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# NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

VOL. XXXII, NO. 21 MAY 23, 1988

POLICY CONFERENCE:  
CARLUCCI, PERES AND MORE

## EDITORIAL

### In Their Own Words, Again

Time and again we are told that if Israel would only give the West Bank and Gaza Strip to the the Palestinian Arabs there would be peace. Time and again we are told that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) has grown more pragmatic, that it is ready to compromise—if only Israel would do something to encourage it.

Here is what PLO leaders and other prominent Palestinian Arabs have had to say about that, in recent years and recent months:

- Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), Yasir Arafat's top ideologist: "The establishment of an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip does not contradict our ultimate strategic aim, which is the establishment of a democratic state in the entire territory of Palestine, but rather is a step in that direction" (Lebanon's *Al-Safir*, Jan. 25, 1988);

- Mubarak Awad, a Palestinian Arab often described as a moderate advocate of non-violent civil disobedience: "We have already said, and we continue to say, that the PLO is our only legal representative and the only one authorized to speak on behalf of the Palestinian people. . . . As for ourselves, our activities complement those of the PLO" (Saudi Arabia's *Al-Majala*, Nov. 17, 1987);

- Abu Iyad: "It is our right that we should have a state, and not just on paper, because this state will be an independent Palestinian state and will function as a base from which to liberate Jaffa, Akko and all of Palestine, after which we will take Palestine and turn it into a part of the greater Arab nation" (Kuwait's *Al-Sachrah*, Jan. 6, 1987);

- Zaharia Abd al-Rahim, director of the PLO's political department: "The basis of the Palestinian problem is not just the lands that were conquered in 1967, but all the rest of Palestine which was conquered by the brigands and upon which they realized Zionism" (Kuwait News Agency, May 14, 1986);

- Farouk Kaddoumi (Abu Luft, official PLO spokesman and chairman of its political department): "When we talk about an armed struggle, the legality of which has been acknowledged by the United Nations, we are talking about all the occupied areas of Palestine. . . . It is our right to fight an enemy which occupies our land, whether this is a result of the conquest of 1967 or of the conquest of 1948" (*Quotidien de Paris*, Nov. 19, 1985).

There is no excuse—no acceptable excuse—for so much of the news media reading and sounding as if it is unfamiliar with the above.

There is no justification—no acceptable justification—for analysts and opinion-molders who are aware of what the PLO is saying to pretend that the rhetoric is "for domestic consumption" only. *Mein Kampf* began as a tract for "domestic consumption." So did Ayatollah Khomeini's cassettes, smuggled into the Shah's Iran. So did Pol Pot's musings of creating a new society by class warfare in Cambodia. So did the PLO "covenant."

People who see themselves as revolutionaries mean the extreme things they say; the more extreme the statement, the more zealously they believe it. The 20th century does not need additional evidence of this.

The PLO stands convicted by its words as well as its deeds. □

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### Canadian Terrorists

The Justice Department alleged last week that three Lebanese-born terrorists, arrested in Vermont for smuggling a bomb across the Canadian border, are members of the Syrian Social National Party (SSNP) based in Lebanon (Associated Press, May 17). The SSNP is believed to be responsible for the 1983 assassination of Lebanese President-elect Bashir Gemayel and car bombings in Lebanon in 1985 and 1986 which killed 105 people and injured 378.

This was the first time alleged Middle East terrorists have been arrested for carrying explosives in the United States. According to the FBI, the three men—Canadian citizens—were in the United States to engage in SSNP activities, but authorities do not know the intended target of the bomb. The group is considered to be con-

trolled by Syrian military intelligence.

### Egyptian Clashes

Egyptian security forces last week clashed with Moslem fundamentalists in Cairo leaving nearly 80 people injured including 28 policemen, according to the daily *Al-Ahram* (Agence France Presse, May 17). Moslem extremists were prevented from imposing their demand that the feast marking the end of the holy month of Ramadan be celebrated a day earlier than stipulated by Egypt's Ministry of Islamic Guidance.

Police arrested 10 fundamentalists in the confrontation and 35 other extremists for distributing anti-government leaflets.

### Syrian Martyrdom

Syrian President Hafez Assad, in a

speech to honor Islamic clergymen, spoke of the duties Syrians should assume to "confront the ambitious, racial Zionists." Assad told the group that Israel wants to stretch its borders ". . . from the Nile to the Euphrates" and to ". . . impose their hegemony . . . until it covers the entire world" (Damascus Radio, May 13).

"Today they are in the middle of the land whose possession they claim and which they aim to occupy," said Assad. "Syria is now the center of gravity. If Syria cannot prevent the Zionist expansion, no other Arab state can because we are the most populated confrontation state."

"The road to martyrdom is the road to glory, the road to the Arab nation's victory. Steadfastness will make us triumphant," he concluded. □

## POLICY CONFERENCE

# Peres Talks Unity, Peace

**A**fter two days of talks in Washington, Israeli Foreign Minister and Deputy Prime Minister Shimon Peres returned to



Peres

Jerusalem last week with personal assurances from President Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz that the Administration remains committed to the Shultz initiative and will

continue to solicit support from Middle East leaders during the Secretary's June trip to the region.

During their meeting, Reagan thanked Peres for his efforts on behalf of the Shultz initiative. "The Foreign Minister is creative and has the courage and wisdom to say yes when real opportunities arise. Such a positive attitude toward peace is essential for both Israeli and Arab leaders if there is to be a comprehensive settlement in the region," a White House statement said.

The statement was meant to encourage both Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Arab leaders to set aside their opposition to the Shultz plan, according to State Department officials.

Reagan also emphasized the value of deepening U.S.-Israel relations and the emergence of meaningful strategic cooper-

ation with Israel. The President said he would discuss the peace process, Soviet Jewry and the reopening of Soviet-Israeli relations with Mikhail Gorbachev during their upcoming summit.

Shultz stated that he remains committed to his peace initiative and will seek additional support on his upcoming mission to the Middle East. "Surely the odds against a breakthrough are high," Shultz conceded. "But the United States will keep moving forward."

Speaking to reporters following his meeting with the President, Peres welcomed the forthcoming Shultz mission: "I am convinced that if the Secretary will not come, this would be taken as the end of the peace process. . . . I can assure you that if there will be a perception in the Middle East that this is the end of the road, a new road in a different direction will begin: a return to arms." He denounced Saudi Arabia's nuclear-capable, intermediate-range, surface-to-surface missiles as "Chinese toys, tempting many immature people."

Peres told Shultz and his aides that Israel opposes the sale of 40 F-18 attack aircraft to Kuwait.

In an address to the AIPAC Policy Conference, Peres emphasized the ties which unify the Jewish people in Israel and the diaspora, the strength of American-Israeli relations and the imperative of peace.

Peres said that the Israeli government is united on the indivisibility of Jerusalem, the rejection of a return to the 1967 borders, opposition to a Palestinian Arab state on

the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and on the need to maintain the Jordan River as Israel's first line of defense. He added that both major Israeli political blocs agree that the best solution for the Palestinian problem is within a Jordanian-Palestinian framework "since most of the Jordanians are Palestinians and since all of the Palestinians, without exception, on the West Bank are Jordanian citizens and Jordan is their legitimate government."

The Foreign Minister reiterated his conviction that the continued occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip poses a demographic threat to the Jewish state. "I feel that Israel, after 40 years, is free, is strong, is peaceful. And we are determined to keep the State of Israel as a Jewish state numerically, and as a Jewish state morally."

He called for the opening of peace negotiations between Arabs and Israelis to remove distrust between the sides and to explore new areas of agreement. "I am very much in doubt if, under the present climate, we can reach an agreement. . . . The way to change the climate is by the introduction of negotiations. When we shall start to negotiate, we may discover there are more options for peace and solutions than we think today."

The Labor Party leader and former Prime Minister emphasized the need for a militarily strong Israel committed to the pursuit of peace. "The past calls for an immensely strong Israel; the future calls for an Israel immensely dedicated to peace in the Middle East." J.R. □

## HEARD IN WASHINGTON

### Saudi Cooperation Questioned

**S**audi Arabia's covert acquisition of nuclear-capable, intermediate-range ballistic missiles and its history of hesitant cooperation with U.S. diplomatic and military initiatives came under close scrutiny last week during the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing on the nomination of Walter Cutler as Ambassador to Riyadh.

The Cutler hearing occurred the day the *Washington Times* reported that some U.S. State and Defense Department officials are concerned over repeated transport flights between Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, the only Islamic country believed able to produce nuclear weapons. U.S. sources also told the newspaper that the Saudis may be

constructing a nuclear storage facility.

Despite the fact that the Saudis have yet to allow U.S. officials to inspect the missile sites, Cutler defended Saudi cooperation with the United States. "We haven't been dissatisfied with their role in the past," he said. "The level of cooperation has increased as the level required has increased." But he added, "They have not been responsive in every case."

