Africa, there is no racial, ethnic, or other apartheid in Israel. Israeli Arabs are free to come and go as they please and to use public facilities in all places of accommodation in Israel side by side with the Jews and without distinctions of any kind. Because of the danger of terrorist incidents, travel in Israel by non-citizens resident in the territories is subject to security considerations. As in the United States and elsewhere, racism, although prohibited by law, unfortunately exists in Israel among some individuals.

- Whereas South Africa's white government has adamantly refused to negotiate power-sharing or ending apartheid with black leaders, Israel has long sought direct negotiations with Palestinians from the territories or with a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. Therefore, while black South Africans have no realistic alternative to violence against their country's armed forces, the Arabs in the territories do have that opportunity. The real problem is that those Palestinian leaders who have been ready to take advantage of such possibilities have either been assassinated or intimidated from doing so by PLO terrorists.

- Whereas South Africa is totally closed to the foreign media, Israel has been host to one of the largest foreign-correspondent contingents in the world. The Israelis have granted foreign journalists free access to the entire country, even to scenes of actual confrontations between violent demonstrators and Israeli army units sent to contain them--sometimes to the detriment of Israeli operations. In doing so Israel has even exceeded the standards adhered to by the United States and Britain, which barred the press from the scenes of military operations in Grenada and in the Falkland Islands, respectively.

- These fundamental differences between South Africa and Israel are well understood by all Western democracies. Therefore, while these nations have subjected South Africa to increasingly stringent political, economic, and cultural sanctions, none have been imposed on Israel which, conversely, has enjoyed progressively closer ties with most of the democracies.

Israel

THE RECENT DISTURBANCES IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA

Questions and Answers

An International Relations Department Analysis

By

George E. Gruen and Gary Wolf

Israel is now experiencing one of the worst waves of violence to engulf the West Bank and Gaza since 1967. At least 22 persons have died in the course of various violent incidents, with many more injured. Although originating in the Gaza Strip, the disturbances have spread to the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and to the Arab population of pre-1967 Israel. The latter are citizens of the State of Israel, and their large-scale participation in a general strike in sympathy with Palestinians in the territories is unprecedented. World attention has been focussed on these events, spurred on by intense media coverage throughout the month. In this background analysis, we will attempt to examine the various aspects of this complex and distressing situation.

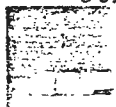
Q. What were the immediate causes of the violence?

A foreboding event occurred in early December, when the Israeli army intercepted a carload of heavily armed terrorists en route to Israel via Gaza. The car was ordered to stop, and when it failed to do so, the troops opened fire, killing three terrorists.

On December 9, Israeli businessman Shlomo Sakal was murdered in Gaza. Responsibility for this terrorist act was claimed by "Force 17", an elite unit of Yasir Arafat's Fatah, the major mainstream group in the Palestine Liberation Organization. Two days later, four Arab residents of Gaza were killed in a traffic accident involving an Israeli vehicle. Rumors were spread that the accident was a deliberate act of retaliation for Sakal's murder. Subsequent investigation by the Israeli authorities established that this was an ordinary traffic accident. The driver of the Israeli vehicle was not related to Sakal, nor did he have any history of anti-Arab political activity. But this information came only after the atmosphere had been enflamed.

A wave of demonstrations swept Gaza, in which several people were killed or injured. PLO Radio from Baghdad broadcast a message from Arafat, on December 10, calling on the Arab population in the territories to "...intensify the blows to the occupying enemy. Teach the enemy successive lessons." Arafat's call was not limited to the residents of the territories, but included the Arab citizens of the State of Israel itself: "O heroic sons of the Gaza Strip, O proud sons of the [West] Bank, O heroic sons of the Galilee, O steadfast sons of the Negev: ...the fires of revolution against these Zionist invaders will not fade out...until our land -- all of our land -- has been liberated from these usurping invaders." He called for a concerted struggle until "the banners of Palestine are hoisted on the Strip and on

Yasir
Arafat



the courageous Bank and also on the minarets and churches of Jerusalem." It is clear from these exhortations that Arafat is inciting violence among Palestinian Arabs in order to further his ultimate goal -- the destruction of Israel:

Q. How did the Israelis react?

The Israeli authorities were quick to respond. Police and troops were dispatched to restore public order. They used non-lethal weapons (e.g. tear gas and rubber bullets) whenever possible, acting with the minimum amount of force necessary to check the demonstrations. As always, Israeli soldiers are under strict orders to use live ammunition only as a last resort when they themselves feel physically threatened, and then only after warning shots are fired. The danger to the troops is further compounded by the fact that Israeli soldiers in the territories often patrol in small groups (a policy developed by Israel in order to keep a low profile in these areas), turning them into more vulnerable targets. Unfortunately, some demonstrators brazenly attacked soldiers with rocks, Molotov cocktails, knives, and other weapons, thus endangering their lives. The Israelis contend that there was no alternative at this point but to fire back at the demonstrators.

Q. Who has exploited the situation?

These incidents, as well as the news of additional deaths, served to exacerbate tension and anger, escalating the cycle of violence. This cycle is difficult to break, especially when it is exploited by hostile elements such as the PLO and the increasingly active Moslem fundamentalists, many of whom are inspired by Ayatollah Khomeini's virulent anti-Israel propaganda. There is evidence of collaboration between the PLO and the Hizbollah (Party of God) Shi'i Moslem fundamentalists in Southern Lebanon, as well as between the PLO and Sunni Moslem fundamentalists among the Palestinians. It was in an attempt to curb the hostile activities of these groups that Israel expelled Abdel Aziz Ouda, the leader of the Islamic Jihad ("Holy War") terrorist organization in Gaza, earlier in December. Yet this action itself may have contributed to greater anti-Israeli militancy among his followers.

Q. What are the underlying causes of the violence?

The current problems are ultimately the result of many complex factors -- demographic, economic, and political. It is necessary to understand the multidimensional nature of this situation and the elements that present Israel with such difficult choices.

1. Demographic Causes

The "occupied territories," as the West Bank (Judea and Samaria) and Gaza are often called, have been referred to as a "demographic time bomb." This refers to the 1.4 million Arabs in these areas (approx. 600,000 in Gaza and 500,000 in the West Bank), who came under Israeli military administration as a result of the 1967 Six-Day War. They are

not citizens of Israel. The West Bankers are Jordanian citizens, while most of the residents of Gaza are stateless, since even during the 19 years of Egyptian rule, Cairo refused to allow them to travel freely to Egypt. Due to a high birth rate, their numbers are increasing rapidly, confronting Israel with a dilemma: either hold this population indefinitely without granting them full political rights, or absorb them, give them citizenship and thereby put in question the very nature of Israel as a Jewish state.

2. Economic Causes

The growing tension inherent in this volatile state of affairs is further exacerbated by a regional economic downturn. Although the standard of living in the territories (especially in the West Bank) have improved since 1967, Arabs there are affected by the current Middle Eastern economic recession. For instance, it is no longer so easy for a Palestinian Arab to find lucrative work in the Persian Gulf states, since this area has been hit by the world oil glut, causing a decline in oil prices. Much of the money that is available in the Arabian Peninsula has gone toward aiding Iraq in the Gulf War. Workers from Egypt, Jordan, and other states have been sent home due to the stagnant economy.

3. Political Causes

Another underlying factor distressing the Palestinians is the current political situation in the Middle East, especially the predominant Arab concern with the Iran-Iraq war and the threat of the spread of Islamic fundamentalism. This has resulted in the restoration of ties with Egypt by most Arab states, including Iraq, which had led the Arab attempts to ostracize Egypt after it concluded a peace treaty with Israel. Moreover, there is at present virtually no likelihood for resuming and enlarging the peace process to encompass the issue of the territories. Not long ago there were hopes for an imminent international peace conference. These hopes have now paled; observers predict that there will be no movement until the beginning of 1989 at the earliest, after the Israeli and American elections next November. The stalling of the peace process has caused frustration among the residents of the territories; many now feel that they must help themselves in order to improve their lot.

Indeed this feeling was intensified after the recent Arab Summit in Amman in mid-November. It was there that the Palestinian problem took a back seat to the threat emanating from Iran. Even the usual declarations and exhortations on behalf of the Palestinians were given a lower priority, and the PLO's position as the "sole, legitimate representative" of the Palestinians was questioned.

The setback at the Amman Summit also pushed the PLO to redouble its efforts at instigating violence in the territories. Arafat was embarrassed by the treatment he received from the Summit in general, and King Hussein of Jordan in particular. There was lost prestige to regain; Arafat had to prove that he and his Fatah were no less militant than the

Syrian-backed radical PLO groups, such as Ahmad Jibril's "Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command." The latter took credit for the hang glider attack on an Israeli army base November 26 that left six Israeli soldiers dead.

The Washington Summit meeting between President Ronald Reagan and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev was also a disappointment for those who had been seeking superpower help to host an international conference for negotiations toward a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. There was apparently no serious discussion at the summit of this issue.

Q. Who was responsible for the failure to establish a Palestinian State?

As one reflects on possible solutions, it is necessary to realize that the burden must fall not only on Israel, which is in control of the territories, but also on the Arabs, who caused this state of affairs to materialize in the first place. In fact, the Palestinian problem could have been peacefully solved by implementation of the 1947 United Nations General Assembly Partition Plan, which proposed creating an independent Arab state and an independent Jewish State in what was then British Mandatory Palestine. The Arabs rejected the plan, instead choosing to invade the nascent State of Israel. As a result of this war, the West Bank and Gaza were conquered by Jordan and Egypt, respectively. (These points are amplified by A. M. Rosenthal, writing in the New York Times of December 22 and William Safire on December 23. Copies are appended.)

During the 19 years when the West Bank and Gaza were under Arab control, no separate Palestinian political unit was created. Indeed, the West Bank was annexed by Jordan. It was only in 1967, during the Six-Day War, that Israel took control of the territories, after Jordan failed to heed Israel's appeal to stay out of the conflict, which had been precipitated by hostile Egyptian and Syrian acts.

Thus we see that the current situation is not a creation of Israel, but rather the outcome of generations of unbridled Arab hostility and negligence.

Q. What can Israel do?

In the current tense situation, Israel has been forced to take broader action, including the arrest and the detention of the ring-leaders of violent demonstrations, in order to protect both herself and the residents of the territories. We all hope and pray that the violence will soon subside as it has in the past, but until it does, Israel cannot let anarchy reign in areas she is responsible for.

The answers are not easy. If Israel would decide to partially or totally withdraw from part of the territories, there would be a danger of a takeover of that area by the PLO. In the absence of a comprehensive peace agreement with adequate security arrangements, even if a non-PLO, peace-seeking Palestinian administration would initially be in

power, the PLO might easily use the area as a staging ground for terrorist attacks against Israel, as it did, freely, from bases in southern Lebanon until 1982. Furthermore, the intense inter-group competition within Gaza may threaten to turn that area into another Lebanon, posing a threat to the safety of both local residents and indeed the broader region.

An additional problem, no less severe, would result from Israel unilaterally relinquishing her military presence in the territories. Freedom of movement there, as well as certain key military installations (such as radar stations atop the mountain ridge north of Jerusalem) would be critical to Israeli security in defending itself against any future attack from the neighboring Arab states.

Q. What must others concerned with peace do?

In any event, what is now needed is for all sides to exercise restraint. No real solutions can be found until the cycle of violence is brought to a halt. Israel will continue her contacts with local Arab leadership, and it behooves the latter to help calm the residents as best they can.

Until a permanent solution is found, Israel will have to intensify its work with both the Palestinians and the Arab states to find ways of improving life in the territories. Residents might be given greater control of their own affairs whenever possible. Israel, the wealthy Arab states, the U.S., the Western industrial powers, and Japan can facilitate greater economic development on the West Bank and Gaza.

To find a real solution to the Palestinian problem in all its dimensions, serious bi-lateral negotiations between Israel on the one hand, and Jordan, Egypt, Syria and Lebanon on the other, must take place. Provision must also be made for the participation of Palestinians within the Jordanian delegation.

As was stressed by the National Executive Council of the American Jewish Committee in its November, 1987 statement on the Arab-Israeli peace process, "only those Palestinians who renounce terrorism and express clearly a readiness for peaceful coexistence with a sovereign and secure state of Israel are suitable participants in any forthcoming peace talks."

* * *

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ESSAY | Willam Safire

Patience vs. Panic

Our knee-jerk reaction to pictures of soldiers manhandling demonstrators is to regard the soldiers as brutal and the rioters as heroic. That's not always true.

In Gaza and the territory west of the Jordan River, a score of Palestinian Arab demonstrators have been killed in recent weeks. The bloodshed began with the stabbing of an Israeli and escalated when a traffic accident killing four Arabs was misperceived as retaliation.

As in 1976 and 1981, the disorder has reached deep inside Israel. Arabs holding Israeli citizenship went on strike and demonstrated to show solidarity with their brethren who want to create a Palestinian state out of land within artillery range of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. Poignantly, during Christmas season, the violence has affected celebrations in places like Nazareth and Bethlehem.

What brought on the rioting? Gaza is overcrowded and poor, as it has been for years, under both Arab and Israeli rule. And the P.L.O., frustrated by its impotence in the Arab world, foments uprisings and terror, but that is nothing new.

Added to the usual elements is this: Demonstrations often start and grow because the demonstrators see some chance of success. Palestinian Arabs, sensitive to any lack of resolve in Israel, are aware of the divisions in the coalition Government over the calling of a conference that would surely end in major territorial concessions.

Moreover, rioters — including Iran-sponsored terrorists to whom death is not a deterrent — have noted increased Israeli concern for world opinion. Israel is not the Soviet Union or Syria or South Africa, where coverage of ruthless crackdowns is

Why time is on Israel's side.

blackened out. Demonstrators know that the heaving of a Molotov cocktail is rarely if ever caught by the camera, but the subsequent subduing of the bomb thrower makes the authorities look cruelly repressive on front pages and television. Reprisals to terrorist attack have been restrained, creating an illusion of weakness.

Add to this the urging of police restraint by the U.S. State Department, plus finger-wagging by U.N. nations that machine-gun demonstrators within their borders, plus the hand-wringing of well-meaning Jewish leaders safe in America who are all too ready to ignore Israeli security needs — and we can see why many Palestinian demonstrators are not crazy to hope that violence will pay off.

To enumerate these unintentional incentives to violence is not to call for ruthlessness in the suppression of disorder. The purpose is to find the least worst course in a situation that offers no best course — to find a way least likely to result in the loss of Arab life or the loss of Israeli freedom.

Most Israelis think, with good reason, that a P.L.O. state at their throat would be intolerable, and that territorial concessions in that direction now would only serve to whet the radical Arab appetite. It is not paranoid to think that the P.L.O. and most

Arab totalitarian regimes want to drive the democratic Jewish state out of the Middle East; it is dangerously irresponsible to assume that today's Palestinian Arab nationalists would be satisfied with a slice of arid land looking at Israeli greenery.

Most Israelis refuse to believe that they are limited to the Three Terrible Choices: (1) ruling over a colony of rightly resentful, disenfranchised Arabs on the West Bank and Gaza; (2) absorbing all those Arabs into an Israel that would ultimately lose its Jewish identity, or (3) driving them across the Jordan River into a Palestinian state on the East Bank.

Another choice will emerge. In time, realistic Arab rulers beyond Egypt will stop trying to distract their people from internal inequality by perpetuating their "holy war." In time, Arab residents of lands adjacent to Israel's borders will be induced to follow pragmatic local Arab leaders who deliver real economic gains rather than submit to intimidation.

Which is wiser — to bet that time is on the side of terror or on the side of reason? Most of Israel's Jewish citizens want to let historical reality take root. That is why they are prepared to deal sternly with disorder within their borders and are likely to begin deporting West Bank troublemakers to the East Bank. That is why they sit tight, behind defensible borders, and await the generation of Arabs who will accept autonomy without sovereignty over disputed lands.

The hard-working, intelligent Palestinian Arabs, long despised and used as pawns by a hostile Arab world, are not destined to be ruled over or absorbed or dispossessed by Israel. They can be lived next to, when they are ready to deal. □

ON MY MIND | A. M. Rosenthal

The Making of Gaza

A year ago I traveled through Gaza. I thought then and believe still with all the emotion Israel arouses that all who love her should journey in Gaza.

There are places on earth where aridity and bleakness are more stark, where oppression is far worse, where anger is as hot in the eyes of the young men who stand by the roadside and stare. But for those who care for Israel, that is evasion.

They know that this should not be, that Israeli soldiers should not patrol year after year in alleys of hatred. That was not what Israel was meant to be or do or stand for.

Yes, there is a double standard for Israel. She is judged by higher standards than, say, those Arab neighbors who preach death and hate and slaughter in the name of God. The double standard is not only a matter of pride and duty to Israel's biblical roots but of strength in the world today.