Cutler was U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia from 1986 to 1987 while the Saudis secretly negotiated with China to purchase the missiles. He told the panel that although the Saudis had sought to purchase intermediate-range ballistic missiles from

the United States for a number of years, and although Riyadh had warmed relations with Peking during his tenure in the Saudi capital, neither he nor U.S. intelligence agencies had any "inkling" of the kingdom's purchase until construction was detected to be well underway earlier this year.

"We have a close relationship with the Saudis, but that does not mean that we have the obligation to disclose everything they do or we do . . ." Cutler said. "Friendship and cooperation have their limits."

Sen. Frank Murkowski (R-Alaska), expressed his view that U.S. arms sales to the Saudis should be contingent upon greater

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## POLICY CONFERENCE

## Israel: 'Faithful Friend'

"Israel," U.S. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci told delegates to the 29th annual American Israel Public Affairs (AIPAC) policy conference, "has struggled as few states have to ensure its existence as a free nation, and has built a strong self-governing society under the most difficult conditions." A record 1,200-plus delegates attended the May 15-17 session in Washington.

The Jewish state "has proven a faithful friend in a turbulent region," Carlucci said. "The United States is committed to ensuring the security of Israel—a commitment that is underlined by the fact that Israel is the single largest recipient of American security assistance."

But American security assistance "is just one element in a relationship that is . . . one of strategic cooperation." Carlucci noted that "for the past five years American and Israeli officials have met together regularly to expand cooperative efforts on all fronts—economic, political and military. Those meetings have in important respects institutionalized what was already a close, cooperative relationship."

The Defense Secretary said that "Israel is one of four nations now working with the United States on a government-to-government basis on the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). That testifies to the advanced state of Israel's technological base, and its ability to employ technological advances to strengthen its defenses."

Taking note of the proliferation of ballistic missiles and chemical weapons in the Middle East, Carlucci said projects like Israel's Arrow anti-tactical ballistic missile system "hold great promise for Israel, and

will provide valuable contributions to our own research in strategic defense." He challenged opponents of SDI "who consider themselves friends of Israel . . . [to explain] how they plan to help meet Israel's security needs in a changing and more threatening military environment."

Carlucci added that Israel already "is proving to be an important source of weapons for the United States. . . . Israeli defense sales to the United States have risen from just \$9 million in 1983 to at least \$250 million in 1987."

As Washington continues to seek "cost-effective ways to acquire the weapons systems it needs," he said, "there is little doubt purchases from Israel will continue to grow. Even with severe fiscal pressures on U.S. defense spending, Israel will remain an important source of systems that are proven and ready, in some cases saving the United States the time and expense of developing its own."

Asserting that "1989 will be the fourth straight year the defense budget declines in real terms," Carlucci said "the question today is whether we are now entering into a new 1970's-style decade of decline without even realizing it."

The Defense Secretary stated that "our

ability to defend American interests in any one part of the world is a function of our overall strength. A widespread perception that America's defenses are stretched too thin will not simply weaken us in one region or another—it will expose us to increased risk at every point.

"The close relationship between the United States and Israel will continue to be a source of strength to both nations. . . . It must, because for both the United States and Israel the stakes are high."



Carlucci

## POLICY CONFERENCE

## Dine: Unity to Meet Challenges

(Excerpts from the address of AIPAC Executive Director Thomas Dine.)

"We meet at a time of great change, uncertainty and possible danger. Much of what we have achieved over the last several years is being challenged. Our community is seized with the question of how to come to grips with a new threat. . . .

"The Arab uprising . . . has brought about a permanent change in the Middle East. The Palestinians in the territories have emerged as a distinct force, they are pursuing very radical demands . . . and Israel is confronted with the reality that it now administers a much more hostile population. . . .

"Insofar as there are defined political demands [to the uprising], they boil down to two core objectives: returning the Palestinian refugees to the cities and villages in

Israel from which they departed in 1948 . . . and the immediate creation of a Palestinian state under the control of the PLO with Jerusalem as its capital. These are not demands that any realistic person could expect Israel to meet, because they would mean, in plain language, the elimination of the Jewish state. . . . These demands offer Israel nothing to negotiate about. . . .

"The Israeli government has two main objectives: to restore order . . . [and] to pursue a political solution that will make true coexistence possible. . . .

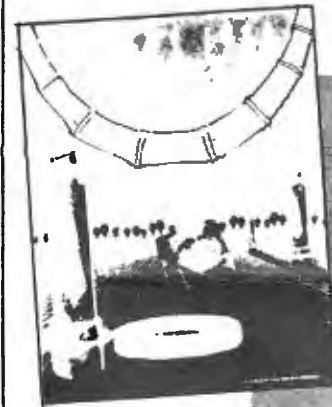
"AIPAC and our community back the Administration's active involvement in a peace process. . . . Of course, it is not necessary or possible for our community to support every element of an initiative. . . . AIPAC, as an organization, does not take a

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## POLICY CONFERENCE

# Aspin Details U.S.-Israel Ties

The U.S.-Israel relationship has been characterized by "remarkable and steady growth," especially between the military forces of the two countries, according to Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wis.), chairman of the House Committee on Armed Services. Israel is not an official NATO ally, but the relationship between the two countries is reliable, unlike some U.S.-NATO relationships, Aspin stated at AIPAC's annual conference.

Israel, however, is recognized as a major non-NATO ally and there are numerous formal agreements between the two countries: port visits, joint military exercises, and arrangements for Israeli hospitals to accept American casualties in the Middle East.

Israel is one of the United States' most reliable allies—sometimes perhaps giving too much support to American plans, the Chairman said, referring to the Iran-Contra affair.

Aspin compared the Israel-United States relationships to U.S. ties with formal allies and discovered a number of tension areas with NATO members, but not with Israel:

- Trade: a sore spot in relations with Canada and Japan, but not with Israel;
- Burden-sharing: the U.S. spends more than 6% of its gross national product (GNP) on defense; most allies spend 3%, and Japan spends less, even though many U.S. allies accept U.S. troops. Israel, however, spends 25% of its GNP on defense and does not ask for American military personnel;
- Lack of support for U.S. military operations: France would not permit the United States to fly over its territory when U.S. planes attacked Libya. And few allies assist the United States in escorting



Aspin

Kuwaiti ships in the Persian Gulf, even though the operation is also protecting their oil supply.

Although the United States cannot always rely on its allies, "no one I know of in the U.S. government is suggesting that the U.S. bury the NATO alliance," Aspin said.

And, although Israel and the United States differ in some areas, a strong relationship between the two countries is evident. "A formal alliance is not an answer to the problems," he said.

"We have some workday frictions with Israel, but we shouldn't hold the Israel-American alliance to a higher standard than other alliances."

In the future, more Israeli-American exchanges are planned including additional port visits, more sales of Israeli weapons to the United States and more U.S. military equipment used in Israel, Aspin said.

"There are people in this country worried about a closer U.S.-Israel alliance because of issues such as what is occurring now on the West Bank, but differences such as those exist in any alliance. After all, look at our other allies in NATO," Aspin said. R.S. □

## Dine . . . Continued

position on the non-authoritative international conference as such. That is a decision for the people and government of Israel. . . . We oppose any assertion that anyone who does or does not go along with this idea is against peace or the security of Israel.

"Another example of an honest difference of views is the debate between those who favor territorial compromise as a way to end the occupation and those who think autonomy is a better approach. Both seek a means to reconcile an end to the occupation with the requirements of Israeli security. . . . Which path is the best is a decision the people of Israel must make for themselves, because it is they who will have to live with the consequences.

"The most important role for the United States is to bring to the table an Arab partner prepared to discuss in a serious manner alternative ideas for realistic political solutions. . . .

"A consistently strong and close relationship between the United States and Israel serves the higher interests of both countries, is essential to Israel's security, and is a bedrock of the peace process itself. Conversely, U.S.-Israel tensions, whatever their motives may be, reduce the incentives for the Arabs to negotiate with Israel. . . .

"The current situation is made more dif-

ficult by . . . the split between the two major parties in Israel. . . . There is an ever-present danger that internal arguments will spill over to the United States and split apart the unity of our community. . . . We cannot afford disunity because there are terrible costs to disunity. . . .

"Let me mention the fundamentals of the Israeli national consensus: First, Israel must retain its military superiority. . . . Second, Jerusalem is the eternal capital of Israel. . . . [Third] the Jordan River and the Golan Heights must be Israel's defense line. . . . [Fourth] both Israeli parties are committed to a political solution to reconcile Israeli security with political self-government by the Palestinians and an end to the occupation. Neither party will accept a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, and neither will negotiate with the PLO. . . .

"These last eight years have clearly witnessed the coming of age of the American-Israeli alliance. . . . The architect of this essential evolution from close friend to strategic partner to *de facto* ally is Secretary of State George Shultz. . . . He leaves an incredible legacy. . . .

"I have faith in today's Israel . . . I have faith in tomorrow's Israel. . . . I have faith in the fruitful and enduring partnership between the United States and Israel. . . ."

□

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## POLICY CONFERENCE

# Senators Reaffirm Support

**S**ens. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) and Bennett Johnston (D-La.) voiced support for continued strong U.S.-Israel ties, praised Israel's success in nation-building, and—in banquet speeches—urged its backers in this country to persevere.

More than 1,600 people attended the AIPAC conference dinner, including 35 Senators, 55 Representatives, officials from the executive branch and diplomats from the United Kingdom, West Germany, Egypt and China.

McConnell noted that “as Israel celebrates her 40th anniversary, you keep hearing on the talk shows and reading in the papers the question, ‘has Israel lost its way?’ It’s a sign of how rapidly the world is changing that such a question could be asked only 40 years after Israel’s founding.

“Yet as *Time* magazine has said, ‘Israel cannot afford to lose its way.’ And we all know the reason why: because the margin of error is so small.

“There are enemies on Israel’s borders that threaten. There are enemies with long-range missiles that threaten. There are demographic trends that threaten. Israel’s own increasing internal divisions threaten, and the strain is unrelenting,” McConnell stated.

“This small margin of error is why so many supporters of Israel, like myself, are sensitive to any criticism of Israeli policy, believing that every criticism saps Israel’s energy for dealing with the dangers she faces.”

McConnell warned that “if the American people aren’t educated through discussion, they will not continue to appreciate why we’re so important to Israel and why Israel is so important to us. . . . If the American people don’t have a firm appreciation of the

U.S.-Israel relationship, they will be worn down by the TV footage of Palestinians being scattered by tear gas and bullets and the evening news reports of how many have been killed.”

He referred to a recent Gallup poll which suggested that television images of the Pal-



Johnston



McConnell

estinian Arab uprising have begun to weaken U.S. public support for aid to Israel while increasing sentiment for direct Israeli-PLO talks. “Clearly, the job of educating Americans about Israel’s needs and vulnerabilities is not complete. It’s not enough for American Jews to support Israel, the rest of the country must do so as well.”

Instead of “hunkering down” like a jack-rabbit waiting for a windstorm to blow over, supporters of U.S.-Israel ties should work at letting the American people “understand what is at stake. . . . that Israel is a country very much like the United States.

Johnston called the rebirth of a Jewish state after 2,000 years “a wonder of history” and “an incredible success,” bringing democracy and freedom to a land which had never known those traditions.

But Johnston said he followed current

developments “with concern, sometimes with approval, sometimes with vague feelings of disapproval, and sometimes, frankly, with confusion.” Since “it is not easy to have a clear opinion about what ought to be done,” the chief role of committed friends of Israel ought to be “to give loyalty, and to give support. . . .

“For this nation, for the United States Senate to try to interfere—try to lightly put on intimidation—I think would be the greatest mistake we could make. . . .

“First of all because until Yasir Arafat and the PLO is willing to simply recognize the existence of Israel, how can we or how can anyone say that you [Israel] should then sit down and negotiate any particular formula? Secondly, we know it won’t help—and it shouldn’t help—for summer soldiers to come in and try to advise Israel on this complicated situation.

“After all, it is Israel’s survival and it’s the survival of each and every citizen of Israel, within those narrow borders . . . to try to work out a system that will work with their neighbors. And it is not up to the dilettantes to advise on what is the best formula.” Quoting H.L. Mencken, Johnston commented that for every complicated problem, there is a simple solution and it is always wrong.

Johnston noted that Israel was born 40 years ago “out of tragedy,” and has been “an experiment that succeeded beyond the wildest dreams of anyone. . . . Let us make sure that 40 years from today, we—or our sons and daughters . . . can look back on the 80th anniversary and be able to say that Israel is more strong, more free, more permanent than it was 40 years ago.”

## POLICY CONFERENCE

## Dangers and Opportunities

**T**he biggest obstacle to Arab-Israeli peace is convincing the Arab world that Israel will not disappear, said Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel’s outgoing U.N. Ambassador. In a speech to AIPAC’s policy conference, Netanyahu presented his ideas for achieving Arab-Israeli peace.

“To get the Arab world to recognize the right of Israel to exist, you have to first get them to accept the inevitable fact of Israel’s existence, you have to change their perception that Israel will somehow disappear . . . because as long as they believe that, it will be very hard to convince them to make peace. And once they do (accept Israel’s right to exist) it becomes much easier than people think,” he said.

Many Americans, including “important segments of American leadership” think the solution to the conflict is to give up the territories. But, said Netanyahu, to relinquish the territories without retaining the Jordan River as a defense boundary would be tantamount to Israel’s death. It would mean a loss of crucial geographical locations, including control of the five passes west of the Jordan River which permit access to Israel’s population centers and control of high points overlooking Israel’s airfields. And, relinquishing the territories hastily would allow the PLO to take control.

“Those who counsel us to simply get out of the territories, without any understand-

ing of the different [strategic and political] world that we live in, are making a tragic mistake,” he said. For example, portable target designators, smuggled onto the hills of Judea and Samaria, could guide otherwise inaccurate Saudi, Iraqi or Syrian missiles onto Israeli targets.

Even if Israel were to give up the territories, there is absolutely no evidence that the Palestinian Arabs would be satisfied. Netanyahu said that many Palestinian Arabs share the view of Mubarak Awad, often described as an advocate of non-violence. According to the ex-ambassador, now a Likud bloc candidate for the Knesset, Awad has said: “The PLO wants

(Continued on page 86)

## POLICY CONFERENCE

# AIPAC Policy Statement

Following are excerpts from the 1988 AIPAC policy statement, presented at the 29th annual policy conference.

**O**n this fortieth anniversary of Israel's rebirth, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) celebrates the partnership between the United States and Israel. The two countries are allied by their shared commitment to democracy and common values. In order to promote, strengthen and preserve this close relationship, in 1988 we will work to:

- promote peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors, including direct negotiations and support for quality-of-life development projects in the West Bank and Gaza;

- maintain the necessary levels of U.S. economic and military assistance in grants to Israel;

- enhance strategic cooperation between the United States and Israel;

- oppose the sale of sophisticated U.S. arms to Arab countries which consider themselves to be in a state of war with Israel;

- support our government's efforts to work with Israel and other allies to thwart the spread of PLO and other international terrorism;

- increase and strengthen economic cooperation between Israel and the United States;

- support efforts to lift the Arab economic boycott of Israel and enforce compliance with antiboycott laws;

- ensure the right of free emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union, Syria, Ethiopia and other lands of oppression;

- promote an energy security strategy for the United States which would encourage conservation and the exploration and development of new energy sources, and reduce dependence on unstable foreign sources;

- encourage our U.N. representatives to continue to combat anti-Israel resolutions;

- support efforts to move the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. . . .

**PEACE PROCESS:** The Arabs must reconcile themselves to Israel's presence, no longer seek its destruction and enter into direct negotiations. The United States should play a mediating role in the search for Middle East peace . . . [Egypt] should be the link to peace between Israel and its other Arab neighbors.

The violent riots and demonstrations that began in December 1987 have . . . been encouraged, strengthened, and sustained by the PLO. But the PLO and the Palestinians have failed to articulate a realistic political program. . . . The following principles must be upheld by the United States in its pursuit of peace: Direct negotiations between Israel and her Arab neighbors; the United States and Jordan should promote a Palestinian leadership that will negotiate on realistic terms; An international accompaniment to negotiations should be decided internally by Israel. Such an international component should have as its purpose direct talks between the parties and should not have the power to impose solutions; Soviet participation in an international setting should be conditioned

on restoring diplomatic relations with Israel and allowing free emigration of Soviet Jews; Israel must have secure and defensible borders, not the 1967 lines, and United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 must be the basis for negotiations; The PLO cannot be part of negotiations; There cannot be another independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. . . .

**FOREIGN AID:** AIPAC supports maintaining the current level of \$3 billion in all-grant aid to Israel. . . .

**WEAPONS:** Sales of sophisticated weapons to Arab states should be linked to their involvement in direct negotiations with Israel. AIPAC opposes the sale of sophisticated U.S. arms to Saudi Arabia and Jordan until they negotiate directly with Israel.

**TERRORISM:** Acts or threats of international terrorism must not be permitted to influence U.S. policy. AIPAC applauds Congress and the President for closing the PLO offices and supports other legal action and, where appropriate, military action against terrorism.

**TRADE:** . . . AIPAC opposes trade legislation and administrative action which would weaken or undermine the U.S.-Israel Free Trade Agreement. AIPAC applauds the success of the binational research programs in increasing economic cooperation between Israel and the United States.