It is the belief that Israel lives by principles of decency that won her essential support in the United States, decade after troubled decade.

And now, newspapers and television screens are aflame with the bitterness of the young men of Gaza, that strip of territory Israel does not want but cannot let go for fear it would become a P.L.O. state. Twenty years of Israeli occupation have only heightened hatred in Gaza, as would another 20.

This is all true. But if there is to be any honest effort toward an end to the misery of Gaza and the tragedy of Israel as occupier, other truths must be faced. So far almost nothing has been said about them. The haters of Israel simply use Gaza as a club against her. Her supporters abroad do little but shake their heads in reprimand or embarrassment.

The one basic truth that must be faced is that the tragedy of Gaza was created by the refusal of the Arab nations to recognize the right of Israel to exist and by their attempt to destroy the Israeli state, beginning at birth.

In 1947, the United Nations, with the backing of every major power, voted to partition the British mandate of Palestine into Israeli and Palestinian states. If the Arabs had accepted that, there would today be a separate Palestinian state 40 years old; Gaza and its people would be part of it.

But the Arab states fell upon Israel and in utter fury tried to kill the old dream and new reality of the Jewish

Then, in 1967, Israel stunned the Arabs and the rest of the world by trouncing Arab armies. She threw the Jordanians out of the West Bank and Jerusalem, the Egyptians out of Gaza and the Syrians out of the Golan Heights.

Israel found herself in control of territory that had been illegally occupied by the Arab states. Israelis were determined to push back their borders so that they would never again live looking down Arab gun barrels. Thus began the era of Israeli occupation, creating a safer state in the short run but also stoking the hatred — and danger — now being acted out on the dry soil of Gaza, and spreading.

What difference does it make, so many years later? For one thing it cleanses the mind and perhaps the soul to combine sorrow and criticism of Israel with recognition of historic reality.

History is a loaf, not slices of bread. Unless yesterday is understood, the anguish of today is distorted and the peace possible some tomorrow put off indefinitely, perhaps forever.

Peace, which in the end must mean recognition of Israeli security and Palestinian reality, is possible.

Israelis must create a unified government capable of negotiating. Arabs, including Palestinians, must recognize that their attempts to kill the Israeli state in 1948, and almost ever since, led to what is happening today. To pretend Israel brought this on herself is a hypocrisy and falsehood that blocks the future.

The only way to move on is to face the reality and lessons of the past. Otherwise, Arab and Jew are trapped in a cycle and the young men of Israel and Gaza will face each other in hatred year upon year, perhaps for their lifetimes. □

Seeing
history
whole.

state. They seized and divided what was to have been the Palestinian state.

Egypt took the Gaza strip. Jordan, now admired in the West, seized the West Bank. It also captured most of Jerusalem, defiled Jewish holy places, banned Jews and destroyed hopes of internationalization of the Holy City.

Israel lived within mortar range of the Egyptians, the Jordanians and the Syrians, who had snatched heights overlooking Israel; the mortars were fired. For 20 years, the territory that was to have been a Palestinian state under the U.N. plan was used by the P.L.O. for attacks against Israel, with the approval and support of the Arab occupiers.

NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST VOL. XXXI, NO. 52 DECEMBER 28, 1987

EDITORIAL

Where Praise Is Due

The first session of the 100th Congress set a benchmark in legislative activity strengthening the U.S.-Israel relationship. In addition to again fully funding \$3 billion in all-grant aid to Israel for fiscal 1988—\$1.8 billion in military assistance, \$1.2 billion in economic support—the bipartisan Congress included several dozen pro-Israel provisions in the continuing resolution wrapped up just before adjournment.

Broadly speaking, the measures fall into three categories: economic aid, strategic cooperation, and political/diplomatic support.

An outstanding example of the first was approval of landmark legislation to provide debt restructuring for friends and allies saddled with unusually high-interest U.S. military loans. Debt restructuring—an idea some in Congress labored on for three years—could save Israel up to \$150 million annually in interest payments (*NER* editorial, Dec. 14). The Treasury Department still must write the implementing regulations, but Capitol Hill has made its position clear.

Congress repeatedly has advised the Reagan Administration to evaluate “off-the-shelf” military equipment of U.S. allies before spending large sums on research and development (R&D). Because Israel has been forced to maintain a sophisticated defense establishment, because its armaments have been proven by the tragic imperative of war, it has much to offer America, and this fact has led to increased strategic cooperation.

For example, Congress approved funding for Defense Department testing and evaluation, for purposes of procure-

ment, of Israel's Popeye air-to-ground missile. If the highly-rated Popeye passes U.S. tests and is fully procured, the result could be a multi-year acquisition worth a great deal to Israel while providing a significant R & D savings for the United States for a system available now.

Politically, Congress expanded America's commitment to walk out of—and halt funding for—the U.N. or any subsidiary agency if Israel is expelled; asserted that the Soviet Union should not participate in an international conference on the Middle East until it reestablishes relations with Israel and allows increased Soviet Jewish emigration; and passed legislation to close PLO offices in the United States.

There were many other actions which strengthened the ties between Washington and Jerusalem, including revived funding of \$34 million to begin construction of a Voice of America transmitter in the Negev, an increase of \$100 million (to \$400 million) in the amount of military aid Israel can spend locally for advanced weapons systems—to help compensate for cancellation of the Lavi fighter project—\$25 million for refugee resettlement in Israel, and \$5 million for cooperative projects among the United States, Israel and developing countries. Large and small, the items all point in the right direction.

Passage of Foreign Aid Authorization legislation in the House by a record 286-122 vote should begin to erode the conventional wisdom that foreign aid lacks grassroots support. It is there and, when it makes itself felt, Congress is more than willing to recognize it.

VIEWING THE NEWS

Latin Openings

Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres has concluded a week-long swing through South America which included visits to Uruguay and Brazil. In Sao Paulo, Peres attempted to improve Brazilian-Israeli relations which have been virtually frozen since the 1973 Arab oil embargo (*New York Times*, Dec. 21). Peres praised Uruguay for its support of Israel since the creation of the state in 1948.

Cuban-Israeli relations may be improving following a recent meeting between the Israeli and Cuban Ambassadors to Mexico in Mexico City. It was the first such meeting between the two countries since they

severed relations in the late 1960's (*Yediot Achronot*, Dec. 7).

Damascus Threatens

President Hafez Assad reportedly sent a warning that “Syria will not hesitate in waging an all-out war against Israel . . .” if Israel retaliates for the recent hang-glider attack launched from Syrian-controlled territory (*al-Ray al-Am*, Dec. 8). The Kuwaiti paper said the message supposedly was conveyed to Israeli leaders through Romania.

Syria's Defense Minister, Mustafa Tlas, “revealed that Syria helped the Palestinians to carry out the [hang-glider] operation” according to a Maronite radio in Beirut (*Voice of Lebanon*, Dec. 13).

Cairo Condemns

A subcommittee of the Egyptian government's Consultative Council has condemned Israel's reaction to disturbances on the West Bank and Gaza Strip as “bestial and arbitrary acts” (*Middle East News Agency*, Dec. 16). The Consultative Council, which is appointed by President Hosni Mubarak, urged all foreign bodies “to intercede immediately to stop these inhuman practices.”

Egypt's Permanent Representative to the United Nations told the Security Council that Israel's “bloody acts . . . jeopardize all efforts seeking a peaceful settlement to the conflict.”

ISRAELI POLITICS

Election Campaign Begins

(First of an occasional series.)

Delayed by a long strike of the state radio and television and an extremely dull opening of the current Knesset, Israel's 1988 election campaign is slowly taking shape, according to one Labor Party activist.

Micha Harish, a member of the Defense and Foreign Affairs Committee, expects the present unity government—which combines the two major opposition blocs, Labor and Likud—to hang together until the scheduled November balloting. An earlier election is possible, “but only if Likud is prepared with [Prime Minister Yitzhak] Shamir’s candidacy.” [Although Shamir appears firmly in command, several potential challengers lead factions within his Herut Party, Likud’s major component.]

Labor’s main issue “will be what we call the peace process,” Harish said. He anticipates that Likud will try to turn the peace process question into a debate over an international conference. Labor’s Shimon Peres, the Foreign Minister, backs the idea but, Harish said, the party would find itself on the defensive if the campaign was only a referendum on the conference.

But “we will stress the demographic issue,” Harish said. “Suddenly there has been a breakthrough . . . even in some elements of Likud.” That means, he added, that people now are more willing to consider the political future of the West Bank and Gaza Strip—territory Israel won from Jor-

dan and Egypt during the 1967 Six-Day War—in terms of population rather than geography.

The territories—Judea and Samaria if not Gaza—are the Jewish biblical heartland, as well as the high ground overlooking Israel’s narrow, populated coastal strip. However, the West Bank population numbers 800,000 Palestinian Arabs, with 600,000 more in Gaza; approximately 60,000 Jewish Israelis have settled in the two areas.

By publicly advocating a transfer of part of the Arab population, “some not very clever people in Likud”—even though opposed by other Likud Knesset members—made the demographic question a campaign issue, Harish believes.

“If Arafat, the PLO, and the Palestinians all decided tomorrow that they wanted to be annexed by Israel—then we’d have a problem,” he said.

Rioting in Gaza and the West Bank again focused attention on the territories. Meanwhile, “all of us on the security committee started to be very worried about demographics in the Galilee,” Harish added. Israel’s north has an Arab majority and its Jewish population is declining.

The question of where Israel invests its economic and human resources “didn’t exist in public opinion” until the runaway inflation of 1984, according to Harish. With it came the realization that choices had to be made, he said.

Population trends notwithstanding, “it won’t be a single-issue campaign,” Harish added. Economic and social questions also will be raised, including the split between secular and ultra-Orthodox Israelis.

“Jewish fundamentalists lost two battles recently in Jerusalem,” he said. In the fight against a new soccer stadium—last year’s national champion team was Betar Jerusalem, affiliated with Herut—and to stop the expanded screening of films on *shabat*, “they went too far . . . and provoked a secular reaction.”

Religious Zionist groups, in favor of military service for yeshiva students, also “no longer are giving in to the [anti- or non-Zionist] *haredim* (literally, those in awe),” Harish stated. An estimated 17,000 yeshiva students hold exemptions on religious grounds from Israeli military service.

The 1984 election ended in a dead heat, with neither major bloc strong enough to form a government on its own even in coalition with some of the small parties. “No one sees an absolute majority” next year either.

Labor hopes to gain three to five seats from Likud, Harish said. Then it could form another unity government, but without the “rotation” formula which saw Peres and Shamir exchange the prime minister and foreign minister posts midway through the government’s four-year term.

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HEARD IN WASHINGTON

Israel Wins Pentagon Contracts

Damage to Israel’s high-technology defense industry done by cancellation of the Lavi fighter plane project may be on the mend. The U.S. government has awarded a multi-million dollar contract to an Israeli firm and the two governments reached agreement on cost-sharing for the research and development of an anti-tactical ballistic missile system (ATBM).

During Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin’s recent trip to Washington, U.S. defense officials offered him a proposal under which Washington would bear 80% of the research and development costs of the ATBM. The remaining 20% would be paid by the Israeli government, Israel Aircraft Industries or with U.S. aid funds to Israel. Although Israel has previously rejected other cost-sharing formulas, it is expected

that this proposal, which could be worth as much as \$120 million, will win Cabinet approval.

Meanwhile, Congressional budget conferees approved \$8 million to continue testing Israel’s Popeye missile, a highly accurate, air-to-surface cruise missile. If the tests are successful, the Pentagon may purchase Popeyes for use on Strategic Air Command B-52’s.

In a separate announcement, U.S. Defense Department officials awarded a \$180 million contract to an Israeli firm to produce night-target systems for Israeli and U.S. helicopter gunships.

These developments should help to offset the cost in jobs and funding to Israeli firms who participated in the Lavi project. Israel Aircraft Industries, the Lavi’s chief

contractor, is laying off approximately 3,000 of its 20,000 employees following the project’s termination. In addition, the Pentagon estimates that the Israeli government will pay some \$400 million in cancellation costs.

Prior to the Lavi’s demise, the Reagan Administration pledged to support current levels of funding for military aid to Israel, \$1.8 billion, over the next two years. The Administration also has agreed to allow Israel to use \$400 million in U.S. aid in Israel. U.S. defense firms doing business with Jerusalem will continue to spend \$150 million in Israel. Further, Washington has promised to help Israel win a fair price for 75 F-16 aircraft intended to replace the Lavi.

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PERSPECTIVE

Expert Says 'Test Iraq'

Reliable U.S. and Israeli sources told *NER* that contacts have been made between Israeli and Iraqi officials on improving relations between these two longtime foes, but these approaches have proven "non-productive." A Washington analyst said the two sides met "at the very lowest level, with the greatest degree of deniability and with the most minimal results." He declined to specify who took part in these meetings, when they took place or where they were held.

In any case, Maj. Gen. (Res.) Aharon Yariv, former head of Israeli military intelligence, believes that Israel should explore openings to Iraq in the hope of advancing the peace process and strengthening Israel's relations with its Arab neighbors. In a recent address sponsored by the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Yariv argued for a break with Israel's longstanding pro-Iranian policy in the Persian Gulf. Israeli policymakers have personal and emotional attachments to Iran born of the years when Israel attempted to maintain ties with non-Arab countries on the periphery of the Middle East, he said. These officials also keenly remember Iraq's harshly anti-Zionist policies and its eagerness to participate in wars against the Jewish state.

"But something happened in the meantime," Yariv said. "A peace treaty was signed with a major Arab country. It is difficult for Israel to remember, but we have to

take into consideration what Egypt thinks. Our chief interest is the core area [of the region] and we must do our best to get through to the core area. We therefore must convince these countries that Israel is neither an Iranian ally nor supporter. It's not easy."

He noted that Israel's participation in the sale of U.S. arms to Iran damaged whatever credibility Jerusalem may have had. However, he added that his sources in the Israeli government indicate that "no weapons are now being sold by Israel to Iran."

Yariv, head of the prestigious Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies in Tel Aviv, contended that a tilt toward Iraq would align Israel more closely with U.S. policy and help stem Iranian aggression against pro-Western nations in the region—including Israel. He said that Israel was now feeling "pinpricks" of Iranian aggression from Tehran's clients in Lebanon. Iran spends approximately \$100 million annually in Lebanon, he estimated.

Iraq has softened its radical anti-Israel rhetoric since the inception of the Iran-Iraq war in 1980. Yariv pointed out that when Iraq suggested building an oil pipeline to the Jordanian port of Aqaba on the Israeli border, the Israeli Cabinet offered to allow Iraq to transport its oil to the Mediterranean through Haifa.

But many Israeli policymakers maintain that Iran remains the most important Mid-

dle East country to their east and ultimately will be more important than the Arab states. Yariv responds that Iran is not more important than Israel's Arab neighbors who support Iraq. He believes that even after the war ends Iraq would not be inclined to engage in hostilities against Israel because of continued pressure from Iran.

Yariv conceded that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein "is a butcher, that's how he holds sway." And while he is unsure whether the Iraqi overture to Israel "is a strategy or a stratagem," Yariv believes Baghdad has truly changed its attitude toward Israel: "But we will only know through testing," he said. Yariv suggested that the Iraqis could demonstrate their sincerity by "toning down" their anti-Israel propaganda.

He said that with the Arab states preoccupied with the Gulf war and deeply in need of U.S. support "it should not be impossible to get something moving on the peace process." He said that pursuing contacts with Iraq should be designed to help this process. "Maybe a pro-Iraqi stand won't work but it's worth a try," he said.

Yariv praised U.S. activity in the Gulf, noting that the presence of U.S. warships has deterred rather than escalated the conflict. However, he believes that Iran could score "a technical knockout" in the war due to its superior morale and larger population. J.R. □

HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

Landmarks in Final Legislation

Senate and House conferees completed a Foreign Operations Appropriations bill—as part of the omnibus Continuing Resolution—which included more than two dozen items favorable to the U.S.-Israel relationship.

After almost three years of work, landmark debt-restructuring legislation was adopted. The result of a double compromise between the House and Senate, it permits Israel and other friendly nations to refinance their high-interest U.S. military loans with lower interest loans from private institutions. New commercial loans would be secured by 90% U.S. government guarantees.

The original legislation was written by Sens. DANIEL INOUE (D-Hawaii) and ROBERT KASTEN (R-Wis.) Chairman and ranking minority member, respectively, of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations. Their plan was de-

signed to save debtor countries millions of dollars by allowing them to repay loans while interest rates are lower than those on their initial U.S. military notes.

Israel could save as much as \$150 million annually in debt service once this legislation is signed into law.

The second part of the compromise was a proposal by Rep. DAVID OBEY (D-Wis.), Chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations. Obey's plan appropriates \$270 million for the U.S. government to buy down certain high interest loans to 10% for countries which cannot qualify for the Inouye-Kasten provision.