**ARAB BOYCOTT:** The Arab countries have waged an economic war against Israel by refusing to do business with it or with companies that trade with Israel. AIPAC urges Congress and other government agencies to urge all countries to end their compliance with the economic boycott of Israel. □

## Netanyahu . . . Continued

all of Palestine and I agree."

Not only Arabs but also Americans need to be convinced that peace will not come as a result of unilateral Israeli withdrawal, but through direct negotiations and a multi-year period of gradual transitional arrangements.

Netanyahu is sure of one thing: "The riots must be put to a halt, we can put them to a halt and we will put them to a halt."

Edward Levy, Jr., AIPAC president, commented "The Palestinians have held out in this battle for six months. They think they have won. They believe this is the beginning of the end of Israel. They are euphoric. They say, 'Give us Jerusalem so Arafat can rule.'"

Although the territories have been thoroughly scrutinized in the mass media, supporters of Israel shouldn't forget that the state's existence itself represents a miracle, Levy said. Even with its problems, Israel at 40 has much to celebrate. □



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## HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

# Senate Slaps Saudis

**S**till angry at Saudi Arabia's covert acquisition of Chinese East Wind intermediate-range ballistic missiles, the Senate recently approved two amendments to restrict future U.S. arms sales to Riyadh.

An amendment by Sen. PHIL GRAMM (R-Texas), with Sens. CARL LEVIN (D-Mich.) and SAM NUNN (D-Ga.) requires the President to certify to Congress that the Saudis have not acquired non-conventional warheads before new weapons deals can be made. The CSS-2 East Wind—which easily can reach Israel with its 1,800 mile range—can carry nuclear, chemical or biological as well as conventional warheads.

While Saudi Arabia has provided the United States assurances that it will not acquire nuclear weapons for the Eastwind, it refuses to permit on-site American verification (NER, May 16). Some Senators believe the missiles threaten the regional balance of power, increasing instability.

The Gramm amendment to the Defense Authorization bill was adopted by voice vote without dissent. It does not affect a sale of 200 Bradley armored fighting vehicles worth approximately \$500 million and contracts totalling \$325 million for operation and maintenance of Saudi AWACS (Airborne Warning and Control Systems) planes, already proposed by the Reagan

Administration.

The authorization bill is expected to go to a Senate-House conference committee soon.

The second amendment, introduced by Sen. HOWARD METZENBAUM, with Sens. RUDY BOSCHWITZ (R-Minn.) and ROBERT PACKWOOD (R-Ore.), puts a ceiling of 60 on the number of U.S.-built F-15 fighter planes the Saudis can have in-country. It also was adopted by voice vote.

Riyadh originally agreed to purchase 60 F-15's in 1978 and several years later re-

ceived two more as replacements for planes which had crashed. The Saudis expressed interest in acquiring as many as several dozen more F-15's.

Metzenbaum's amendment—if accepted by the conference committee—means that any additional F-15's will be replacement planes only. It also requires that they be the F-15 C or D models, effectively barring Saudi acquisition of the newer version F-15 Strike Eagle, which possesses greater ground attack capability.

## Cutler . . . Continued

cooperation. "For them to provide facilities when in need is not an unreasonable request," Murkowski said.

But Cutler responded: "I would be reluctant to move arms sales to a 'quid pro quo' basis . . . a 'this for that' basis. The more responsive we are to their security needs, the more responsive they will be to our needs in the area and more willing to cooperate with us. We should not regard arms sales as a reward."

Sen. Rudy Boschwitz (R-Minn.) voiced concern over Saudi Arabia's financial support for "radical elements" including the PLO. "The Saudis are disappointing," he said. "They seem to be a weak reed which bends to the most radical elements of the Middle East. I would be encouraged to see them be stronger willed instead of giving *bakshish* [bribes] to anyone who comes along."

Cutler said the Administration is concerned over the proliferation of missiles in the region but was satisfied with Saudi assurances that the missiles would not be armed with nuclear or chemical warheads. Although it has been reported that the Saudis may have acquired as many as 70 missiles, Cutler declined to comment on exact numbers in an open session. □



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BACK PAGE

# Failure of Nerve

**W**hy did more than a few American Jews find themselves awash in anguish—the self-description of choice—at Israel's forceful, unavoidable responses to the Palestinian Arab uprising? Why did activists—that catch-all, say-nothing word—celebrities and even some leaders of mainstream organizations feel compelled to beat their breasts in public?

Ruth Wisse, McGill University professor of Yiddish literature, may know. In the May issue of *Commentary* she analyzes "Israel and the Intellectuals: A Failure of Nerve?"

Wisse notes some historic coolness to Jewish nationalism—and hence to Israel—from unaffiliated intellectuals on the left. There is also the gradual shedding of Jewish concerns by ordinary Jews busy with assimilation.

But more important was "the unpleasant truth that a Jewish country under siege puts great pressure on other Jews to protect it, pressure that marginal Jews resent and that even some affiliated Jews regret when it interferes with their comfort and their pleasure. In a significant measure Jewish feelings about Israel take their bearings not from any actions the country may be involved in but from its perceived standing in American opinion, and especially in American liberal opinion.

"The real issue is not the right of Jews to criticize Israel, which no one has the authority to deny, but the possible consequences of such criticism. . . . There is not a Jew in America who does not know and understand at some level of his consciousness the stakes of this [Arab-Israeli] conflict; the myth of dissent, a diversionary issue if ever there was one, serves to obscure this knowledge from consciousness.

"Arab aggression against Israel scored its first decisive strike when it discredited the right of the Jews to a national homeland within the walls of the very institution that had confirmed that right in 1947. United Nations Resolution 3379 [passed by the General Assembly in 1975], declaring Zionism a form of racism, proclaimed the Jews to be a pariah people, as the Germans had done several decades earlier—this time, in full view of the world. The passage of that resolution affirmed not only the enduring strength of Arab hostility to the Jews, but the inability or unwillingness of the international community to counteract the Arab threat.

"The Jewish targets of this moral assault were defeated the minute they agreed to make Israel's 'occupation' of the territories won in 1967 the main subject of Arab-Israeli contention. For the Arab rejectionists, the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip remain only tactical points in the war that is waged on Israel as a whole.

"When Jews abroad allowed themselves to be sucked into debating the merits of territorial occupation, instead of uniting to condemn the Arab rejectionism that had brought the occupation about [and prolongs it] they suffered a defeat that has returned to haunt them today. Many Jews yielded to the temptation; rather than challenging the Arabs to accept regional pluralism, they tacitly agreed to take the argument 'inside,' to internalize it. They not only failed to concentrate on exposing the genocidal thrust of Arab strategy, they consented to making themselves the object of moral scrutiny. . . .

"But in truth the moral problem of the Jews today is very different from the one of which they stand accused and of which so many are accusing themselves. Twice in one century Jews have been singled out as targets of annihilation. The first time they could do nothing to prevent it. This time they can.

"In all the forty years that Israel has tried to convince the Arabs of its ability to stand firm, American Jews have been asked for little. The vast sums of money, the political support, the demonstrations of affection, however impressive when compared with the generosity of ethnic and religious minorities that are not so besieged, are as nothing in the case of a people targeted for destruction. Now in the hour of crisis, it remains to be seen whether American Jews will meet or fail the moral test with which they are faced."

Instead of "performing a perverse . . . penance," American Jews should, Wisse says, insist on unconditional recognition of Israel by all Arab countries, on direct negotiations between Israel and its Arab neighbors, on repeal of U.N. Resolution 3379, on emergence of a Palestinian Arab leadership that accepts Israel's sovereign presence in the Middle East. E.R. □

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# NEAR EAST REPORT

SPECIAL ISSUE:  
THE RIOTS

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

VOL. XXXII, NO. 10 MARCH 7, 1988

## EDITORIAL

### Building Barricades

For nearly three months, Palestinian Arab rioters have been erecting barriers of rocks and burning tires across roads in the Gaza Strip and West Bank. Recently, the Palestine Liberation Organization and Jordan erected barricades of their own in front of Secretary of State George Shultz's peace initiative.

Jordan and Syria rejected the Secretary's proposals. Shultz's package included an international opening to direct Arab-Israeli talks, not necessarily a full-blown conference under U.N. sponsorship; an interim arrangement for the territories (the Arabs long ago rejected the word "autonomy" as well as the opportunity); and an accelerated timetable for negotiations on the final status of the area.

It is significant that in rejecting Shultz's message Jordan and Syria spoke in almost identical terms. That could mean King Hussein has granted a veto to Syrian dictator Hafez Assad.

Then the PLO, reversing itself after hearing from its more "steadfast" elements, ordered Palestinian Arabs from the territories not to meet with Shultz. The Secretary persevered, going to the east Jerusalem hotel at which the meeting was supposed to be held, and stressing that neither the goals of Palestinian Arabs nor of Israelis would be realized unless each side was prepared to recognize the aspirations of the other. Nevertheless, two days later a PLO spokesman was still warning Arabs of the territories against meeting with Shultz.

Meanwhile, Jordan raised another obstacle. It retreated from the idea of a joint Jordanian-non-PLO Palestinian delegation to talk with Israel. Instead, high-ranking Jordanians told reporters accompanying Shultz that Jordan would support the renewed PLO demand for a separate seat at any Arab-Israeli negotiating table.

Yet Jordanians and PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat know that the United States will not deal with the PLO unless and until it explicitly endorses U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, recognizes Israel and ceases terrorism. The PLO's threat against Palestinian Arabs from the territories who might want to talk with Shultz, and its rejection—with Jordanian compliance—of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation underline their disinterest in peace for the Arabs of the territories. Instead, the moves amount to a bid by Arafat and company to use the uprising to leverage the PLO into talks with the United States—without meeting American requirements.

Meanwhile, the apparent leaders of the violence inside the West Bank and Gaza Strip still refused to put forward any coherent political demands to which the United States or Israel could respond. Instead, a leaflet from the "PLO/National Unified Command of the Uprising" repeated calls to the residents to attack "imperialism and its allies" by escalating the uprising.

In Israel, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir repeated his objections to King Hussein's "all-the-land-for-peace" formulation. But Shamir accepted the idea of an international opening to talks and reiterated his support for autonomy. He also suggested an internationally financed effort to resettle Palestinian Arab refugees still in camps in the territories to new housing to be built nearby.

At press time, Shultz was to return to the region after meeting Hussein in London. For the Secretary's hard work to bear fruit, Jordan will have to agree at last to real negotiations with Israel—not to a show in which the outcome is prearranged. And the Palestinian Arabs will have to move from violence to politics—something they have refused to do for 70 years, not just the past three months. Should these changes occur, barriers to a positive response by the United States and Israel will come down. □

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### Popeye Deal Made

Rafael, an Israeli government-owned defense manufacturer, has signed a formal memorandum of agreement with Martin Marietta for co-production of the Popeye air-to-surface missile (*Aviation Week and Space Technology*, Feb. 29).

Developed by the Israeli firm, the highly accurate Popeye is being evaluated by the U.S. Air Force for possible deployment with the Strategic Air Command. The Air Force has requested \$8.3 million in fiscal

1989 to purchase 12 Popeye systems. Martin Marietta will provide the mass production facilities Rafael lacks.

### Emigration Slips

Soviet Jewish emigration has declined from the last two months of 1987, according to activists. While more than 800 Jews received exit visas in November and December, only 720 and 730 left the country in January and February, respectively.

In Moscow, a senior Soviet official told Western journalists that the Kremlin will renew relations with Israel on the day an international conference on the Middle East convenes (*Yediot Achronot*, Feb. 26). The official called for a PLO role in the conference, but accepted the possibility of a joint PLO-Jordanian delegation. The daily also reported that U.S. National Security Adviser Colin Powell told a visiting Israeli official the Soviets favor a conference with broad powers. □

## THE RIOTS I

## A Democracy Reacts

Israeli Ambassador to the United States Moshe Arad recently complained that the media's coverage of disturbances in the West Bank and Gaza Strip have concentrated on the military aspect of the conflict. "Little attention has been paid in the past . . . months to the enormous difficulty and complexity and the dilemmas in which Israel has found itself for the past 40 years and the deep inner pain that it causes to our people, to soldiers and civilians alike, to be forced into a violent confrontation," the Ambassador said.

Divided on political questions, Israelis are united in their desire to restore order in the territories. In December, a poll of 600 Israelis showed that 69% supported a firm hand in dealing with Palestinian Arab demonstrations; 80% supported the government's decision to expel nine Palestinian Arab leaders. A February poll of 1,200 Israelis found that 42% agreed with the current policy toward the territories, 22% believed Israeli law should be extended to the territories, 18% felt Israel should leave the territories and 17% offered no opinion.

Thousands of Israelis, led by left-wing and peace groups, have staged several demonstrations protesting the govern-

ment's handling of the disturbances. Meanwhile, the right-wing Tehiya Party organized a rally denouncing a possible relinquishment of the territories.

As Palestinian Arab demonstrators have continued to choose violence over peace, the Israeli army has been forced to fulfill a role for which it was not prepared. *Ha'aretz* columnist Ze'ev Schiff said that the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) have been trapped between the responsibility to restore order and the obligation to uphold the army's ethical code.

"Having knowledge of other armies, I am convinced that most of them would not have had as many scruples about using their weapons," Schiff wrote. "One must bear in mind that one of the PLO's goals is that the dispute within the Israeli people should spread to, and weaken, the IDF."

To clarify its directives to the field, IDF Chief of Staff Lt. Gen. Dan Shomron issued a set of guidelines to all soldiers which said, in part, "The conduct of IDF soldiers should be characterized by firmness and determination, coupled with self-control, restraint, and sensitivity. The use of force should be reserved for the sole purpose of accomplishing a task, such as the quelling

of a violent incident. . . . It is forbidden to use force as punishment, torture, humiliation or shame." Previously, Attorney General Yosef Harish called on the IDF to adhere to a similar code.

Military officials expressed shock at allegations that four soldiers had beaten and buried alive four Palestinian Arabs. The soldiers were arrested and charged with aggravated assault and torture.

Gen. Amran Mitzna showed officers under his command a CBS News videotape of Israeli soldiers beating two bound Palestinian Arabs. Mitzna commented that although the use of the word "exceptional" has become "somewhat difficult, I can only assure the Israeli public . . . that this [incident] is still, nevertheless, exceptional." The soldiers were arrested and face trial.

In an effort to prevent an erosion of the army's standards, the IDF studied the effect of the violence on 900 soldiers. Army psychologist Col. Shlomo Dover found "no brutalization, no demoralization and no general problems of discipline."

"Our data shows that the soldiers do not like to use force, and do so with restraint," said Dover. "There were exceptions, but not many." J.R. □

## THE RIOTS II

## A Compromise Rejected

Opponents of the 1978 Camp David autonomy provisions sometimes deride them as giving Palestinian Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza Strip control of little more than trash collection. At other times they claim that autonomy then—or the "self-governing authority" discussed now by Secretary of State George Shultz and agreed to by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir—is meant to perpetuate the status quo.

Yet just before starting his Middle East shuttle, Shultz said that if people realized how much progress on autonomy Israel and Egypt had agreed to before talks broke down in early 1982, they would be surprised.

And a well-informed Senate source said last week that "if the Palestinians had joined the process in 1979 they would have gotten a lot. . . . There might even be a [West Bank and Gaza Strip] state by now."

What the PLO, Jordan, and the Arabs in the territories rejected by spurning Camp David included:

- A chance to "participate in negotia-

tions on the resolution of the Palestinian problem in all its aspects";

- Withdrawal of the Israeli military government and its civilian administration "as soon as a self-governing authority has been freely elected by the inhabitants of these areas";

- Negotiations on the final—post-autonomy—status of the areas "as soon as possible, but not later than the third year after the beginning of the [five-year] transitional period. . . ."

By January 1982, official Israeli talking points on the power and scope of the self-governing authority noted that after free elections "the Palestinian Arabs will for the first time have an elected and representative body, in accordance with their own wishes and free choice, that will be able to carry out the functions assigned to it as an administrative council."

Those powers covered: administration of justice, agriculture, finance, civil service, education and culture, health, housing and public works, transportation and communications, labor and social welfare, municipi-

pal affairs, local police, religious affairs, and industry, commerce and tourism.

According to the Israeli view at the time, "without any doubt, the transferring of these powers constitutes the bestowal of full autonomy—in the full meaning of that term."

The Arabs objected to the definition of Menachem Begin's government that autonomy covered the residents, not the land. But in turning down autonomy and a transition period, the Arabs threw away an opportunity to advance their own definition in the final status negotiations agreed to by Israel.

The Shultz shuttle presented the Palestinian Arabs with another opportunity. Noting that in nearly three months they have not moved from rioting to any political demand "beyond getting the Israelis out," the Senate source said, "The greatest disappointment out of all this is that the Palestinians are going to blow it again. . . . They will not engage in this historic opportunity." □

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## THE RIOTS III

## Who's Behind the Violence?

Israeli leaders, American officials, Palestinian Arabs and Western analysts agree that while the initial outbursts of violence on the West Bank and Gaza Strip were ignited spontaneously within the territories, the rioting has been encouraged, abetted and organized by the PLO, Moslem fundamentalists and other Palestinian Arab factions. According to the State Department, "The protests and disturbances first began in the occupied territories out of the frustration of the inhabitants in the territories themselves. Subsequently, outside groups have been trying to exploit and gain control of the situation."