Conferees also adopted numerous other amendments strengthening U.S.-Israeli ties. Among them:

- \$3 million in all-grant aid;
- Authority for Israel to use \$400 of its \$1.8 billion military assistance in Israeli

and

- Authority for it to lease certain military equipment with U.S. military aid.

In other matters, it should be noted that while the case was pending, Reps. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.), DAN BURTON (R-Ind.), TOM BLILEY (R-Va.), DONALD "BUZ" LUKENS (R-Ohio), RAYMOND MCGRATH (R-N.Y.), ELTON GALLEGLY (R-Calif.), JACK FIELDS (R-Tex.), GEORGE WORTLEY (R-N.Y.), TOM LEWIS (R-Fla.), JACK DAVIS (R-Ill.), JOE SKEEN (R-N.M.), BILL SCHUETTE (R-Mich.), DON SUNDQUIST (R-Tenn.) and Sens. CHARLES GRASSLEY (R-Iowa), ALFONSE D'AMATO (R-N.Y.), and JESSE HELMS (R-N.C.) filed an amicus curiae brief in support of the closure of the Washington PLO office. The move was upheld by the U.S. District Court early this month. □

BACK PAGE

Rabin Stands Firm

Outside, two dozen protesters, most wearing the black-or red-checked keffiyah headdresses long a symbolic part of Yasir Arafat's wardrobe, chanted "Long live the PLO!" "Long live Palestine!"

Inside, Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin defended Israeli policies in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, territories administered by Israel since the 1967 Six-Day War. Referring to the deaths which have resulted as police and the army dealt with repeated rioting in the areas, he said: "It is painful to both sides, the Palestinians . . . to the soldiers and policemen who had to maintain law and order, to come into confrontation. . . . We are sorry about the loss of life of anyone."

Nevertheless, Rabin said, "My conscience is clean." He was not responding to the Washington demonstrators, nor even so much to his audience at the Brookings Institution, but to U.S. officials. Some had expressed concern during Rabin's mid-December visit about "harsh" Israeli methods used to deal with the mostly young Palestinian Arab rioters.

Standard procedure calls for the use of rubber bullets, tear gas and warning shots before firing at rioters. But Israel, the Defense Minister asserted, cannot allow "use of public disorder and terror to show that those who want, and carry them out, can achieve their goals by these means. . . . We have to make it clear that the only way to solve the problem is through peace negotiations with Jordan, with Palestinians who are not PLO."

Newspaper and television photos of Israelis shooting at Palestinian Arab civilians—even if the latter are throwing rocks and Molotov cocktails—"might be painful, it might leave here and there damaging public images. But we have to cope with basic problems and . . . we learned the hard way not to give in to the use of force and to the use of terror."

After gaining the territories in the 1967 war for survival, Israel had three options, Rabin said:

It could have annexed them unilaterally, extending Israeli citizenship to those Arabs who would accept it. Or, Israel could have withdrawn unilaterally from Judea, Samaria and Gaza—redividing Jerusalem and returning to a condition of extreme geographic vulnerability. It chose the third option: instituting a military government—legal under international law—and holding the status of the areas open pending negotiations.

If Palestinian Arabs and some Arab states have grown increasingly frustrated with a political impasse which breeds economic and social troubles as well, the fault is theirs, Rabin said. He pointed out that the Arab side first rejected partition of

Mandatory Palestine in 1948, launching and losing a war against the newborn Jewish state.

Every year from 1949 to 1967 Israeli governments proposed peace on the lines that existed, when the West Bank, Gaza and east Jerusalem were in Arab hands. The offers were rejected, Rabin noted. And "if the heart of the Arab-Israeli conflict is the Palestinian problem . . . why was there no demand then to make a Palestinian state" of the West Bank and Gaza, he asked.

Israel's peace with Egypt showed what can be achieved by Arab leaders with courage, Rabin said. Meanwhile, the police and military authorities will use "whatever is needed" to try to preserve order for all residents of the territories.

One of those in the audience, Anthony Lewis, wrote in his Dec. 17 *New York Times* column that "anyone who hoped for new light on the problem must have heard Rabin's answers with despair." Lewis claimed that "the obstacle to negotiation now is the divided Israeli government," and he charged that the country really has chosen a fourth option—de facto annexation through settlement.

But the week before Anwar Sadat's trip to Jerusalem, most Israelis could not have envisioned returning the Sinai for peace with Egypt. Because of the asymmetrical nature of the conflict, it remains up to the rest of the larger Arab side to make a bold, convincing move for peace.

As for Jewish settlers, Lewis advanced a sort of racist presumption that it is all right for hundreds of thousands of Arabs to live in Israel, but all wrong for Jews to live in the West Bank and Gaza. E.R. □

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Richard Cohen

No, Israel Has Not Lost Its Soul

Twenty-six people were killed in the Newark riots of 1967. Later that month, 43 people were killed in the Detroit riots. In both cases, and in other race-related riots of that period, some of the dead were victims of the police—18 in Detroit alone, where six more were killed by the National Guard. There were many instances of police brutality and insensitivity. I know. I saw some of it.

In contrast, about 22 people have died as a result of Arab rioting in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. The figure, while tragic and inexcusable, hardly approaches the total for Newark and Detroit, and yet few concluded back then that the United States had lost all respect for human life. The nation and the world were shocked by the riots in American cities, and Communist countries made much of it for propaganda purposes. Still, America remained America.

The figures are provided for perspective—not to excuse or condone what has been happening in Israel and its occupied territories. Police all over the world overreact. This is particularly true when troops are employed as policemen—as has been done with the National Guard in this country. Men trained for combat are often inept when it comes to riots. They have a tendency to panic and to revert to their most basic training: to shoot their enemy.

As with the United States during the 1960s, recent events in the occupied territories hardly mean that Israel has lost its soul—turned into a Middle Eastern version of South Africa. Indeed, that the world has been shocked by the pictures coming from Gaza and the West Bank testifies to the fact that Israel remains an open society. Such pictures are impossible to obtain in South Africa or, for that matter, some other countries. The press is censored. It is a nifty way to deal with bad publicity.

The riots in the United States were indicative of a larger problem—poverty, discrimination, the segregation of American society into two distinct racial camps. In the same way, the disturbances in the occupied territories are yet another indication that Israel faces a larger problem: what to do with the territories it won in the 1967 war. Both of them, Gaza and the West Bank, are predominantly Arab. They are administered by what amounts to a handful of Jews. The only way a minority can govern a resentful majority is by force. In recent days, Israel has applied that force.

Israel by itself did not create the present situation. It was the Arab states that, in 1948, refused to accept the United Nations plan for the partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states. It was the Arab states that made war. It was Jordan that seized the West Bank and incorporated it and banned Jews from the holy places in East Jerusalem. And it was Egypt that seized Gaza—even then a strip of a slum along the Mediterranean.

All of this is true, but, unfortunately, almost academic. White South Africans make a similar point. They did not set out in 1652 to rule black people, to strip them of their land and their rights. Some of the whites were themselves fleeing oppression, and the land they came to was, in some respects, virgin and underpopulated. Now, though, they are the masters of that land—it and its people. Only by force can the whites of South Africa remain in power.

"The plan of the government is to do nothing—to wait. Something will turn up."

The sweet dream of Zionism is up against a similar contemporary reality. But a divided, almost paralyzed Israeli government has been unable to come up with a plan to trade land (the West Bank and Gaza) for peace. Extremists in Israel insist that the West Bank remain part of Israel forever. Gaza is not so Biblically cherished, but there, too, extremists have staked out their position. It, too, must be retained. The plan of the government is to do nothing—to wait. Something will turn up.

The riots of Gaza and the West Bank will be contained, and the overreaction of the military hardly means that Israel has turned mean and evil. But the status quo is really a slide toward tragedy—more riots, more oppression and more deaths.

To the fiercely religious, the Bible is destiny. To others, demography plays that role. By the end of the century, Arabs might outnumber Jews in greater Israel. The something that some Israelis hope will turn up is instead a daily event: the birth of even more Arabs. Unless much of the occupied territories is traded for peace, the dream of Zionism may turn into a demographic nightmare. For Samson, Gaza was the end. For Israel, it may be just the beginning.

Washington Post
December 24, 1987

Charles Krauthammer

Lots of Advice for Israel

Ever since Palestinian misery in Gaza and the West Bank erupted in rioting, the world has had advice for Israel. On Tuesday, the U.N. Security Council, backed by the Reagan administration, told Israel to desist from plans to deport the ringleaders. It is not clear what Israel is supposed to do with people committed to civil disorder, sometimes violently so, and who work actively to get others to join them. Prison is no deterrent. It is a finishing school for rock-throwers, where these senior radicals serve as faculty. Israel figures that expelling nine agitators is better policy than firing tear gas and bullets at the crowds they incite. The U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., Herbert Okun, differs. He informed Israel that deportation is "unnecessary to maintain order." His solution: restraint.

The New York Times, too, had a suggestion, a small step to diffuse Palestinian anger: freeze or roll back Israeli settlements in the Gaza Strip. Twenty-five hundred Jews among 650,000 Arabs hardly constitute a threat, but fine: remove the irritant. And on the other side? "Arab countries could help by offering to absorb some of the refugees," suggests The Times.

There is an air of breezy unreality about this idea. Of course the Arab countries could offer to absorb some of the Palestinian refugees. But they do not. Take Gaza. During its 20-year rule of the Gaza Strip, Egypt not only refused to absorb Palestinian refugees, it kept them stateless and hopeless. They were denied passports.

Any American advising Israel to give up the West Bank is no friend.

They were not even permitted to travel or work in Egypt. Even today, Egypt makes work and travel very difficult for the 1 percent of Palestinians who live on the Egyptian side of Gaza. Egypt certainly has no intention of absorbing them.

If the Arab countries had any interest in Palestinian refugees other than as a means to discomfit Israel, they would have absorbed them 40 years ago rather than let them sit in squalor and frustration. Of all the displaced peoples of the post-World War II partitions—in India, Central Europe, Korea—only the Palestinians have been so cynically manipulated by their fellow nationals and co-religionists.

How cynically? In the mid-1970s, Israel tried to give new housing to some of the Palestinian refugees living in the Gaza Strip. It moved them out of the camps into more livable houses nearby. Whereupon the U.N. General Assembly, urged on by the Arab states, passed Resolution 32/90 condemning Israel's relocation of these refugees and demanding their return "to the camps from which they were removed." The U.N., which offered that advice exactly 10 years before the current round of rioting in

Gaza, has a large stake in Palestinian misery.

At least The Times' advice was earnest. Others have been merely fatuous. End the occupation, says Prof. Stanley Hoffmann of Harvard. Sure, but exactly how and to whom does one give the territories? Easy. To Yasser Arafat, says Hoffmann. Like most who demand of Israel that it redeem Palestinian history, Hoffmann poses as a friend. Not to push Israel to follow his advice "does Israel no favor," he says.

Now Israelis, whose sons are dodging gasoline bombs, are as sensitive to the dilemmas and agonies of occupation as are the residents of Cambridge, Mass. Most Israelis want to end the occupation but not to evacuate the territories unilaterally and thus allow Arafat and Abu Nidal and Abu Abbas to fill the vacuum. Israel is split about dealing away territory. About half the electorate is prepared to; half is not. But of the latter, many are wedded to the territories not by religion or history but by the conviction that the Arabs will take the territories and then continue their war against a gravely weakened Israel from there.

It is a conviction grounded in fact. Arafat and the PLO say explicitly that recovery of the West Bank is simply stage 1 of the struggle to liberate all of Palestine. Israelis were reminded of that fact by demonstrators in Nazareth, part of pre-'67 Israel, who chanted "death to the Jews" during last month's general strike. So long as the West Bank remains the Arab

world's Sudetenland, any Israeli prepared to give it up is a fool. And any American advising Israel to do so is no friend.

One of the tensest days of this round of violence occurred on Jan. 1, which Palestinians celebrate as the anniversary of the first attack on Israel by Fatah, Arafat's leading faction of the PLO. It was 23 years ago that Fatah sent men to blow up the water works of Bet Shean. The anniversary was widely reported, but no one stopped to consider that 23 years ago was 1965. In 1965 there were no occupied territories. In 1965 Jordan ruled the West Bank, Egypt ruled Gaza and not a Jew disturbed Islam's third holiest site, Jordan having rendered the Old City of Jerusalem *judenrein*. None of the current pretexts for Palestinian violence even existed when Fatah began its war against Israel. The issue then, as now, was not Israel's occupation but Israel's existence.

Hence the air of unreality about the advice being offered Israel regarding Palestinian rioting. "End the occupation" amounts to an admonition to risk suicide in order to improve one's image abroad. Israel waits to sit down with Palestinians (and Jordanians) unequivocally prepared to coexist with Israel. If out of this generation of rock throwers a leadership eventually arises which is prepared to deal, rather than dream and demand, then some good may come out of the current agony. In the interim, the only advice worth offering Israel is better riot control.

Washington Post January 8, 1988



THE NEW REPUBLIC

JANUARY 18, 1988

DELIRIOUS PALESTINIANS, SULLEN ISRAELIS

Legends in Arab history often have greater popular resonance than facts. These last weeks—beginning with the attack on an Israeli army camp by a lone hang-glider pilot, and ending with violent demonstrations by Arabs in Israel and the occupied territories—are likely to add a new chapter to the legend. Palestinians, in their current delirium, will see them as harbingers of imminent revolution and vengeance against the Jews. The Palestinian masses, Fouad Ajami has suggested, have more than once been persuaded that their world can be made and unmade in a speech. Imagine, in their minds, the power of an actual riot.

The misunderstanding has spread to America as well. Since violent demonstrations are not routine in America, we are inclined to believe that large numbers of people resort to riot only because of an intolerable grievance to which there is an obvious and just solution. Ten years ago, the Iranian mobs demanding the return of the Ayatollah Khomeini had many Americans cheering on the fall of the Shah, whatever the consequences. The comparable response to the disorders in the occupied territories has been to call on the Israelis to withdraw.

This journal also believes, as it has for two decades, that a far-reaching geographical and functional compromise is necessary so that Israel does not rule over an additional million and a half Palestinians and the lands on which they live. Such a settlement, if possible at all, depends on a long and complicated political process that the ultranationalist Israeli right has consistently tried to impede. But impeding it has been easy, since the very Arabs with whom the Israelis must live between the Mediterranean and the Jordan never have been ready for a real negotiation. Like the Israeli right, they still dream of old maps. In Gaza and the West Bank last month, one of the intoxicating slogans said it clearly enough: "It's us or them."

This widespread intransigence and delusion in the Palestinian populace makes some Israelis feel self-righteous, although there is no shortage of intransigence and delusion among the Israelis themselves—and in very high places. But self-righteousness is foolish for the Israelis in any event. For it cannot be denied that these were the most troubled weeks in the history of the Israeli occupation, the

most vivid illustration of the magnitude of the problem that Israel inherited in its successful defense of itself in 1967. As the dust settles in Gaza and as the smoke scatters in Nablus, it is no longer possible for the Israelis to deny that the fate of the Palestinians is their own problem and a part of their own fate. What happened in the territories was not an aberration, and not only a problem of "public order." It was the inevitable result of an occupation and of the political stalemate that prevents it from being ended.

Some in the Israeli government prefer to look for alibis. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir blamed Syria, Libya, Algeria, Iran, and Iraq for the disturbances. If true, this would be the first example of successful Islamic-state cooperation in decades. Other officials insisted that the riots were all the work of the PLO, claiming they had wiretaps to prove it. But Yasir Arafat's face was missing from protest placards, a sure sign of his eclipse. On the principle "I must follow them, I am their leader," Arafat has cobbled together a proposal for a government-in-exile or some such in a desperate effort to maintain the Palestinian address in Tunis. Yet no one knows better than Arafat how little he was responsible for these exhilarating episodes, and no one is more afraid of the future. Israeli officialdom, like officialdom everywhere, also blamed the media, especially television. The media do indeed misunderstand the history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (see below), but they have little to do with the making of that history.

Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin sought to explain away the rioting by giving it a familiar label: "terrorism." Rabin and other Israeli officials also called it terrorism when a Palestinian stole across the northern border in a hang glider and killed six soldiers. This individual did belong to a certifiable terrorist organization, a Syrian-backed PLO faction. But his particular act was not a terrorist act, because he did not strike out of design at innocents. Having alerted the civilized world to the perils of terrorism and insisted on a clear definition at a time when the great powers wanted to avert their eyes, the Israelis risk debasing, through indiscriminate use, a critical word in the vocabulary of modern politics that has itself become a defense against barbarism.