When rioting erupted in December, structures were already in place to provide organization, communication, funding and publicity. Major factions comprising the PLO—Fatah, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) and Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)—have long enjoyed influence in the territories, especially in the West Bank.

In recent years, the fundamentalist Islamic Jihad and Moslem Brotherhood groups have made inroads in Gaza and else-

where. Meanwhile, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC) has launched terrorist attacks against Israel and opened a clandestine radio station in Syria.

The current violence took Palestinian Arab leaders by surprise both for its persistence and its uncharacteristic cooperation between local groups. Operating under the title the "Unified National Leadership for the Uprising," a national coordinating committee of faction leaders has emerged to direct the physical and psychological aspects of the "uprising."

Leaflets have been issued detailing plans for upcoming riots and strikes, and threatening dissenters. Those who have defied orders and traveled into Israel for work have seen their vehicles burned; those who have kept their shops open have seen windows smashed; and recently an Arab suspected of "collaboration" with Israel was lynched by a mob and his home destroyed.

The PLO has coordinated events with leadership in the territories and fueled the violence by supplying funds, amplifying threats and standing in the way of concilia-

tion with Israel. PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat refused to allow such Palestinian Arab figures as Hanna Siniora to meet with Secretary Shultz during his mission to the Middle East. PLO Radio said, "The masses of our people have decided to boycott . . . [the] visit. Therefore, we warn those who seek to meet with Shultz: Woe unto he who meets with the Zionist Shultz. Our people will have no mercy on anyone who deviates. . . ."

In an interview with the *Washington Post*, one senior PLO official "compared the outside leadership's role to that of a battalion commander who issues overall orders, but allows company and platoon commanders to use their own initiative."

Thanks partly to his efforts to silence other voices, Arafat remains the symbol and chief spokesman for Palestinian Arabs inside and outside the territories. He recently asserted to Radio Monte Carlo: "The uprising will continue, wave after wave, until the occupation ends and the Palestinian flag is hoisted over Jerusalem."

□

## HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

## Legislators Support Shultz Mission

Reps. LARRY SMITH (D-Fla.) and JOHN KASICH (R-Ohio) sent a telegram to Secretary of State George Shultz, signed by 40 Members of Congress, expressing "support for U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338 and the Camp David Accords, and for direct negotiations between Israel and her neighbors without preconditions."

The legislators praised Shultz's efforts and stressed their opposition to efforts "by countries outside the region to dictate a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict."

Shultz met with Congressional leaders before leaving for the Middle East. House Foreign Affairs Committee (HFAC) Chairman DANTE FASCELL (D-Fla.), ranking member WILLIAM BROOMFIELD (R-Mich.), Europe and the Middle East Subcommittee Chairman LEE HAMILTON (D-Ind.) and ranking member BENJAMIN GILMAN (R-N.Y.) commended Shultz for his "dedicated efforts in advancing peace."

The four HFAC members also expressed their "concerns about the recent events in the West Bank and Gaza" and "the complexities of trying to reenergize peace efforts at this time."

Other legislators shared that concern.

Rep. MEL LEVINE (D-Calif.), who also visited Israel, traveled to six Arab states in early January, stated in an interview with *Defense News* that he will not change his

opposition to arms sales to Arab countries at war with Israel until they match their public rhetoric with their private remarks on peace with Israel.

Levine found private meetings in Jordan, Iraq, Kuwait, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, and Oman "encouraging" but "one of the great frustrations was the unwillingness of these people to say publicly what they were willing to say privately." He found that Arab officials were willing in private to accept Israel and even volunteered that policies hostile to Israel had not been productive.

Rep. BILL RICHARDSON (D-N.M.) reiterated American support for Israel on the House floor. Alluding to a January 20-24 survey by the polling firm of Penn and Schoen Associates, Richardson said, "As in the past, the public was more sympathetic to Israel than to the Arabs by a ratio of almost four to one. It is fascinating and heartening that the public is able to look beyond the TV images and see the whole picture. There are problems, certainly, but Israel in the mind of America remains a friend, a democratic standard and a nation defending itself against those who would attack her."

The following legislators also signed the Smith-Kasich telegram: Reps. DANIEL AKAKA (D-Hawaii), DOUG APPELGATE (D-Ohio), LES AU COIN (D-Oreg.), CASS BALLENGER (R-N.C.), ROBERT

BORSKI (D-Pa.), BEAU BOULTER (R-Tex.), BARBARA BOXER (D-Calif.), ALBERT BUSTAMANTE (D-Tex.), BEN CARDIN (D-Md.), JAMES MCCLURE CLARKE (D-N.C.), MICHAEL DEWINE (R-Ohio), JOSEPH DIOGUARDI (R-N.Y.), ROBERT DORNAN (R-Calif.), DENNIS ECKART (D-Ohio), MICKEY EDWARDS (R-Okla.), MIKE ESPY (D-Miss.), HARRIS FAWELL (R-Ill.), EDWARD FEIGHAN (D-Ohio), FLOYD FLAKE (D-N.Y.), ROBERT GARCIA (D-N.Y.), BENJAMIN GILMAN (R-N.Y.), FRED GRANDY (R-Iowa), BILL GREEN (R-N.Y.), PETE KOSTMAYER (D-Pa.), TOM LANTOS (D-Calif.), MEL LEVINE (D-Calif.), CONNIE MACK (R-Fla.), DAN MICA (D-Fla.), JOHN MILLER (R-Wash.), WAYNE OWENS (D-Utah), JIM SAXTON (R-N.J.), JIM SCHEUER (D-N.Y.), CLAUDINE SCHNEIDER (R-R.I.), BILL SCHUETTE (R-Mich.), CHARLES SCHUMER (D-N.Y.), DON SUNDQUIST (R-Tenn.), ROBERT TORRICELLI (D-N.J.) and EDOLPHUS TOWNS (D-N.Y.).

Other signers of the Burton-Larry Smith-Kemp-Lantos-Snowe letter supporting the closing of the PLO U.N. observer mission (see *NER*, Feb. 29) include Reps. THOMAS BLILEY (R-Va.), JIM COURTER (R-N.J.), WILLIAM DANNEMEYER (R-Calif.), JACK DAVIS (R-Ill.), ROBERT DORNAN (R-Calif.), JACK FIELDS (R-Tex.), BENJAMIN GILMAN (R-N.Y.), BILL GREEN (R-N.Y.), WALLY HERGER (R-Calif.), NORMAN LENT (R-N.Y.), DONALD "BUZ" LUKENS (R-Ohio), ROBERT MRAZEK (D-N.Y.), ROBERT C. SMITH (R-N.H.), GERALD SOLOMON (R-N.Y.), BOB STUMP (R-Ariz.), ROBERT WALKER (R-Pa.), VIN WEBER (R-Minn.) and GEORGE WORTLEY (R-N.Y.).

□

BACK PAGE—THE RIOTS IV

# Nightly News, Skewed

"The numbers for January are incredible," said an Israeli in Washington. "And I doubt that the numbers for February will be much different."

He was referring to saturation coverage of the clash between Israel and the Palestinian Arabs, as measured by minutes of air time on the three commercial networks nightly news shows. Not only was the conflict the major news story in January for ABC, CBS and NBC—but on each it left the rest of the news far behind.

According to A.D.T. Research, a media analysis firm in New York, ABC's "World News Tonight" gave 67 minutes to the uprising in the Gaza Strip and West Bank and Israel's response. A distant second, with 21 minutes of coverage, was the Central American peace plan. Third, with 17 minutes, was the story of questions on Vice President George Bush's role in the Iran-Contra affair. A possible Soviet pullout from the Afghan war tied for fourth—with five minutes of air time.

NBC "Nightly News" allotted 50 minutes to the uprising. Coverage of the Central American peace plan again placed far back in second, with 23 minutes of air time. In third, stories on winter snows, floods and tornadoes, with 20 minutes of coverage. The mighty Iowa caucuses, for example, ranked fifth with just 10 minutes.

CBS "Evening News" gave the clash between Israelis and Palestinian Arabs 48 minutes, the Vice President's role in the Iran-Contra story—and the Bush-Dan Rather confrontation—33 minutes, and 16 minutes each to winter storms, floods and tornadoes, and to the Iowa caucuses.

In other words, 165 minutes—23% of the time given to the top 30 stories—went to the violence in the territories. "It's not that anyone is trying to blame it [the damage done to Israel's reputation by pictures of Israeli troops shooting at and beating Arab rioters] on the messenger," the Israeli said. "And no one expects to be treated like Jordan or Syria," where news media access ranges from strictly controlled to nonexistent. "But what's really startling is the proportion."

Or better, the lack of proportion. With approximately 700 reporters covering 5,000 troops (the latter number probably increased during Secretary of State George Shultz's visit), the media itself became an actor.