What happened in the occupied territories also was not

terrorism. It was a textbook example of popular resistance. We have justifiable anxieties about the goals of this resistance. But it is not terrorism. A Palestinian youth crossing his own street to throw a rock or even a Molotov cocktail at a soldier is not a terrorist. And neither, for that matter, is the cleric who exhorts the boy from his minaret.

Despite his semantic error, Rabin, like most Israeli military men, makes no fetish of holding on to the territories either for strategic or historic reasons. Rabin understands that the people whom his soldiers police do have a legitimate grievance. What he doesn't seem to understand is that their massive turn to violence—especially poignant for its futility—reflects frustration at 20 years of political impotence. This was far from a rising of an entire society. Nevertheless, tens of thousands of Palestinian youths did put themselves in danger by challenging with words and weapons the Israeli youths who patrol their streets. And, for one day, their elders went out on strike, out of solidarity and/or fear of reprisal if they declined. No disciplined terrorist conspiracy could have produced this outburst of rage. No intervention from Arafat in Tunisia was needed to turn the spark of resentment into a flame. And while a rioting crowd will riot a little more for the benefit of a camera, it is not the camera that brings the mob into the street. It would be a disaster for the Israelis not to grasp the true character of this challenge.

But why now? The answer may have little to do with Israel, even if national movements with scant national histories usually have to define themselves in terms of an enemy. (The Jews, secure in their collective identity because of its long and unifying history, may not have understood this about the Palestinians.) Palestinian nationalism also is trapped in one of the great abstractions of world politics, the larger Arab nation—that vast and inchoate force divided against itself. For decades the Palestinians counted on the Arab nation—or, more often, on whichever Arab state had momentarily claimed the role of Arab tribune—to be their *deus ex machina* in the war against the Jews. The realization has been long in coming that the other Arabs don't care a fig for the Palestinians. At the recent Arab summit in Amman, the subject of their long-suffering brethren barely came up. The Amman summit told the Palestinians they are alone, even in the Arab world. So if the Palestinian riots in Gaza and Nablus constitute a furious and plaintive collective cry of "I am," the cry is directed as much to their brother Arabs as to the Israelis. In the Arab world almost nobody heard. There was a small demonstration in Sidon. A far larger one was choreographed in Tehran, intended by the non-Arab Iranian Shiites to focus on the general debility of the Sunni Muslim Arab elites.

THE FACT THAT the riots were partly a protest against Arab indifference only emphasizes the trap that the occupation has become for Israel. No occupying force, no policing force for that matter, has the luxury of ignoring

mass disturbances. When an army confronts such provocations the consequences will be brutal. The argument about whether the Israelis used excessive force to maintain order is sterile. As Thomas J. Friedman noted in the *New York Times*, rubber bullets may not be an appropriate response to a street war fought with firebombs meant to kill. On the other hand, the American Jewish apparatchiks who rushed to the State Department to contend that the Israelis actually behaved with "restraint" were contradicted by the "iron fist" claims of the military itself. Indeed, a show of overwhelming force in the beginning might have saved lives and limbs, while denying the Palestinians their martyrs.

To the Palestinian leadership, what happened last month, the dead and the wounded, was no tragedy. Neither a more draconian response nor a more indulgent one would have shaken the conviction of Palestinians that they live in a classically colonial situation. This is especially true of the new generation, which cannot remember that the Zionists were once positively eager to live with a state, alongside the Jewish state and much larger, called Palestine; that the Arabs refused to accept any Jewish state, however geographically precarious, and attacked, three times, to destroy it; that for almost two decades Jordan too occupied the West Bank; and that during those same 19 years Egypt held the Gaza district and its population hostage to its own hegemonial ambitions in the Arab world.

Gaza is the capital of Palestinian despair. The Gaza Strip is the part of the Arab-Israeli conflict that history tried to forget. It has one of the highest population densities in the world. Some 550,000 people live on an urbanized sandbar five miles wide by 30 miles long. The average age is 14. For four decades the Gazans' political status has been ambiguous. They are stateless and rightless. They are the extreme example of the Palestinian exception to the general rule for solving refugee problems created by partitions in the post-war world. Tens of millions of Hindus and Muslims from the Indian subcontinent, Germans, Koreans, Africans were displaced and resettled and absorbed. Only in the Arab orbit was this instinct of mutual aid to refugee brethren officially sabotaged. Present-day Gaza is the result. Since it was held by Egyptian troops, it was placed under Cairo's control as part of the 1949 armistice agreements. But Egypt never annexed Gaza. Instead, it used Gaza as a staging ground for terrorist raids by the *fedayeen*, the 1950s forerunners of the PLO. The Egyptian army trained and equipped these terrorists, even as they ruthlessly suppressed their local opponents. Refused employment, the Gazans, native and refugee, were destined to vegetate in terrible isolation and immobility.

After the Six-Day War, Israel offered Gazans their first jobs and organized transportation for them across the old armistice lines. Israel is reproached that the work available to these Arabs is mostly menial. Would it have been better if they had remained jobless? The wages of those workers brought some material improvement to Gaza. But popula-

Arab worker on his way home to Gaza. Then, and most chilling of all, since it repeats one of the great medieval canards against the Jews, a rumor that the Jews had poisoned the wells, this time at Khan Younis refugee camp. Politically, the easy mass acceptance of such rumors represents a hobbling lack of clarity. Poisoning the wells! Is some realism too much to ask even of an occupied people?

ALONG WITH the Palestinians and the Israelis, the American media also lost touch with reality last month. On the *New York Times* op-ed page, Anthony Lewis urged the Israelis to stop building Jewish settlements, apparently unaware that they have long since stopped. Stanley Hoffmann opined that the alternative was either a PLO state or Armageddon. That's business as usual. More novel and inflammatory was the spread of false analogy. On ABC News "Nightline," Ted Koppel asked Rabin how the images of the West Bank and Gaza differed from the images of Korea, Chile, Ireland, and South Africa. Of course the images do not differ. The reality does.

The particularly outrageous comparison with South Africa was commonplace, and Israeli officials were right to complain about it. Reporters and commentators compared Gaza to Soweto. Do they really mean to suggest that what the Afrikaners have been doing is because there have been no black leaders willing to end a war against them? "Nightline" showed P. W. Botha back to back with Israeli foreign minister Shimon Peres. Here was Botha denouncing the ANC. There was Peres denouncing the PLO. Never mind that South Africa's army presides over what Botha wishes were a finished political system and that Israel's army presides over an unsought and still unwanted occupation. Never mind that the ideology of apartheid is based on an assumption of the racial inferiority of black people, while Zionism is based on an aspiration to equality and brotherhood with the Arabs. Never mind that Arabs in Israel proper are full citizens with all civil rights. Never mind that dissent in South Africa is generally suppressed and dissent in Israel is generally honored, that South Africa is closed to the press and Israel is a journalist's dream.

Israeli soldiers are in the West Bank and Gaza in 1988 because the Arab states attacked Israel in 1967 (and 1973). If there were peace, or something even considerably short of peace, there wouldn't be a single unwanted Israeli soldier in the West Bank. Israel is ruling over Arabs because, with the exception of Egypt, the Arabs have consistently refused to engage Israel in a political solution to the Palestinian problem.

More than two generations of Arab and Palestinian rejectionism have exhausted many of Israel's doves. They have not experienced the much touted new realism of the Palestinians. Still, the absence of Arab table partners does not justify everything that Israel may do. In the absence of talks—or talks about talks—there are still smart actions and stupid actions, policies that may make a solution easier down the road or make it harder.

Maybe Israel is doomed for the foreseeable future to living dangerously, at the edge of insecurity and peril. But if that is so, life will become less and less pleasant for the Palestinians. What contemplating such a destiny will evoke from the Arabs is hard to fathom. What it should evoke from the Israelis is an indefatigable quest for some forum to gauge the Palestinians' willingness for real coexistence. Cutting through the symbolic totems and taboos about the PLO, Rabin has articulated an unflinchingly realistic view of whom the Israelis want as negotiating partners. They'd sit with anyone who lives in the territories and wouldn't ask with whom their rhetorical loyalties lie. There is even a dovish wing in the Likud that sees it exactly the same way. The vigorous attempt by Peres to organize an international conference addressing precisely the matter of how to end the occupation and enfranchise the Palestinians without unduly imperiling the security of Israel deserved much more support from the United States than it received. TNR had some doubts about Peres's proposal. But the very attempt to convene the conference was itself a peace process. When the communications between capitals ceased, when there were no more feelers, no more trial balloons in the poisoned air, no more high-level insistence on the imminence of developments, there was violence. For the Palestinians the absence of politics means continued misery and marginality. For the Israelis the absence of politics means a morally corroding occupation and a demographic noose.

tion growth has kept it abysmally poor. It remains a center of terrorism and mass hopelessness. Israeli withdrawal will not fix Gaza, nor will Palestinian statehood.

Still, the Israeli occupation seems to make things worse. The fact that no Arab government treats its own population less harshly is no justification. Irresistibly, repressive measures have grown and will continue to grow more severe. By lying to Israeli courts about matters such as torture, the security services have undercut the integrity of the judiciary, not to mention their own credibility. These scandals frustrate Israel's best hopes and most benign intentions. Meanwhile Jewish terrorists, grotesquely known as "the underground," here and there have been allowed to take on the police function. Palestinian politicians and journalists with whom the Israelis might have parleyed are deported by those who want no one to parley with. Official scrupulousness toward the Arabs of the territories has all but disappeared. How long will the elemental decencies survive?

And when will the erosion of ethical standards in dealing with the Arab minority spread back across the green line to pre-1967 Israel? Ten days into the recent violence, a general strike was called by the Arabs of the occupied territories—and the Arabs in Israel struck with them. Moreover, there was rioting in Nazareth and Jaffa and East Jerusalem, all within pre-1967 Israel. In Jerusalem rioting came after Ariel Sharon's haughty move into an apartment in the Muslim Quarter of the Old City. But it would have happened without him. And it happened despite the fact that the city is run by a most humane and sensitive mayor and municipal administration, which encourages the systematic expression of Arab opinion and interests.

The Arab strike and rioting within Israel proper does not prove that the political experience of Israel's Arabs has been a failure. They enjoy virtually all the privileges of an open society—certainly the only Arabs in the Middle East to do so. Israel rightly prides itself on how it has extended democracy to its multiethnic society, including Arab citizens whose cousins still have the nation under siege. However, if Jewish nationalism is redefined, as the Israeli right is attempting to redefine it, to include areas that are almost entirely Arab, it will become impossible to prevent Palestinian nationalism from affecting Arabs within Israel's borders who otherwise have come to terms with the Jewish state. The impact of Palestinian nationalism on the identity of Israel's Arabs is still to be fully experienced. It could be a particularly volatile element of the Palestinian pressure upon Israel.

YET WHAT DID the Palestinians in the street achieve? A fortnight of wild feeling. A symbolic self-assertion. A collective high. New media, new myths, new martyrs. In short, nothing permanent, nothing genuinely political, nothing that will bring their community a single step closer to fulfillment. The riots of December probably have taken their place already in Palestinian political folklore as what one reporter called "a battle of David and Goliath."

The Palestinians may have lots of Davids with lots of rocks, but they have no power to back up their Davids. Moreover, they have done nothing serious to gain any kind of power, except the strange emotional kind that comes from wallowing in victimization and fantasizing about revenge. As the images of Gaza appeared nightly on the screen, the world was moved by the defiance of children. But we might reflect that this was also the politics of children, a release of anger that bore largely grief, a costly thrill that brings these wretched, manipulated people not autonomy, not sovereignty, not an entity, not a federation, not a state, not even a peace process, but just another futile chapter in Palestinian history.

For Israel the despair of the Palestinians should be a matter of enormous political weight. But for the Palestinians the fact remains that despair is not politics. The recent events in the occupied territories reflect not only the Israeli occupation but the pattern of Palestinian politics before 1967. Since the 1920s the Palestinians' response to the Jewish fact of their life has consisted entirely of boycotts and violence, strikes and riots. When will they see the importance of politics? As the Jewish experience illustrates, national recognition and its institutional expressions are achieved by diplomacy, by compromise, by pragmatism, by a practical relationship to power. The Palestinians could have had a state in 1948, but they said no, and were occupied by Jordan. They could have had autonomy in 1978 and a real shot at sovereignty in 1983: the Camp David accords prescribed only five years of autonomy, to be followed by negotiations about sovereignty. But they said no. No Palestinian came to the conference table then, and no Palestinian has come yet. They made bombs instead or idolized those who did. And so they remain, 20 years after Israel's unwanted occupation, still occupied by Israel.

The strife in the West Bank and Gaza last month confirmed the Palestinians in their sense of their own rightness. The protests disrupted the occupiers enough to put the occupied down but not enough to address their complaints. And it brought the usual hardening of the extremes that accompanies political violence. If Israeli actions played into the hands of the extreme Palestinian left, Palestinian actions played into the hands of the hard Israeli right.

The general inflammation of Palestinian society contributed to the upheaval in another way: by robbing the people in the streets of a sense of reality. The primary means of Palestinian mobilization was the rumor. The troubles began in Gaza when a rumor spread that a traffic accident in which an Israeli truck killed four Palestinians was in fact a planned act of revenge for the stabbing of an Israeli in Gaza a few days earlier. (The initial stabbing seemed to be conceived as a natural occurrence.) Then there was a rumor that wounded Palestinians were being taken to Israeli hospitals to be "finished off" and young Palestinian women were being taken for God knows why. Then a rumor that an Israeli mob in Ashkelon had kidnapped and killed an

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*Zorach's
Securities*

Defence challenge for the '90s

Hirsh Goodman examines the strategic options open to Israel following the cancellation of the Lavi project

ON THE MORNING after the Lavi was cancelled, a highly respected and very senior military analyst in Washington rushed out to see his broker. Instead of doing the predictable — selling out his shares in one of Israel's major electronic companies heavily involved in the Lavi programme — he bought every share in the company he could get his hands on. "Now they're free to do what they are best at doing," he said, "they're going to make a fortune."

The company, like many others, had shelved some futuristic development projects that were in the pipeline when it was awarded Lavi work in the early 1980s. The Lavi had become the main priority of the defence establishment; all resource and development capital was being channelled to the project; and almost all the company's technical and production manpower had been diverted to making electronic and avionic systems for the aircraft.

It was the analyst's feeling that the company, by concentrating solely on the Lavi, was sacrificing its ability to compete in the future marketplace; that the Lavi's technologies, while undeniably extremely advanced, were "yesterday's technologies", and not those that would continue to give Israel a leading edge in weapons development.

THAT VIGNETTE illustrates just how rapidly new technologies are changing.

A few short months before, the Lavi had been acclaimed, even by its

most vociferous critics, as possessing some of the most sophisticated systems known to man. But here was a leading military expert calling the plane an obstacle in the path of Israeli military and industrial advancement, and running out to buy shares to prove that he had the courage of his convictions.

The limitations of aircraft

The expert in question has always been ahead of his time. As long as two years ago he was telling military planners that in the event of another war, aircraft, be they Lavis or whatever, will not be able to perform their traditional tasks; that effective anti-aircraft defences have made the concept of sending multi-million dollar platforms, flown by invaluable human resources, against enemy ground targets uneconomic; and that developing technologies have now made it possible to achieve from the ground what until now could only be achieved from the air.

It was not that the aircraft was obsolescent, but rather that its role had changed and that this change was a fundamental one that would affect the development both of doctrine and of future weapons.

ISRAELI MILITARY planners are now doing some of the most profound thinking they have ever done in response to the challenges of the future. The Lavi has been a traumatic lesson — not unlike, though very different from, the trauma of the Yom Kippur War.

Here, the shock was not surprise and a price paid in blood. It was that Israel — through countless evaluations and re-evaluations, despite constant checking and re-checking by dozens of different teams and through several governments — had remained committed to a project that was ultimately discovered to be wrong for Israel from almost every point of view.

This is not the time for recriminations about the Lavi's demise, or the wisdom or folly of the decision, but rather the time to examine how Israel can pick up the pieces in the most effective way.

To do this, one has first to understand why the Lavi was cancelled, lest the same mistake — in a differ-

ent form — be made again.

The Lavi was shelved primarily because military thinking in Israel, especially under the stewardship of the incumbent Chief of the General Staff, Dan Shomron, has taken an entirely different view of how future wars — if they occur — will be fought.

The Lavi fell victim to the realization that, in the crucial opening stages of any future conflict, the Israeli air force (especially if it is reduced in size by roughly one third, as current planning calls for), will be totally pre-occupied with taking out enemy ground-to-ground and ground-to-air targets, and thus unable to provide close support for Israeli ground forces, even if it possessed the Lavi.

The whole rationale of a close ground-support aircraft therefore fell away, making the Lavi obsolescent from a doctrinal point of view before it ever left the ground. Israel, it became apparent, was investing all its resources in a weapon it would probably not be able to capitalize on if deterrence failed and war broke out.

This occurred at about the same time as new technologies began to emerge that are revolutionizing weapons and, in a very profound way, the manner in which future wars will be fought. Some of these weapons, such as Kamikazi drones, and precision-guided munitions can achieve what the Lavi was intended to achieve from great distances and with great accuracy. They are also cheaper, do not put at risk valuable crews, and negate many of the advantages of the enemy's anti-aircraft defences.

But the technology for these weapons is in its infancy. The weapons, by themselves, will not be able to replace the conventional means of war — tanks, infantry, artillery, aircraft and naval vessels — and can only be supplementary to them.

Their development costs are enormous, and the degree of expertise needed in esoteric fields to produce them, highly specialized. What exactly they will be able to do and just how effective they will be, remains an open question, as does the fundamental one of how they can be blended into Israeli doctrine and moulded to cater to Israel's specific and unique defence needs.

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CHALLENGE...CONTINUED

THE PRESSURES on Israel's political echelons to find speedy alternative military projects for those defence industries affected by the Lavi cancellation are intense. In consequence, there is a danger that, in their haste, today's decision-makers may embark on projects that will be just as out of tune with tomorrow's needs as the Lavi could have been.

There are indications that this may already be happening, specifically with regard to a comprehensive anti-tactical-ballistic-missile system (ATBM) in which the Americans have expressed an interest, but which the IDF is extremely hesitant about embarking upon.

Initial ATBM development costs of several hundred million dollars, although to be carried at least in equal part by the Americans, would be as potentially crippling as those of the Lavi, and from an operational point of view, less than ideal for the challenges of the future.

The system is an entirely reactive one, rather than being an integral part of Israel's offensive strategy, and thus has little deterrent value in the Middle East context. At best, it could be part of an overall mix of responses that will compose the IDF's future order of battle, but not the main answer to the growing missile threat that faces this country.

WHEN EXAMINING the future battlefield and its implications, a sub-committee of the Knesset's Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee this summer came to several basic conclusions.

Even though its report was written before the cancellation of the Lavi, the writers, headed by Dan Meridor, pointed out that despite the extremely high proportion of the budget allocated to defence, there was virtually no coordinated strategic thinking that allowed Israel to maximize its assets efficiently. There was no clear concept of what the future battlefield would actually be like, or how Israel should develop its responses.

The report was not complimentary about the inter-relationship between Israel's security needs and Israel's defence industries, and noted that the army, having been subjected to several years of spontaneous, unplanned, budget cuts, had been forced to make haphazard decisions based on expediency, rather than long-range planning imperatives.

Competition instead of unified approach

JUST HOW disorganized Israel's approach to defence developments

was, was illustrated in the summer when two teams, one from the Israel Aircraft Industries, the other from Raphael, the Weapons' Development Authority, arrived in the U.S. to demonstrate a system which the U.S. army was interested in.

Instead of coming with one, agreed upon, comprehensive system to show the assembled generals, the Israeli delegations brought two competing systems.

The IAI was offering a comprehensive, all encompassing approach, based on several sub-systems. The Raphael proposal was much more modest and operationally limited. Instead of making a joint pitch, salesmen from IAI and Raphael invested most of their energies in explaining why their system was better than the other. The net result: the Americans called off the deal and said they needed time to re-assess.

The incident raises many questions, the main one being why two individual, fully government-owned, weapons makers were both spending scarce research and development funds on developing competing systems.

NOW THAT THE Lavi has been cancelled, the time has come to establish order in what was obviously a very disorganized structure. This cannot be done, however, without fully defining and understanding the threat that will exist in this region towards the end of the century; what weapons will be at the disposal of Israel's potential protagonists; and what these weapons mean in terms of how future wars will be fought.

It is essential to know what proportion of the nation's resources can be assigned to future military development, and how these resources can be best appropriated.

Decisions will have to be made about which weapons should be purchased abroad and which made here.

The first signs that this is beginning to take place are becoming apparent. Deputy Chief of Staff Ehud Barak is reported to be coordinating the IDF's long-range development effort, based on a multi-layered analysis of almost every conceivable aspect of Israel's security problems towards the year 2000.

In the military industries, the IAI has been told to fire 3,000 workers by the end of March, and to put order into its house for a more rational future. The electronic and other companies affected by the Lavi cancellation have been told to pull off their shelves projects that were set aside when all efforts were concentrated on the Lavi, and rework and resubmit some of them.

THE TRUTH IS that it is almost impossible for the IAI to make any significant long-term decisions until the Israel Defence Forces decide exactly what weapons they will require in the future. For the IAI to repeat the mistake of the Lavi by going ahead with the development of a system universally opposed by the IDF, would be folly, and it is clear that those currently in charge have no intention of doing so.

But they face a problem: what to do in the meantime, during that period of indecision while the IDF still assess, as they are doing, the needs of the battlefield of the future.

Some general directions are clear. It is almost certain, for example, that the IDF will be interested in virtually anything the IAI comes up with in terms of advanced Remotely Piloted Vehicles (RPVs), that can perform a wide range of tasks, from intelligence gathering to pinpointing attacks by designated weapons; from jamming enemy radars to crashing into targets deep inside enemy territory with great accuracy and great lethality.

There will also be interest in developments in the field of Precision Guided Munitions (PGMs) — weapons that allow you to hit the enemy at a great distance and with great accuracy from a position of standoff, where you are out of range of his defences, and thus beyond harm, when delivering ordnance.

IAI, thus, can move forward in these and related fields with relative certainty; and management, despite the cash-flow problems caused by the Lavi cancellation, has appropriated \$50 million for research and development next year, confident that the money will, ultimately, be money well spent.

THE PROBLEM of where to go, however, is not only — or even mainly — that of the IAI. Some of the best minds in the army are currently devoted to trying to fathom how best to balance Israel's future military needs with Israel's economic realities.

Dilemma of the chicken or the egg

New systems, while made dazzlingly tempting by the capabilities they offer, have, at the same time, become economically prohibitive, forcing generals to make harder choices than they ever had to in the past. This has been made more difficult by the inherent complications of

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CHALLENGE...CONTINUED

trying to figure out exactly what the enemy will have, or even exactly who the enemy will be, and, essentially, what the future doctrine of the army will be.

The dilemmas confronting them are many. Without knowing what rules of combat the IDF will have to fight by in the future, for example, military planners cannot provide the means with which to fight future wars. Conversely, the way doctrine will develop will be directly related to the weapons that will be available to those who have to work out the IDF's operations.

The question of future doctrine is the core, however, and cannot be pushed aside because of the chicken-and-egg nature of the dilemma confronting those charged with planning the future. Doctrine, not means, has to decide how Israel will confront the enemy, whether it be just Syria, a wider constellation of Arab states or a hostile array that could include the Soviet Union and peripheral Arab states, like Iran, which until now have avoided direct confrontation with Israel.

TRADITIONALLY, Israel's military philosophy has been based on the concept of "a defensive strategy executed offensively"-- a phrase coined by the late General Haim Laskov. This has been, and will probably remain, the rallying cry of Israel's military since 1948, and means that if deterrence fails, offensive operations will be launched, taking the war into enemy territory.

Little has changed, or can change, since Yoav Ben-Horin and Barry Posin defined the fundamentals of Israeli strategic doctrine in a Rand study done for the Pentagon in 1981.

In this they pointed out that Israel, by seizing the operational initiative, can dictate the place and pace of events. This denies the enemy the schematic execution of prepared plans, and allows Israel to conduct the fluid style of warfare it is best equipped to do, and therefore will probably remain the principle for future military development.

Supplementary facets of doctrine that will not change include the need for Israel to possess the capabilities to bring hostilities to a rapid end, both in order to limit casualties and prevent a debilitating war of attrition, as well as the ability to strike deep at enemy strategic targets if need be.

The IDF will, in addition, have to have the means to interdict supplementary Arab forces which may be committed to the conflict, and the ability to strike effectively and accurately at enemy systems that could threaten strategic targets in Israel.

Moreover, the IDF will have to have the command and control,

real-time intelligence and force mobility capabilities that will allow it to maximize its assets through efficient and highly adaptable force-employment or, in military terminology, execute the combined-arms approach so fundamental to Israeli thinking.

THUS, OUR planners are not working in a vacuum, despite the complicated problems they have to deal with. Indeed, they have an unusually well-defined doctrinal framework from which to work and, just as important, a relatively clear idea of the battle environment they may have to face.

They know every inch, one can assume, of the Golan Heights -- on both sides of the border -- and have a pretty clear idea of which Arab forces might be committed to a future war and what axis they can be expected to come from. They know the threat, the basic nature of the equipment flowing into the arena and what this equipment will allow the enemy to do.

While the enigmas are many, there is certainly enough of a framework with which to make intelligent decisions about the future that will not jeopardize Israel militarily or economically.

It is also fairly clear what means Israel will need, in the widest sense, to allow future soldiers to fulfil their tasks: a sophisticated air force; attack helicopters; tanks with all-weather, day-night capabilities; mobile, accurate and lethal artillery; new-generation autonomous and designated munitions mentioned earlier -- and the dozens of other systems that are making their way into the arsenals of modern armies.

Where the picture is obscure, however, is what the mix of the future army should be -- what quantities of each component one needs -- to build up a balanced fighting force, within given economic means, capable of executing doctrine in the most cost-efficient way, should deterrence fail.

BUT NOT ALL aspects of doctrine will remain the same, and it is precisely on the definition of nuance that the debate on the future battlefield is currently centred.

In the past, for example, Israel has based its conduct of war on the indirect approach -- attacking the enemy from a point and at a time that he least expects it. Only in this way has Israel been able to neutralize enemy numerical advantage, and overcome the disadvantage of not having strategic depth between its frontiers and the centres of population.

In the future, however, this may not be possible, given the exceptional concentration of Syrian forces on the Golan, for example -- some 2,000 tanks, thousands of armoured

personnel carriers, hundreds of artillery pieces, layer upon layer of anti-tank ditches, dozens of minefields, all squeezed into an area of under 300 square kilometres of volcanic plateau with limited axes of advance.

Executing an indirect approach under these circumstances, no matter how well-equipped the attacking force, is clearly hazardous and would, unavoidably, extract heavy casualties. Add to this the first-strike capabilities in the hands of the Syrians, such as SS-21 ground-to-ground missiles, and one of the world's densest arrays of ground-to-air missiles, and the challenge becomes daunting indeed.

FINDING THE MEANS to do this, and deciding on the correct appropriation of means to achieve this best, is the crucial challenge of the post-Lavi era. What is even more crucial for the defence industries is that one of the major elements of that challenge is finding the technological indirect approach to compensate for what seems to be a loss of executing the indirect approach.

In a monograph on "The Future Battlefield and the Arab-Israel Conflict," written with Dr. W. Seth Carus of the Washington Institute for Near-East Policy recently, upon which much of the material in these two articles has been based, one of the conclusions reached was precisely this.

Technology, though fallible, will be at the heart of Israel's ability to defend itself in the future. Technology will make conventional means of response and their management more effective, and will introduce new weapons that will save lives and, at the same time, achieve their tasks with unprecedented efficiency.

How gearing up for this technological challenge can be reconciled with the funereal atmosphere in the Lavi hangar has still to be seen. But, as pointed out by one IAI official who remains undaunted, Israel has an undisputed advantage over its Arab neighbours for achieving this.

This country has the highest per-capita academically-trained labour force in the world; some of the finest institutions of higher learning in the West; an excellent technical-education system; and an ingenuity in applying technologies to producing the means of defence, unparalleled in any other country. In short, all the elements for not only maintaining parity over its potential enemies, but actually increasing Israel's relative advantage, and thus reducing the chances of war.

This, of course, provided that the challenges are clearly seen, the solutions wisely chosen, and the leadership displayed to make the possible attainable.

This article is extracted from two pieces which appeared in the daily edition of The Jerusalem Post.

ELECTRONIC WARFARE

SCIENCE

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Radar's Growing Vulnerability

As weapons become smarter, they learn to "see" radar beams as pathways to their target, gaining an advantage over defensive systems

AFTER serving for four decades as the primary shield against attack from the air, radar is losing its defensive power. With the advent of radar-seeking missiles and the military equivalent of the "Fuzzbuster," the combatant who relies heavily on radar will be in peril.

The sinking of the British destroyer HMS *Sheffield* by an Exocet missile during the Falkland War was a striking demonstration of how smart weapons have changed the rules of modern warfare. An Argentine fighter flying 20 miles away was able to destroy a \$50-million warship with a single shot. Under slightly altered circumstances the target might have been one of two British aircraft carriers—a blow that could have reversed the course of the war.

It has always been difficult to locate enemy ships at sea. Yet the Argentine fighter found the *Sheffield* while flying at the very limit of its fuel range because the ship, like those in the U.S. Navy, was operating with its radars on to guard against incoming enemy fighters. Rather than protecting the ship, the radar acted as a powerful beacon that gave away its location.

In the not-too-distant future, says Robert Cooper, the former head of the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency, "the game will become hiding and finding." As the accuracy and range of smart weapons grow ever greater—to the point where even a single shot of a guided projectile may be able to kill a tank, plane, or ship—finding the target may be tantamount to destroying it.

An enemy equipped with a Fuzzbuster

may be able to quickly determine not only the location but also the size and identity of any approaching force. As the highway battle between police and speeders has aptly demonstrated, the listener starts with an advantage.

A radar emits a signal whose power drops off with the square of the distance it travels—the inverse square law. That's the signal the Fuzzbuster is trying to detect. But the radar operator has a much more difficult task. He has to pick up the reflected echo signal coming off the target. That signal has been reduced by a further factor of the distance squared, since the already weakened signal striking the target is scattered in all directions. Thus the radar operator is listening for an echo that drops off with the fourth power of its distance to the target; the signal that the Fuzzbuster-equipped listener is trying to detect has dropped off only with the second power. That asymmetry colors much of the debate over efforts to disguise radar signals.

Even as some of the Pentagon's own planners have begun to warn of the growing vulnerability of radar-equipped weapons, American tactical warfighting plans still largely take for granted the unrestricted use of radar. Radar carried by the \$1-billion apiece Aegis guided-missile cruisers is the cornerstone of the Navy's plans for defending vulnerable aircraft carrier groups against air attack. The entire design of Air Force fighters is predicated on the unfettered use of on-board radars to locate targets and direct missiles. The aircrafts' expensive fire-control systems, the missiles they carry, and

even their size and weight are determined by their radar systems. The large radar carried on the top-of-the-line U.S. F-15 fighter, for example, weighs in at 10,000 pounds, if the associated generators and air conditioners are added in, or about one-fifth of the total weight of the plane. The new advanced medium-range air-to-air missiles (AMRAAM)—which cost half a million dollars apiece—are guided to their target by the aircraft's radar system. Bombers designed to penetrate enemy territory—the older B-52s and F-111s, plus the B-1Bs and F-15Es now being acquired—depend on terrain-following radar to guide them at low altitudes through hostile zones.

Air Force tactical plans likewise are designed around the use of the large AWACS radar surveillance planes to direct U.S. interceptors. A similar 707-sized radar plane, called JSTARS, designed to follow the movement of ground forces, is the centerpiece of U.S. Army and Air Force plans to carry the battle behind enemy lines.

But, as Pentagon tactical warfare chief Donald Frederickson recently noted, on the battlefield of the future, if you radiate you may be dead. As if to underscore that point, the Soviet Union recently deployed a new air-to-air missile, the AA-10, which is believed to have the ability to home in directly on radar emissions from target aircraft.

In addition, the Soviets have taken some crucial steps to free themselves from a dependence on radar. For 20 years they have put a strong emphasis on optical guidance systems. The SA-6 and other Soviet anti-air-

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The Palestinian Riots: A Special Section

A Time of Testing

By Robert A. Cohn
Editor-in-Chief

Once again the State of Israel and the American Jewish community are going through a severe time of testing. The Palestinian Arab riots in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Jerusalem have aroused a firestorm of conflicting emotions to an extent not observed since the 1982 Lebanon War.

This special four-page "wrap-around" section of the *St. Louis Jewish Light* is an attempt to clarify the issues in the current crisis so that they can be better understood than the nightly images of violence on television. The section is also an effort to provide a counterbalance to what many perceive to be a one-sided and unfair interpretation of the events in the area by the general media.

Among the more pressing questions and some possible answers which have been provoked by the current crisis are the following:

Q. What specifically set off the current rioting?

A. On Dec. 6, Shlomo Sakal, 45, a Jewish salesman from Tel Aviv, was stabbed to death near Palestine Square in Gaza City. The Force 17 faction of Yasir Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization claimed "credit" for the murder. Israeli police and army units imposed a curfew in the area and attempted to find the assailants. Two days later, at the main military checkpoint separating Israel from the Gaza Strip, an Israeli army tank-transporter collided with two cars, causing the deaths of four Palestinians and wounding seven others, all of them Palestinian laborers from refugee camps in Gaza returning from work inside Israel. Israel described the incident as an accident; the PLO described it as a deliberate act of revenge for the murder of Sakal. At the Dec. 9 funeral for the accident victims, stone-throwing rioters charged an Israeli military truck and hurled two Molotov cocktails. An Israeli soldier fired back, killing a 17-year-old rioter, setting off the current wave of violence which spread to the West Bank and East Jerusalem as well as to sympathy strikes in Israel proper.