It is simplistic to claim, as at least one Israeli Cabinet member did, that without the presence of camera crews there would be no riots. But it is foolish to insist on the opposite, that television plays no role in intensifying the unrest or in exaggerating its news value.

A majority of Palestinian Arabs may well

despise Israeli control and support the uprising. But what television turned into January's major story was, according to the Israeli, the work of groups of 200 to 300 people at the most, in four or five locations throughout the territories, on any given day.

This exposes once again the cardinal principles of television news: pictures dictate stories, and the more arresting the picture, the more important the story. Conversely, no picture, no story.

Tight U.S. press control as at Grenada and British censorship during the Falklands war came with no apologies. And difficult or impossible access to the large-scale fighting in Afghanistan or between Iraq and Iran seems to diminish these stories' worth.

"The first and only serious attempt on any network to try to give a wider perspective [to the uprising] was CBS's '48 Hours,'" the Israeli said. "It tried to give some context. . . . But other than that, we learned again, if another lesson was needed, how shallow, superficial, and powerful television news is."

The history of the Gaza Strip and West Bank did not start on Dec. 9, when the violence erupted. And *Al-Quds* radio, "the foremost propaganda tool of the uprising," according to Israel's *Davar* newspaper, does not demand negotiations, or even a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Its demand "clearly encompasses all parts of the country, which would amount to the elimination of the state of Israel."

But American viewers of the networks' nightly news might never know that. In a sense, they are being treated to the 1980's video version of the 1920's newspaper tabloids, the medium which defined mass market sensationalism.

E.R. □

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# NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

VOL. XXXII, NO. 6 FEBRUARY 8, 1988

## EDITORIAL

### A Flashing Green Light

New diplomatic activity involving the United States, Israel, Jordan, Palestinian Arabs and Egypt could point to progress toward autonomy for the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and an end to the violence which has wracked the territories for the past two months.

This is possible primarily because Israel has flashed a green light for an accelerated autonomy process and because the United States has been working hard to bring all the relevant parties together. During Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's recent Washington visit, Secretary of State George Shultz hinted at "a new blend of approaches" based not only on past experience but also on "imaginative" present efforts.

Meanwhile, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir said Israel would consider elections in the territories to ensure the emergence of people who would be "the legitimate representation of the Palestinian Arabs for discussions of a self-governing authority." Shamir also expressed openness to questions of "substance, not procedure," regarding the autonomy provisions of the Camp David Accords, and willingness to consider "some proposals about change," if necessary.

The uprising in the territories—and the subsequent diplomatic green light—overturned conventional Washington wisdom. This held that a renewed Arab-Israeli peace process would have to wait for elections this fall in both the United States and Israel. But now the United States and Israel have in mind a schedule that would move toward an

interim self-governing authority for the territories this fall and the start of talks on a final settlement before the end of the year.

Last week Jordan's King Hussein criticized the latest effort as more of the same Camp David autonomy which he previously rejected. But at the same time Hussein received a presidential envoy, listened to the initiative, and agreed to think about it.

A week earlier, two Palestinian Arab spokesmen had presented Shultz with a 14-point proposal. Sure enough, the PLO claimed to have authored the plan. Nevertheless, some of the 14 points were described as realistic agenda items about which non-PLO Palestinians and Israeli officials might negotiate.

Meanwhile, the United States, by vetoing another anti-Israel resolution at the Security Council last week, helped insulate the current peace initiative from U.N. meddling. And Shultz announced he will send Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy to the region to push the initiative.

An increase in violence in the territories last week—after something of a lull—can be attributed in part to fear by Palestinian terrorist groups and perhaps Islamic fundamentalists that, in fact, some diplomatic progress might be made despite them. Of course, it is quite possible that the Palestinians, and perhaps other Arabs may sabotage yet another chance to help themselves.

Israel has taken a risk, and, with the United States, opened a new diplomatic opportunity. The Palestinian Arabs, Jordan and Egypt now must do the same.

□

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### PLO Threat

Israel Television reported that the PLO has threatened an increase in Katyusha rocket attacks against northern Israel if Jerusalem takes further action against Palestinian Arab demonstrators (Israel Television, Jan. 24).

### Europeans Visit

Romanian Foreign Minister Ioan Totu and West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher recently conferred separately in Israel with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres.

Totu, the first East European foreign minister to pay an official visit to the Jewish state, expressed his country's support for an international conference on the Arab-

Israeli conflict and an Israeli withdrawal from the territories (*Kol Yisrael*, Jan. 27). Romania is the only Communist bloc nation with full diplomatic ties to Israel and has served as an important intermediary between Israel, the Arab world and Eastern Europe.

Genscher also supported an international conference.

### Bribe Denied

Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres has denied that he was offered a bribe in exchange for a guarantee that Israel would not destroy a proposed Iraqi oil pipeline to the Jordanian port of Aqaba (*Associated Press*, Feb. 2). An Israeli government source said Peres assured the United States that Israel would not attack the pipeline as

a goodwill gesture to Washington and Amman.

The apparent suggestion of a bribe to an Israeli official or political party reportedly was found in a memo to Attorney General Edwin Meese from an American businessman involved with a proposal to build the pipeline.

### Hussein Visits Pope

King Hussein of Jordan met with Pope John Paul II last week in Rome (*New York Times*, Feb. 2). In a statement issued after the meeting, the Vatican said it "considers the problem of the Palestinian people a question of international justice, no less important than that of the existence and security of Israel and of all the states in the region." The Vatican does not have diplomatic relations with Israel.

□

## NER PERSPECTIVE

# U.S. Launches New Initiative

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has approved a new U.S. plan which could give Palestinian Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza Strip limited autonomy within a few months and begin talks on the final status of the territories by the end of the year. Shamir described the proposal as an accelerated version of the autonomy principles of the Camp David Accords. "The intention, as far as we understand, is to shorten the time span. Thus we spoke of autonomy as an interim stage that will last five years. Today we mean something less."

In testimony on Capitol Hill, Secretary of State George Shultz refrained from detailing the proposal saying, "We are trying to evolve something people can support but we are not quite there yet." He added, however, that it is the Administration's desire to advance a plan which would "result in a sharp change in life in the West Bank and Gaza insofar as the ability of the residents to have a greater sense of political control . . ."

Press accounts from Washington and Jerusalem report that in the first stage, local Palestinian leaders would be elected and granted limited governing authority. The extent of this authority may be worked out by U. S. mediators shuttling between Isra-

el, Jordan, Egypt and other Middle Eastern nations. Talks would be held within a year to determine the final status of the territories.

Shultz said the plan was presented both to Israeli Cabinet Secretary Eliakim Rubinstein and Nimrod Novik, an adviser to Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, during their recent Washington visits. Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak was consulted on the plan during his stay in the United States and King Hussein of Jordan was briefed in Amman by special presidential envoy Philip Habib. The United States plans to "touch base" with Syria and Saudi Arabia, according to Shultz, and may dispatch Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy to the region.

The Secretary would not disclose how Hussein or Mubarak reacted to the plan. But press accounts report that the King has given tentative approval to the United States to pursue the initiative.

Hanna Siniora and Fayed Abu Rahmah, two Palestinian Arabs who met recently with Secretary Shultz, were not briefed on the U.S. plan, according to Palestinian Arab and Administration sources. During their session with Shultz, the two called for an international conference on the Middle East in which the PLO would represent

Palestinian Arabs. They also urged the creation of a Palestinian Arab state in the West Bank and Gaza. In a press briefing, they rejected any notion of autonomy. Palestinian Arab sources said that the Siniora-Rahmah platform was endorsed by the PLO.

Shultz defended recent Administration criticism of Israel's handling of West Bank rioting, adding, "We also recognize that Israel has a problem on its hands. So we're trying to be a good friend and counsellor who gives our views but also stands with our friend." He reiterated U.S. opposition to the deportation of four Palestinians, saying, "our feeling is those people belong in jail, not deported."

The Secretary called a U.N. Security Council resolution urging Israel to respect Palestinian rights and to join a U.N.-sponsored peace initiative "unproductive." The United States was the only Security Council member to oppose the measure, and vetoed it.

Winning support for the new U.S. initiative is currently the Administration's primary objective in the Arab-Israeli arena, Shultz said. "If we find something that allows us to get going, then the United States would be willing to engage itself heavily . . . in this effort." □

## HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

### Congress Sees No Simple Solution

While members of Congress continued to express concern about rioting in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, they made it clear they expect no quick, simple solution.

Sen. PETE WILSON (R-Calif.) told a group of reporters in his state, "I would say rather than our giving gratuitous advice and voting in the U.N. against our recognized strategic ally, the role that we have really should be to try and move [Jordan's King] Hussein to negotiate."