Q. Why have Israeli troops resorted to "lethal force" instead of nonlethal methods to contain the violence, such as rubber bullets, water cannons and tear gas?

A. Israeli troops are relatively inexperienced and untrained in traditional riot control. In the initial phases of the rioting, often untrained troops would face extremely hostile rioters throwing not only rocks but fire bombs. After the initial period, Israeli troops were instructed to use nonlethal means to control the violence and to use "deadly force" only to protect against threats to their own lives. Israeli troops are now being trained in riot control and are more often using rubber bullets, water cannons and tear gas than live ammunition.

Q. What exactly is the "Gaza Strip" and why is Israel involved there at all?

A. The Gaza Strip is a finger-like projection of territory between the Sinai and its border with Israel, about 45 miles long by 5-10 miles wide. The territory, which is more fully described in various articles in this section, was, along with the West Bank of the Jordan River, to have been part of an independent Palestinian Arab state under the United Nations Par-



(New Outlook Photo by Brian Hendler)

tion Plan of Nov. 29, 1947. The Partition Plan was accepted by the Zionist leadership, who proclaimed the independent Jewish State of Israel on May 15, 1948. The Arab states surrounding Israel rejected the Partition Plan and vowed to destroy the new Jewish State. In the 1947-49 War of Israeli Independence, Israel prevented its destruction. But Egypt seized the Gaza Strip and occupied it illegally, while Jordan seized and annexed the West Bank and East Jerusalem, driving the Jewish populations out and preventing any Jews from entering the areas for 19 years. In the 1967 Six-Day War, in which Egypt, Syria and Jordan vowed to "destroy" Israel, Israel captured the Gaza Strip and Sinai from Egypt, and East Jerusalem and the West Bank from Jordan. Under international law, Israel is obliged to administer those areas left under its control at the time of the 1967 ceasefire.

Q. How have the Palestinian Arabs fared under Egyptian and then Israeli rule?

A. In 1948, there were about 70,000 Arabs living in Gaza. The population rose to nearly 300,000 as a result of Arab refugees who flooded the area after the Arab-Israel war. Today, there are 559,849 Palestinian Arabs in the Gaza Strip, 182,000 of them in eight refugee camps. There are also about 1,120 Jewish settlers there since 1967. Under Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, Egypt used the Gaza Strip as a staging area for terrorist forays into Israel by Arab fedayeen, the precursors to the PLO. Nasser's rule was neocolonial, iron-fisted and harshly repressive. Nothing was done to benefit the economy. Unemployment was almost 50 percent and living conditions were generally wretched. Under Israeli administration, living conditions have greatly improved for many of the Gazans. Over 80,000 Gazans work in Israel proper; housing has been improved and electricity and running water provided for the first time. Health care has also improved, resulting in a major decrease in infant mortality. Gazans have been able to elect their own mayors and enjoy considerable more political rights than had been the case under Egypt. There is still widespread poverty and overpopulation, as well as the natural resentment that occurs under any occupation. Nearly all of those carrying out the present rioting are too young to remember how much worse conditions were when Gaza was under Egypt.

Q. Why has Israel refused to give the Palestinians the autonomy they have sought?

A. Israel has not refused to provide autonomy for the 1.5 million Palestinian

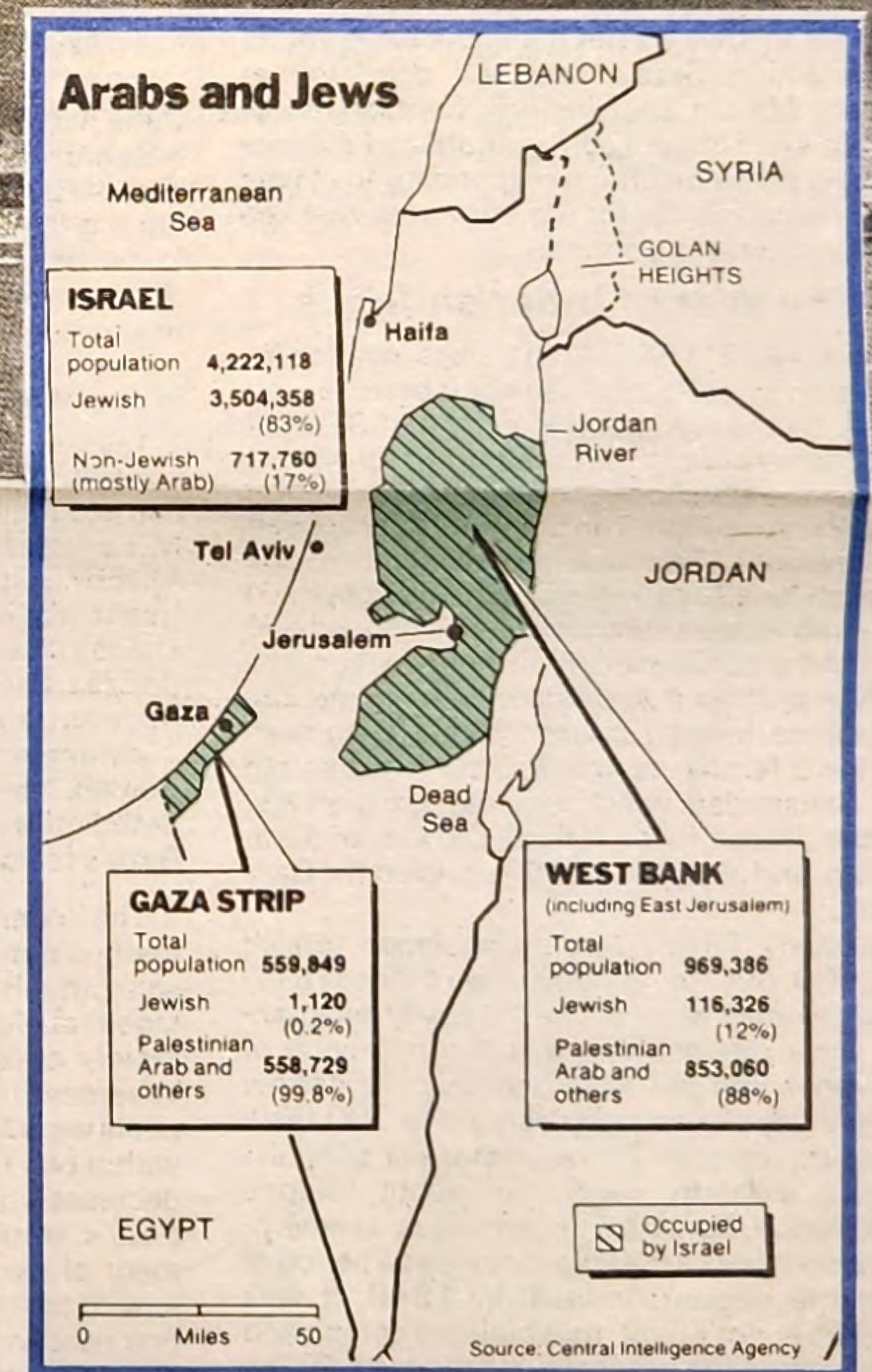
Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The Camp David accords and the Egypt-Israel treaty provide for a five-year transition period of limited autonomy for Palestinians while negotiations are conducted among Israel, Jordan and those Palestinians willing to recognize and coexist with Israel. Israel has repeatedly sought public and direct face-to-face talks with Jordan's King Hussein as well as with Palestinians who would recognize Israel's right to exist. While the Likud and Labor parties in Israel remain split over Jordan's insistence on an international peace conference as an "umbrella" for the talks, all Israeli leaders are eager to resolve the Palestinian autonomy issue through negotiations.

Q. Will the current negative publicity Israel is receiving increase anti-Israel sentiments among Americans and the Congress as well as stir up anti-Semitism?

A. If past trends continue, American support for Israel will most probably continue at its present levels despite the current crisis. In a study called *How Americans Feel About Israel* by Steven J. Rosen and Yosef I. Abramowitz, it was found that in response to the question "are your sympathies more with Israel or more with the Arab nations," the Gallup and Roper polls from 1967 through 1984 found that an average of 46 percent of Americans favored Israel as compared to nine percent favoring the Arabs. The ratio remained the same even in December 1973, following the Arab oil embargo and November 1982 following the Lebanon War and Sabra and Shatila massacre. Similarly, while existing anti-Semitic feelings may be stirred up by Mideast conflicts, there has been no measurable increase in anti-Semitism among the American population.

Q. Are American Jews obligated to support each and every aspect of Israel's handling of the present situation?

A. Of course not. American Jewish leaders as well as Israelis have dissented from and objected to various aspects of Israel's response to the current riots. Concern was expressed over instances of excessive force and statements which seemed to officially sanction beatings of the rioters. But there is



general agreement that Israel has no choice but to restore order in the territories it administers. It is also clear that the uprising in the area is extremely violent and is more accurately described as "rioting" than as "demonstrations." Israel is a nation-state comprised of people who are capable of making mistakes. But its overall record has been democratic, humane and exemplary. These are the enduring values which will survive the current time of testing, and which will continue to receive the unswerving support of the American Jewish community and all friends of Israel.

SPECIAL SECTION

This four-page special "wrap-around" supplement to the *St. Louis Jewish Light* is made possible through the Milford and Lee Bohm Fund for Education in the *Jewish Light*. The fund was established to provide for special supplements in the *Jewish Light* in order to inform and educate around topics of concern to the Jewish community. The current crisis in the Israel-administered territories of the West Bank and Gaza is the subject of this supplement.

The Gaza Strip: An Age-Old Problem

This article, prepared by Janice Ditchek, associate director, Middle Eastern affairs, was published in the *ADL International Report*, a periodic publication of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Introduction

NEW YORK

The violence that has shaken Israel in recent weeks brought with it a wave of critical press commentary on the government's administration of and the security methods it employs on the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

For more than three weeks since the first demonstration in Gaza's Jabaliya refugee camp, television cameras and news publications have focused on the protests of this restive population against the Israeli authorities. Yet, this preoccupation with the current coverage left little room for attention to the historical tragedy that defined Gaza long before Israel won the territory in 1967.

Gaza has never been anything but occupied territory. Ruled first by the Ottoman Empire for several hundred years, then by Britain and Egypt before Israel, Gaza has been long referred to as the "forgotten" or "unwanted" territory. Largely ignored by Britain during the mandate, the strip later festered in crowded misery throughout Egypt's 19-year rule.

With no Arab government willing to negotiate the area's future or care for its refugees, the Gaza problem has lain solely in the hands of its Israeli inheritors. While Israel has done more than any previous occupier to improve the quality of life in the area, all the world's hospitals, vocational schools, automobiles and telephone lines cannot calm Gazan political frustrations. For that, the solution remains unchanged: only Arab recognition and willingness to negotiate with Israel can solve the continuing tragedy of Gaza.

Historical Overview

Here follows a brief historical background highlighting Gaza's role and condition in recent Middle East history. Comparison of Egypt's and Israel's administration of the area should prove helpful in responding to claims that responsibility for the current unrest lies solely at Israel's doorstep.

The War of Independence

On May 15, 1948, Arab armies invaded Israel in an effort to crush the newborn Jewish State. By the war's end in early 1949, Israel had gained control of more territory than had been originally allotted to it in 1947 under the U.N. Partition Plan. The plan, which proposed the division of Palestine into two states — one Jewish, one Arab — was adamantly opposed by Arab leaders who chose war instead and lost. As a consequence of this rejection, the U.N.'s proposed Arab state never came into existence. Instead, part of the area designated by the U.N. plan as Arab Palestine was seized by Transjordan, which took the territory west of the Jordan River and the Old City of Jerusalem, and by Egypt, which occupied the Gaza Strip.

In early 1948, Gaza's population totaled 60,000. But months later, Arab calls to Palestinians within Israel to flee the newly established State resulted in a massive migration of refugees into the area, boosting the narrow strip's population to an estimated 200,000. With no economic infrastructure or administrative authority concerned about refugee absorption, Egyptian rule over Gaza is remembered bitterly by the Palestinians as a period of extreme neglect. Indeed, in 1949, it was UNRWA, not Egypt, that built the camps and established the expansive aid program for the refugees which remains in existence today.

Like most Arab leaders, Egypt's Nasser refused to resettle the refugees who fell under his control. Claiming instead that Palestinian absorption into Egypt would detract from the struggle for their homeland, he left the territory undeveloped. Its residents, moreover, were kept in squalid, exceptionally crowded conditions, restless and ready to serve as pawns in the Arabs' continued war against Israel.

Gaza Under Egyptian Rule

Throughout Egypt's 19-year trusteeship of the strip, Gaza was governed according to military law. During that period, the area served primarily as a free port for smuggling contraband into Egypt and as a base for training young Palestinian terrorists. From 1952 onward, the strip became the main staging ground for terror attacks on nearby Israeli settlements. Although begun as unorganized raids, by 1955, the Egyptian High Command established a 700-man unit in Gaza to stage attacks against Israel.

Indeed, throughout Egypt's administration of the area, terror was among the leading sources of income for the residents. Egyptian intelligence paid handsomely for each armed foray into Israel, and for every murder or act of plunder. This mode of employment continued with the PLO's formation by Egypt in 1964. As the PLO's principal financial and military backer, Egypt had a vested interest in the organization's success. It was toward that end

that Gazan refugees under Egypt's control were forcibly conscripted to form the core of the PLO's early recruits.

In addition to smuggling and terror, citrus production and employment through UNRWA were among the few alternatives to joblessness in Egyptian-controlled Gaza. Egypt not only did little to relieve the endemic poverty of the strip, it placed tight political and economic restrictions on the refugees and severely hindered their chances for personal or commercial growth.

Unlike the Palestinians of the West Bank who were granted citizenship by their Jordanian occupiers, Egyptian citizenship was denied to the Gazan refugees. And only limited numbers of the Palestinians were allowed to enter Egypt each year. But for these few life was no easier: Gazans permitted to work in Egypt were banned from government jobs and denied all union benefits afforded to native and other foreign workers.

Perhaps most debilitating to the area's economic and psychological welfare was the impact of a permanent nighttime curfew and travel restrictions imposed throughout Egypt's 19-year rule. Although several thousand refugees were permitted to study abroad and work in underpopulated countries in the Mideast and North Africa, the majority remained isolated from the outside world. Due to concerns that a large influx of Palestinians would threaten internal stability, most Arab governments followed Egypt's lead by limiting the number of refugees allowed through their borders each year.

Gaza Under Israeli Rule

When Gaza passed into Israeli hands in June 1967, unemployment was as high as 48 percent among men in the refugee camps and 40 percent in nearby villages and cities. During the initial phase of its administration, Israel, which, like Egypt, governed the area in accordance with military law, sought to improve living conditions in Gaza and, at the same time, to neutralize the terrorist network in operation there.

Toward this end, the evening curfew that had become a permanent fixture under Egyptian occupation was lifted almost immediately. For the first time in nearly 20 years, the Allenby Bridge was opened and Gazans were free to receive visitors from neighboring Arab states. Also, in sharp contrast to Egyptian policies, Israel encouraged Gazans to conduct trade outside the strip. In addition to affording a commercial link essential for economic growth, the open-bridge policy significantly eased the sense of isolation that had plagued Gaza's residents for so long.

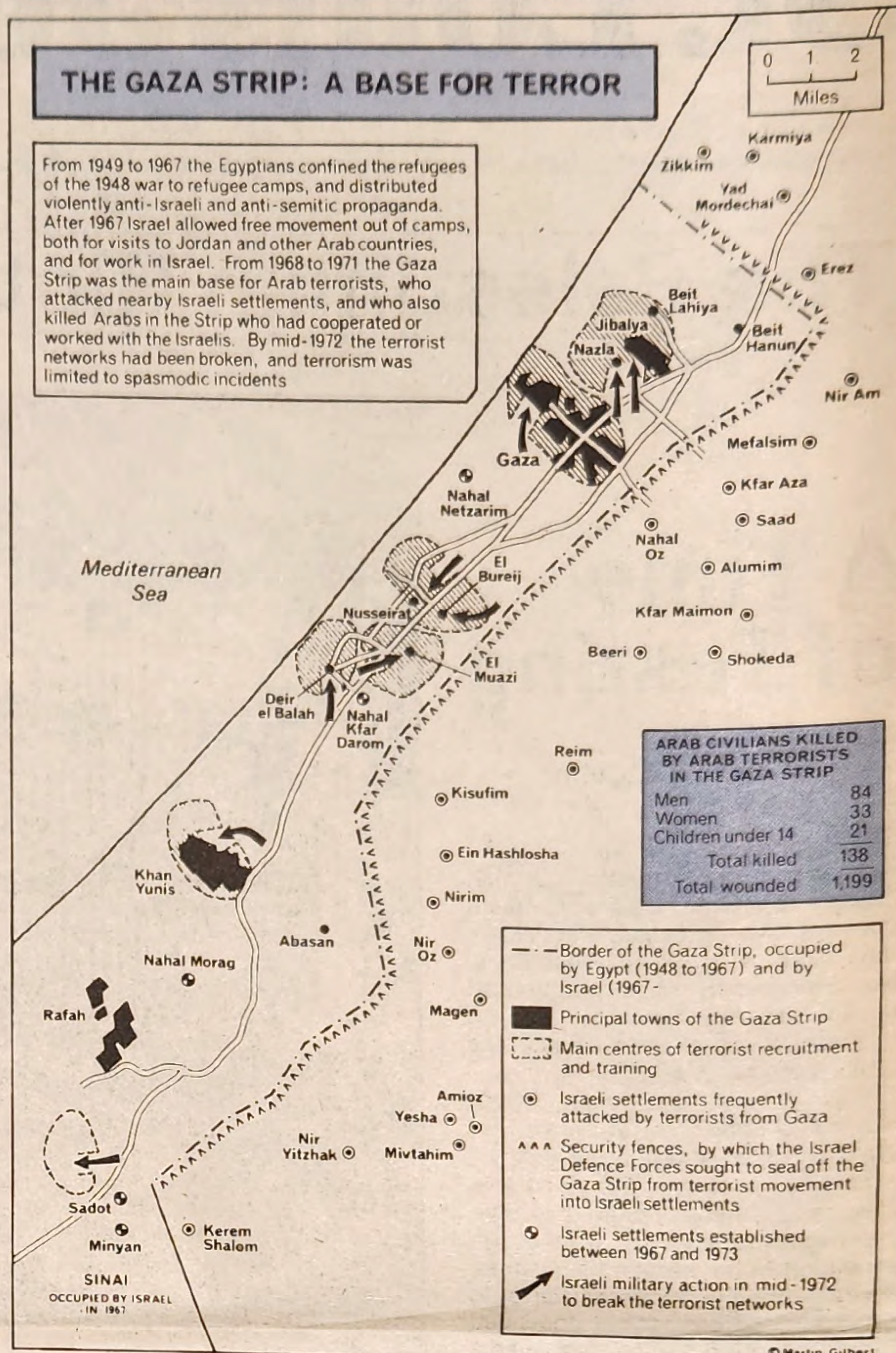
The open-bridge policy was only one method employed by Israel to improve Gaza's economy. Realizing that it was to its advantage that life in the strip be normalized, Israel rapidly created new jobs for the refugees. Whereas under Egypt, all administrative posts were filled by the occupying authorities, within two months of the Six-Day War Israel decreased the number of officers involved in Gaza's administration, leaving the management of most local affairs and thousands of jobs to the residents. Three months later, the first residents of the area were offered work in Israel. In contrast to the obstacles posed by Cairo to prevent Palestinians from entering Egypt during its rule over the area, Gazans need apply only with Israel's Labor Ministry to travel and receive work permits inside Israel.

Critics argue that this step was taken to relieve Israel's need for a large pool of unskilled labor. In actuality, the move was part of a broad-based plan conceived by then-Defense Minister Moshe Dayan to curtail terror against Israel. Based on the belief that all but a few radical Palestinians would choose making money to planting bombs, Dayan's policy was aimed at raising the standard of living and restoring the personal dignity of the residents of the territories.

Under Dayan's plan, workers from the administered areas received the same wages as Israelis and qualified for all social benefits, except those solely applicable to members and former members of Israel's armed services. Furthermore, it was decided that all collective wage agreements and cost-of-living increments would automatically apply to workers from the administered areas. Strict guidelines were established to protect Palestinians from exploitation, requiring Israeli employers to contribute to a national fund providing severance pay, accident insurance, holiday and sick leave, health services inside Israel and medical insurance and facilities within the administered areas. As a final guarantee against on-the-job discrimination, all salaries and benefits were to be dispersed through a special fund managed by the

THE GAZA STRIP: A BASE FOR TERROR

From 1949 to 1967 the Egyptians confined the refugees of the 1948 war to refugee camps, and distributed violently anti-Israeli and anti-semitic propaganda. After 1967 Israel allowed free movement out of camps, both for visits to Jordan and other Arab countries, and for work in Israel. From 1968 to 1971 the Gaza Strip was the main base for Arab terrorists, who attacked nearby Israeli settlements, and who also killed Arabs in the Strip who had cooperated or worked with the Israelis. By mid-1972 the terrorist networks had been broken, and terrorism was limited to spasmodic incidents.



Labor Ministry.

As Dayan had hoped, his plan resulted in unprecedented economic growth to all concerned and the quality of life was vastly improved on both sides of the Green Line. Due to Israel's efforts, unemployment dropped from 48 percent in 1967 to 0.4 percent in 1983. Similarly, government-built health facilities and medical technology transferred from Israel into the area, resulted in a significant decline in the infant mortality rate, dropping from 87 per 1,000 in 1968 to 41 per 1,000 in 1983. Productivity too has skyrocketed since 1967; today, agriculture and small trade have replaced smuggling and terror as the main forms of employment in Gaza.

These gains notwithstanding, Dayan's system began to show cracks in May 1972 when Israel opened its borders to all residents of the territories entering the country between the hours of 5 p.m. and 1 a.m. With the new regulations in place, the army canceled its policy of checking all work and travel permits at the borders.

No longer dependent on Labor Ministry permits to pass the military roadblocks, increasing numbers of Palestinians began working as independent day laborers. The fact that day laborers were paid in cash and could evade income tax and health insurance deductions proved enticing to the refugees, many of whom, for nationalistic reasons, had already rejected the benefits offered them by Israel. Suddenly, a pool of illegal, unprotected workers emerged as easy prey for exploitation by greedy employers.

This stated, recent comparisons between the exploitation of illegal Palestinian workers and the South African government's policy of discrimination against black laborers are belied by the facts. Unlike South Africa, where blacks have little redress in the work place, the illegal Gazan or West Bank day laborer may apply to Israel's National Insurance Institute if injured on the job. Although many Palestinians refuse this compensation, those who have filed claims have been reimbursed in full. Additionally, the illegal workers who pay no income tax and make no contribution to the National Insurance Fund are still entitled by law to receive all cost-of-living increases as well as other benefits gained in collective agreements. Should an employer fail to increase the illegal worker's wages, that worker has the right to request the Labor Ministry or the Histadrut (Israel's trade union) to intervene, and, if necessary, take the

employer to court.

Israel's efforts to improve the quality of economic and personal life in Gaza have met with considerable praise in some quarters of the world and with resounding condemnation in others — the latter being particularly true within the Arab world itself. For example, among the most controversial of steps taken to improve life in Gaza was Israel's decision to offer new housing as an alternative to the densely packed camps which have served as home to two-thirds of the refugees since 1949.

During the 1970s, Israel, in cooperation with eight international organizations, purchased state land to build low-cost homes for the camps' inhabitants. However, like other rehabilitation programs initiated by Israel, the rehousing project has been denounced by Arab and PLO leaders who claim that the refugees should remain in the camps until an independent Palestinian state is established. At first, Arab government opposition and PLO intimidation prevented the program's implementation. But today, the real needs of the refugees have begun to outweigh external opposition to the program and thousands of Palestinians have left the camps for modern facilities built by Israel. Sadly, despite its obvious benefits to the refugees, the rehousing project is still criticized by Arab and PLO leaders. They argue that only by staying in the camps can the Palestinians keep world attention focused on their cause.

Conclusion

As Gaza's most recent administration, Israel has done more to improve life for its residents than any of its predecessors. What is missing for Gazans, now as in the past, is hope for an independent political future.

Israel has repeatedly stated its willingness to enter talks and negotiate the future of the territories. But, in the 20 years since the Six-Day War, no Arab state has responded in kind. Egypt, moreover, virtually abandoned Gaza during Camp David and has no interest in regaining control of the area. Jordan's attention has largely been focused in the West Bank and it has expressed little interest in helping the strip's troubled population by negotiating Gaza's fate.

Thus the current impasse. As long as Arab leaders and the PLO refuse to accept her existence, Israel will have no partner with which to talk peace and chances for Palestinian political representation will remain tragically dim.



Women in the El Borge refugee camp near Gaza bear a symbolic coffin as they demonstrate in memory of the Palestinian rioters killed during demonstrations in the Gaza Strip and West Bank. (IPPA Photo)

The Little King

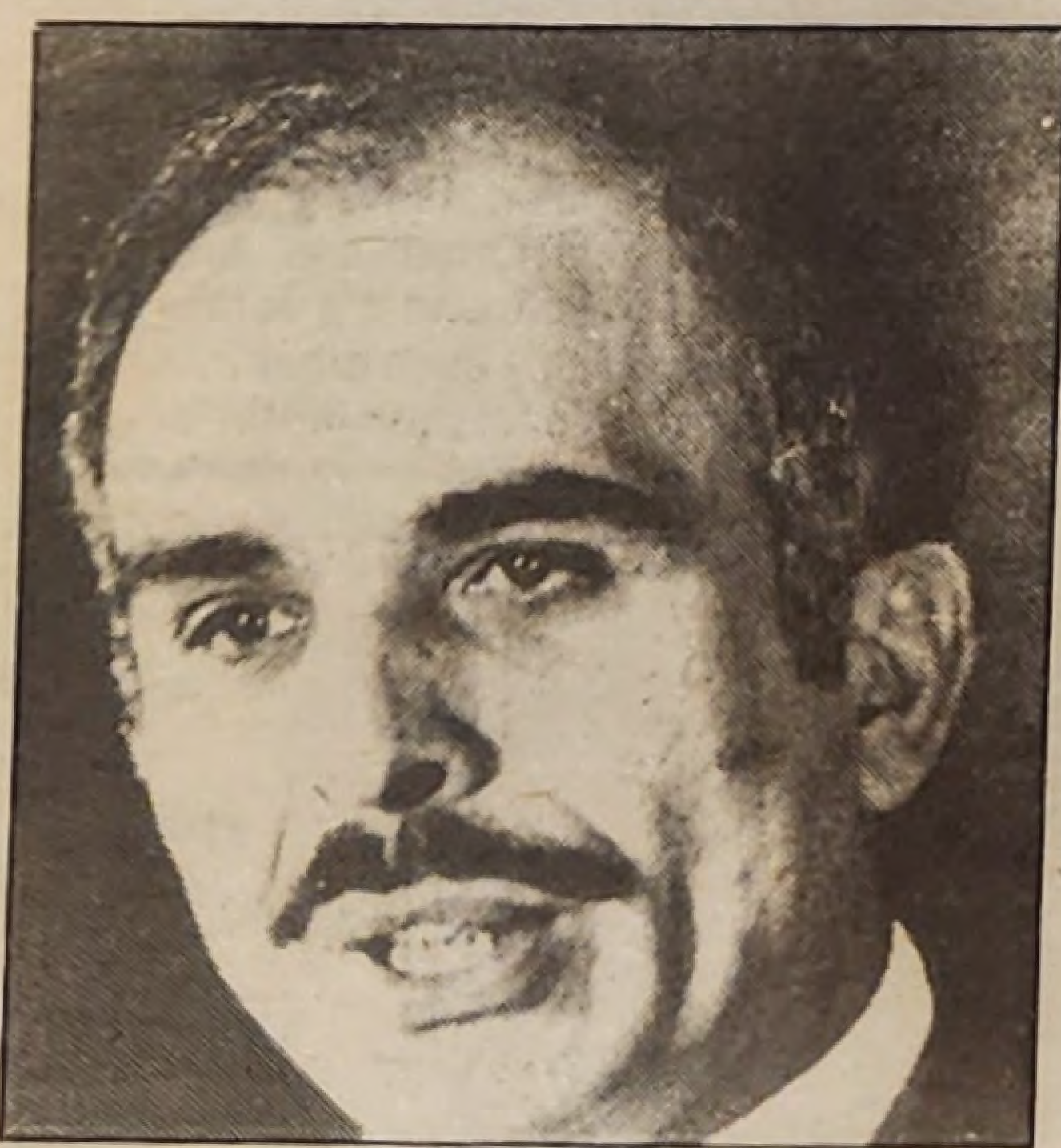
By William Safire

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WASHINGTON

Who is to blame for the loss of more than a score of Palestinian Arab lives in the past month? TV footage points a finger at Israeli soldiers; Israel blames PLO agitators; Arab apologists blame the Reagan Administration for not advancing the "peace process." Nobody places responsibility for the frustration that led to the rioting where it most belongs: with King Hussein of Jordan.

For decades he has refused direct negotiations with Israel, demanding instead an international conference that would array Arab states and the Soviet Union against his adver-



King Hussein

sary, with the outcome foretold: the absorption of the West Bank of the Jordan River into his East Bank nation.

His excuse for refusing to negotiate is that the Arab world has not designated him the spokesman for the Palestinians; he claims to need the cover of an international gathering for direct talks.

Israeli doves, led by Labor's Shimon Peres, have striven to accommodate the king without encouraging Moscow to impose a pro-Arab solution. Peres suggests an opening "fig-leaf conference" to assemble the parties,

ostensibly to permit Jordan and Israel to deal directly with the Palestinians.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir sees that fig-leaf plan as a trap; the Russians would surely butt in on the side of the Arabs at the first sign of impasse. He and his Likud prefer to let the divided Moslem world come to Israel to work out the Camp David plan of autonomy without sovereignty.

Three months ago, our secretary of state came up with a daring proposal to break the logjam and to give frustrated Arabs in the disputed territories hope for self-rule. His approach called first for the cooperation of the Israeli prime minister, then the king of Jordan and finally Mikhail Gorbachev. State Dept. aides were convinced the plan would never pass the first veto-point in Jerusalem.

George Shultz went to Israel and put it to Shamir. The Israeli prime minister told the American secretary of state, "You know our problems. I trust you. We'll come."

Next stop for Shultz was the London apartment of Hussein. Hussein delivered his answer: No.

And so the world ignored the Palestinian Arabs and their frustration spilled out in violence, abetted by the PLO. Israel has been made to look the villain, with the United States insisting only that U.N. condemnation not be phrased in a way that would justify sanctions.

Hussein emerges the innocent observer. What do a score of Palestinian lives mean to him? He slaughtered 20,000 of them when they challenged his power two decades ago.

To this Arab monarch, the Palestinians are pawns in his game of remaining in power; West Bank riots are more in his personal interest than peace talks. His callousness matches that of his fellow "moderate," King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, who has told the world why a settlement is needed in the Persian Gulf: to permit the Moslem world to reunite to crush the Israelis and retake Jerusalem.

When next you see a picture of an Arab youth flinging a rock, think of the man whose interest is served by keeping Palestinians angry in their camps; Hussein, the little king, whose stature shrinks with each passing year.

The Advice to Israel Is Fatuous, Dangerous

By Charles Krauthammer

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WASHINGTON

Ever since Palestinian misery in Gaza and the West Bank erupted in rioting, the world has had advice for Israel. Last week, the Security Council, backed by the United States, told Israel to desist from plans to deport the ringleaders.

It is not clear what Israel is supposed to do with people committed to civil disorder, sometimes violently so, and who work actively to get others to join them. Prison is no deterrent. It is a finishing school for rock-throwers. Israel figures that expelling nine agitators is better policy than firing tear gas and bullets at the crowds they incite.

The New York Times suggested a small step to defuse Palestinian anger: Freeze or roll back Israeli settlements in the Gaza Strip. On the other side? "Arab countries could help by offering to absorb some of the refugees," suggests The Times.

There is an air of breezy unreality about this most reasonable suggestion. The Arab countries could, of course, offer to absorb some of the Palestinian refugees. But they do not. During its 20-year rule of the Gaza Strip, Egypt not only refused to absorb Palestinian refugees, it kept them

stateless and hopeless. They were not even permitted to travel or work in Egypt. If the Arab countries had any interest in Palestinians, other than as a means to discomfit Israel, they would have absorbed them 40 years ago rather than let them sit.

The Times advice was at least earnest. Others have been merely fatuous. End the occupation, says Professor Stanley Hoffmann of Harvard. But exactly how and to whom does one give the territories? To Yasir Arafat, says Hoffmann.

Now Israelis, whose sons are dodging gasoline bombs, are as sensitive to the dilemmas of occupation as are the residents of Cambridge, Mass. Most Israelis want to end the occupation, but not to evacuate the territories unilaterally and let Arafat, Abu Nidal and Abu Abbas fill the vacuum.

Arafat and the PLO have said explicitly that recovery of the West Bank is simply stage one of the struggle to liberate all of Palestine. So long as the West Bank remains the Arab world's Sudetenland, any Israeli prepared to give it up is a fool. Any American advising Israel to do so is no friend.

One of the tensest days

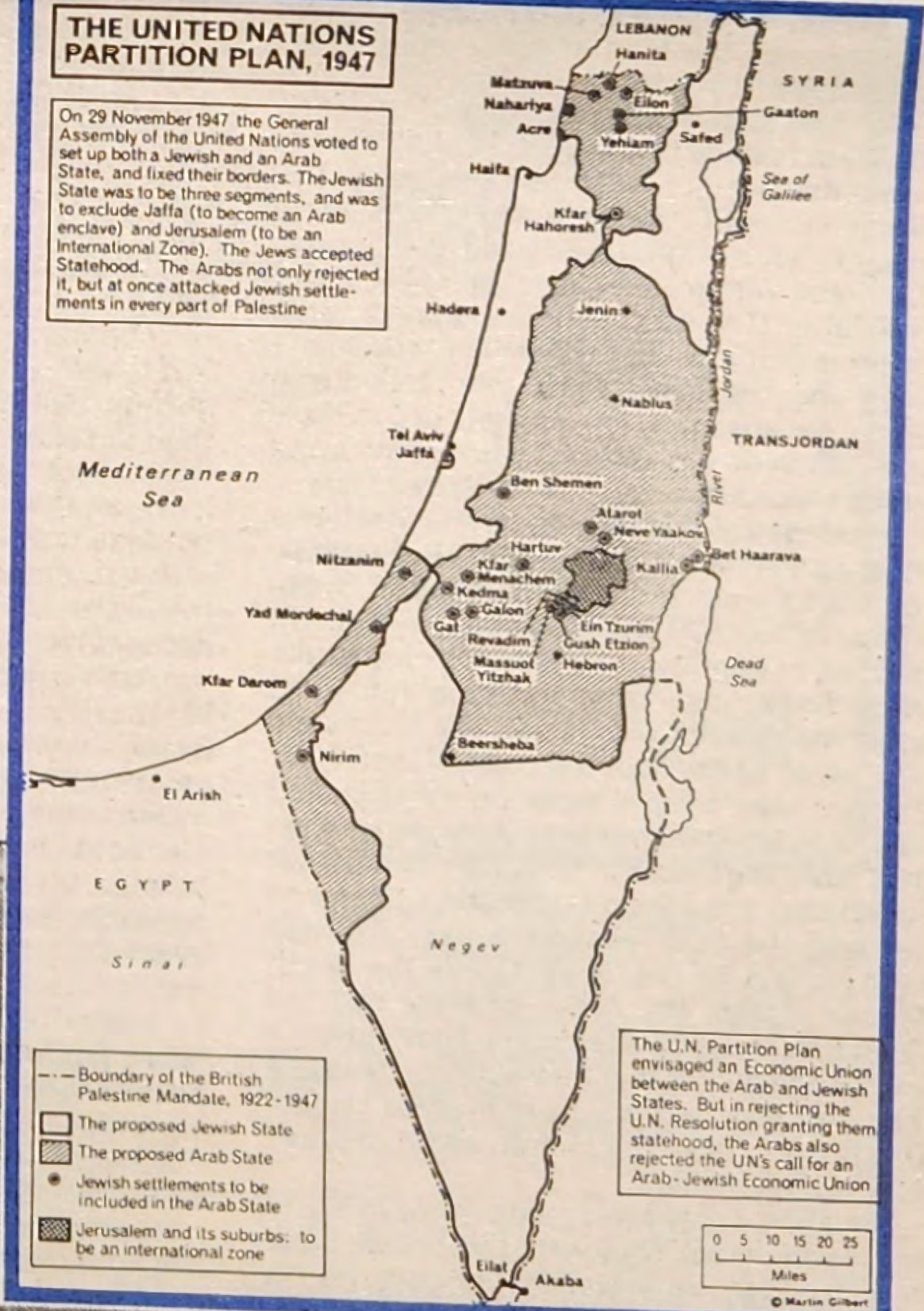
of this round of violence occurred on Jan. 1, which Palestinians celebrate as the anniversary of the first attack on Israel by Fatah, Arafat's leading faction of the PLO. It was 23 years ago that Fatah sent men to blow up the waterworks of Bet Shean. The anniversary was widely reported, but no one stopped to consider that 23 years ago was 1965.

In 1965 there were no occupied territories; Jordan ruled the West Bank; Egypt ruled Gaza, and not a Jew disturbed Islam's third holiest site, Jordan having rendered the Old City of Jerusalem *Judenrein* (free of Jews). None of the current pretexts for Palestinian violence existed when Fatah began its war against Israel. The issue then as now was not Israel's occupation but Israel's existence.

Hence the air of unreality about the advice being offered Israel regarding Palestinian rioting. "End the occupation" amounts to an admonition to risk suicide in order to improve one's image abroad. So long as no one is willing to sit down with Israel who unequivocally recognizes its right to exist, the only advice worth offering Israel is better riot control.

THE UNITED NATIONS PARTITION PLAN, 1947

On 29 November 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations voted to set up both a Jewish and an Arab State, and fixed their borders. The Jewish State was to be three segments, and was to include Jaffa (to become an Arab enclave) and Jerusalem (to be an International Zone). The Jews accepted Statehood. The Arabs not only rejected it, but at once attacked Jewish settlements in every part of Palestine.



Israeli troops stand silhouetted next to a burning tire ignited by Palestinian youths demonstrating on a Ramallah street.

(IPPA Photo)



TV's Incomplete Picture

By Mortimer B. Zuckerman

Chairman and Editor-in-Chief of U.S. News & World Report

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News & World Report.

WASHINGTON

Television loves action. It is focusing often these days on the action in Gaza and the West Bank. When Israeli soldiers swing clubs among rioters, TV news gets a lot of what it likes best — great moments. They shock the viewer; they compel attention. When action is the essence of the story, as it is most simply in something like a sports event or an earthquake, the moments can add up to a truth. In the West Bank and Gaza riots, the moments have added up to a lie.

Television has polluted the public debate because it is inherently difficult for pictures to give context, history and meaning to events. It is asking too much for pictures in a half-hour news program to summarize 40 years of the history of Israel, or the history since 1967 or since the Yom Kippur War, or even the history that forced Israel to occupy the West Bank and Gaza. Words are necessary. The disturbing feature of the TV reporting of the West Bank and Gaza is not only that the words have been inadequate; some of them have been inflammatory. They have compounded the lie.

I refer in particular to the reporting by ABC television last month and its comparison of the Gaza uprising to riots in South Africa, suggesting an odious moral equivalency between the two. There is a superficial resemblance in Israeli soldiers swinging clubs and South African police swinging clubs, between disenfranchised blacks and West Bank Arabs without full political rights in their own land. But these are facile comparisons. It is the job of journalism to take such comparisons as a starting point, not a conclusion. And the conclusions in comparing Israel and South Africa are dramatically different in substance from those that have been suggested by the TV images.

Israel is an open democracy, the only one in the Middle East, and it is being made to suffer for that. Even though the TV pictures are doing it damage in world public opinion, it has not closed its borders, deported journalists and imposed the kind of censorship South Africa has imposed.

For ABC to compare the Arabs of Gaza and the West Bank to blacks in South Africa is not only unfair but ignores history and reality. The blacks in South Africa are an overwhelming majority whose rights are denied. By contrast, the Arabs within Israel have full political and civil rights. (The exception: They cannot serve in the Israeli military.) It is only the Arabs in Gaza and the West Bank who lack these rights, because they are subjects of a military occupation as a result of a war in which the Arabs tried to destroy the very State of Israel. It is because of this threat to Israel that Israel must curtail their political rights. By contrast, the blacks want to be full partners in South Africa. In South Africa, the white government refuses to negotiate with the blacks; in the West Bank, it's the Arabs who refuse to negotiate directly with Israel. The blacks are oppressed because of the color of their skin; Zionism rejects racial superiority and indeed was founded in response to discrimination in the West. The blacks in South Africa have not stated their intention to drive the whites into the sea; the PLO leadership has proposed such an end for the Jews. Unlike the South African blacks, the Arabs of Gaza and the West Bank have an alternative. They suffer — and no one denies that they suffer — because they and their leaders have made a choice. This is the crux of the matter, and it requires spelling out a little.

The choice they have made is not to live in peace with Israel. They want the Jewish State to disappear, whatever its boundaries. A recent poll of the Palestinians in the West Bank by *Al Fajr* found 17 percent of the inhabitants favored the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip — but 78 percent wanted a Palestinian state in what is now Israel. In their more conciliatory public statements, the PLO leaders now reject the idea of driving the Jews into the sea and would permit the Jews some kind of role in a future "secular and democratic Palestine." But in their charter, in their writings and in their speeches, their demands are not only for the areas Israel conquered in the war of 1967 but for the end — and often the violent end — of Israel as a political entity.

Both the PLO and its more extremist wings have taken or threatened to take the lives of Palestinians who want to negotiate. Today's TV images do not recall the 1983 assassination of Issam Sartawi, a PLO member and leading advocate of reconciliation with Israel, whose murder by extremist Palestinians

became symbolic of the systematic assassination of conciliatory Palestinians.

So what the Palestinians have is a political leadership in the PLO that has consistently blocked any attempts at peace with Israel since 1947, when the Arab states refused to accept the United Nations plan for the partitioning of Palestine. Intransigence continued up to 1967, when Israel pleaded with Jordan's Hussein not to enter the fighting. After the 1967 War, Israel was prepared to give back the West Bank and Gaza for peace. The war was in June; in September, the Arab states met in Khartoum and issued the famous three "Noes": "No peace, no recognition and no negotiation" with Israel. To this day, the Arab leadership continues to be unwilling to talk directly with Israel or to risk the realistic political compromise that would relieve the lot of the Palestinian people. Israel is forced to rule over the Arabs largely because these Arabs have left no other choice.

It is easy enough to say there is a simple choice: That Israel should walk away from the occupied territories in the hope that this gesture would produce enough Arab good will for peace. History and geography counsel against such a gamble. There is a greater likelihood that Arab extremists would use these territories as a terrorist base that would ultimately constitute a threat to Israel's very existence. Look at the map, as the Israeli soldiers say. To drive from the Jordan River of the West Bank to Tel Aviv on the Mediterranean takes about 90 minutes. If Israel abandoned the West Bank, a Jordanian or Palestinian army would be about 10 miles from Tel Aviv — as close as Bethesda, Md., is to the White House. Even if the West Bank were demilitarized like the Sinai, an Arab army could cross the river in the afternoon and control the ridges overlooking Tel Aviv by the same evening, well before Israel's citizen army would have time to mobilize. The unacceptable risk is that this territory could be a source of destabilization not only for Israel but even for Jordan itself. Jordan, being 60 percent Palestinian, would be threatened by a militantly Palestinian West Bank — a threat King Hussein is known to recognize.

No wonder Israel argues against the simple idea of exchanging territory for peace. The reality is that Israel will stay on the West Bank for a long time even though its presence there will continue to be challenged. Many Israelis and others view that prospect with grave misgivings. Violence will continue at some level, though probably not the kind of unrelenting civil war some predict. But whatever the problems and tensions, they can be endured because the real alternatives are worse.

It is necessary for statesmen, and especially the Arabs, to focus less on the future of the occupied territories and more on the future of the Arab inhabitants. During the years when Moshe Dayan was minister of defense in Israel, there was a policy of minimal Israeli intervention in Arab domestic matters that included the avoidance of provocation and the attempt to improve the standard of living. On balance, life measured in health, income and education has improved for the Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza compared with that of their fathers and grandfathers. Teddy Kollek, as mayor of Jerusalem, has demonstrated how a potentially hostile Arab population can be treated with respect and political skill, making it possible for this city to work for both Arabs and Jews — in ways utterly inconceivable in South Africa.

Israel should not be discouraged or panicked by reaction to the Gaza riots. Israel should continue quiet, confidential relations with Jordan in what has been called an "adversarial partnership," wherein both parties encourage the West Bank's residents to accept their status as Jordanian subjects in all civil matters, leaving the security issues of the territory under Israel's military control. Only in this way can Israel, Jordan and the West Bank Palestinians be assured that PLO extremists will not make the West Bank their home base and turn the West Bank into another Beirut. Until there is a fundamental transformation of the political and ethnic hatreds in this area, this is the best hope among many lesser alternatives.

The question is not one of instant solution. There is none. To talk of one is to encourage expectations that can only be dashed by the historic enmities of that tragic region. The tragedy of glib comparisons to South Africa is that they incite the resentments of the viewers and stimulate the false hopes that there are simple solutions.



Palestinian youths, some who mask their faces to avoid being recognized, hurl rocks at Israel Defense Force troops and news photographers. (RNS/Wide World Photo)

The Making of Gaza

By A.M. Rosenthal

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NEW YORK

A year ago I traveled through Gaza. I thought then and believe still with all the emotion Israel arouses that all who love her should journey in Gaza.

There are places on earth where aridity and bleakness are more stark, where oppression is far worse, where anger is as hot in the eyes of the young men who stand by the roadside and stare. But for those who care for Israel, that is evasion.

They know that this should not be, that Israeli soldiers should not patrol year after year in alleys of hatred. That was not what Israel was meant to be or do or stand for.

Yes, there is a double standard for Israel. She is judged by higher standards than, say, those Arab neighbors who preach death and hate and slaughter in the name of God. The double standard is not only a matter of pride and duty to Israel's biblical roots but of strength in the world today.

It is the belief that Israel lives by principles of decency that won her essential support in the United States, decade after troubled decade.

And now, newspapers and television screens are aflame with the bitterness of the young men of Gaza, that strip of territory Israel does not want but cannot let go for fear it would become a PLO state. Twenty years of Israeli occupation have only heightened hatred in Gaza, as would another 20.

This is all true. But if there is to be any honest effort toward an end to the misery of Gaza and the tragedy of Israel as occupier, other truths must be faced. So far almost nothing has been said about them. The haters of Israel simply use Gaza as a club against her. Her supporters abroad do little but shake their heads in reprimand or embarrassment.

The one basic truth that must be faced is that the tragedy of Gaza was created by the refusal of the Arab nations to recognize the right of Israel to exist and by their attempt to destroy the Israeli State, beginning at birth.

In 1947, the United Nations, with the backing of every major power, voted to partition the British mandate of Palestine into Israeli and Palestinian states. If the Arabs had accepted that, there would today be a separate Palestinian state 40 years old; Gaza and its people would be part of it.

But the Arab states fell upon Israel and in utter fury tried to kill the old dream and new reality of the Jewish State. They seized and divided what was to have been the Palestin-

ian state.

Egypt took the Gaza Strip. Jordan, now admired in the West, seized the West Bank. It also captured most of Jerusalem, defiled Jewish holy places, banned Jews and destroyed hopes of internationalization of the Holy City.

Israel lived within mortar range of the Egyptians, the Jordanians and the Syrians, who had snatched heights overlooking Israel; the mortars were fired. For 20 years, the territory that was to have been a Palestinian state under the U.N. plan was used by the PLO for attacks against Israel, with the approval and support of the Arab occupiers.

Then, in 1967, Israel stunned the Arabs and the rest of the world by trouncing Arab armies. She threw the Jordanians out of the West Bank and Jerusalem, the Egyptians out of Gaza and the Syrians out of the Golan Heights.

Israel found herself in control of territory that had been illegally occupied by the Arab states. Israelis were determined to push back their borders so that they would never again live looking down Arab gun barrels. Thus began the era of Israeli occupation, creating a safer state in the short run but also stoking the hatred — and danger — now being acted out on the dry soil of Gaza, and spreading.

What difference does it make, so many years later? For one thing, it cleanses the mind and perhaps the soul to combine sorrow and criticism of Israel with recognition of historic reality.

History is a loaf, not slices of bread. Unless yesterday is understood, the anguish of today is distorted and the peace possible some tomorrow put off indefinitely, perhaps forever.

Peace, which in the end must mean recognition of Israeli security and Palestinian reality, is possible.

Israelis must create a unified government capable of negotiating. Arabs, including Palestinians, must recognize that their attempts to kill the Israeli state in 1948 and almost ever since, led to what is happening today. To pretend Israel brought this on herself is a hypocrisy and falsehood that blocks the future.

The only way to move on is to face the reality and lessons of the past. Otherwise, Arab and Jew are trapped in a cycle and the young men of Israel and Gaza will face each other in hatred year upon year, perhaps for their lifetimes.



Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir (left) visits an injured soldier in an Israeli hospital. (Israel Sun Photo)

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