Rep. SAM GEJDENSON (D-Conn.) told New London's *The Day* early in January that "I think they've [Israelis] probably handled it as badly as any other government handles riots, maybe not as bad as some. But what it addresses is the failure of resolving the peace process in the Middle East."

Gejdenson said that "the Arab governments in the region have refused to move forward [in the peace process]." He urged

all participants "to sit down and start negotiating or it's just going to get worse, not better."

Asked by a reporter about cutting aid to Israel, Gejdenson stated: "I don't think we deal with Israel's assistance in any different way than we deal with other democracies. . . ."

Rep. JAMES FLORIO (D-N.J.), while expressing "concern" about events in the territories, argued that "the solutions suggested in recent weeks sometimes overlook the complexity behind the events in the Middle East."

Florio referred specifically to "the comparison of the State of Israel to the repressive state mechanism of apartheid in South Africa" as one of "those simplifications."

But Rep. MERVYN DYMALLY (D-Calif.), who spent two days in Israel during the latest Congressional recess, spoke out on

the House floor against "the iron fist policy of the Israel Defense Forces and [for] the need for peace in the Middle East." According to the *Jerusalem Post*, Dymally also suggested imposing sanctions on Israel.

Rep. BARNEY FRANK (D-Mass.), also back from a trip to Israel, commented that the issue of "Jews who remain imprisoned against their will in Arab countries" is getting lost in news media headlines about other Middle East problems. Even though the great majority of Jews from Arab lands (approximately 800,000 of 850,000, with about 600,000 settling in Israel) have left, Jews who remain in such countries as Syria, Iraq and Yemen are still subject to persecution, he said. He called for the fair treatment of these Jews in any overall settlement on the question of Middle East refugees. □

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## HEARD IN WASHINGTON

# Kirkpatrick on the U.N.

**"T**he most shocking fact about going to the U.N. in 1981 was discovering that the United States could be isolated and humiliated at will," said former U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Jeane Kirkpatrick. "I would say that four-and-a-half years later, after an incredible amount of work by a very competent team in Washington and New York, we can still be humiliated—but not necessarily at will."

Kirkpatrick's "team" was reunited recently at the American Enterprise Institute to recount stories of their past U.N. battles and suggest a course for America's future role. They concluded that although the international body may still be manipulated by forces contrary to American interests, it is important for the United States to remain actively engaged at the U.N.

Kirkpatrick pointed to the persistent vilification of Israel as a symptom of the U.N.'s malaise. According to Alan Gerson—former special counsel to the U.S. permanent representative to the U.N.—until Kirkpatrick's arrival it was "bad business for the U.S. not to join in kicking Israel—and kicking Israel hard."

He cited a 1982 U.N. Security Council resolution condemning Israel for a "mad man's" machine-gun attack in Jerusalem's

Dome of the Rock. Gerson said that Arab ambassadors in Washington and U.S. ambassadors abroad lobbied President Reagan to endorse the measure. Kirkpatrick was the only U.S. ambassador to oppose it.

"It was vetoed because Jeane Kirkpatrick prevailed," Gerson said. He concluded that as a result of Kirkpatrick's work, the number of Security Council sessions condemning Israel declined tenfold.

Kirkpatrick said that in condemning Israel's recent deportation of four Palestinian Arabs, the U.N. Security Council demonstrated its "characteristic imbalance" when dealing with Israel. "Why is the Security Council focusing itself on human rights violations in the West Bank and Gaza? Certainly it is not because the human rights problems on the West Bank and Gaza, while they are real, are more than those in Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Eritrea, Cambodia or a half-dozen other places."

She pointed out the hypocrisy of condemning Israel for deporting four Palestinian agitators while ignoring "mass relocations resulting in starvation" in Ethiopia.

"Until the U.N. becomes a place in which violence against Israel . . . is the subject of action, the force used by Israel

cannot reasonably be dealt with," she said. "The Security Council and its actions are used as a political weapon in the ongoing campaign for the delegitimization of Israel. I do not think that the United States should be part of this. I am sorry we voted 'yes' on the [deportation] resolution."

Kirkpatrick hedged when discussing whether the PLO's Permanent Observer Mission to the U.N. should be closed, saying, "I am not sure that we have any standards" to close the office. Pressed on the point, she said, "The difficulty is that if you close the PLO you have to close other groups . . ."

But legal counsel Gerson said that since the PLO is committed to the destruction of Israel, it violates the U.N. Charter which pledges each nation to respect sovereign equality. "A perfectly reasonable argument can be made to close the office."

Kirkpatrick believes that the United States has the power to reform the U.N. "I don't believe the United States will or should spend billions annually on an organization which distorts the nature of the world," she concluded. "The future of the U.N. is in our hands."

J.R. □

## HEARD IN JERUSALEM

## Medical Cooperation Crosses Lines

**T**en Arab doctors from Judea and Samaria currently are working as medical interns at the Israeli hospitals of Hadassah Ein Kerem and Hadassah Mount Scopus. The internships are organized jointly by the hospitals and the Civil Administration of the West Bank. Last year, the Civil Administration aided in the opening of brain surgery and open-heart surgery wards in Ramallah Hospital.

The Palestinian Arab doctors, senior physicians and department heads practicing in West Bank clinics and hospitals, were chosen by a special committee of Israeli and West Bank doctors. Some spent several months in Hebrew *ulpanim* (language classes) to prepare them for work in the Israeli hospitals.

Included in the two-year internships are lectures, seminars, visits to different wards and discussions of clinical cases, new medicines, modern treatments and professional literature. The program covers all areas of medicine, and each doctor works one day per week in Israeli hospitals.

Several exceptional doctors spend five days a week in more extensive courses and will be trained for competency in all fields. After two years, the doctors will be tested,

will receive a certificate of completion, and can then practice in both West Bank and Israeli hospitals.

The project began modestly in 1986 when six doctors interned individually at Hadassah Hospital. But a generous grant from several Europeans permitted expansion of the project within the normal framework of medical internships in Israeli hospitals. Project initiators now hope to bring more doctors, including Gazans, to numerous Israeli hospitals, and for a longer period.

In a second, already completed program, 14 Gaza and 11 West Bank doctors interned for three years in anesthesiology. The internships were organized through Beilenson Hospital in Petach Tikva, under Dr. S. Kahanovitch. The Arab doctors were assigned to eight Israeli hospitals to reduce the possibility of segregation. Kahanovitch said "maximum cooperation" characterized the program.

Before the project began, only three qualified Arab anesthesiologists served 25 operating rooms in the territories, according to Kahanovitch. Technicians, with minimal training, often had to take over during surgery; now there is one well-trained

anesthesiologist per operating room. Under Jordanian and Egyptian rule in the West Bank and Gaza, respectively, no training had been provided in this field.

Israel's Civil Administration for the territories and a U.N. agency funded the program. Kahanovitch asserted that cooperation between the two was satisfactory at the start, but then Arab pressure apparently forced the U.N. to withdraw. When the anesthesiologists graduated, the Israeli Minister of Health and leading Israeli physicians attended but the U.N. agency was not represented.

Participants expect few adverse effects from the prolonged unrest in the territories. According to one Israeli doctor, "I think [the physicians] understand it is a shame to lose hours of learning. This is the first time that joint projects exist between doctors from the territories and Israeli doctors, interactions which are very important to both sides." David Marmer □

*Marmer is a senior at the University of California at Berkeley and an intern in the Jerusalem office of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee.*



## BACK PAGE

## A Well-Informed Source

**R**esuscitating the autonomy idea of the Camp David Accords depends on three things, said Brig. Gen. Ephraim Sneh. Sneh, who recently retired from active duty in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) after serving two years as head of the Civil Administration for the West Bank, spoke to Congressional staffers last week.

He said that "a new autonomy plan must correct the weaknesses of the Camp David plan. . . . Jordan and the Palestinians must participate in the negotiations. . . . It can't be agreed between us, [Secretary of State George] Shultz and [Egyptian President Hosni] Mubarak."

Sneh dismissed "unilateral autonomy"—suggested by some Israeli politicians—as impossible: "You must have a partner. . . . If the arrangement is not supported by the Palestinian Arabs in the territories, it will not succeed."

The local, self-governing authority must administer water resources and state lands, something not clear in the Camp David provisions. "If someone thinks control of sewage and hospitals will satisfy the Palestinians, he is mistaken. . . .

"If someone thinks we will accept terrorist bases 20 miles from Tel Aviv, he is mistaken too," Sneh stated.

"But I think there is a solution" short of an independent Palestinian Arab state which would "threaten Jordan more than [it would] Israel." A West Bank and Gaza Strip state would not be viable economically, he said. But a confederation of the territories with Jordan might accommodate the needs of all three parties.

All sides require a "fixed, very detailed schedule" for proceeding to talks on a final resolution, something else which the Camp David language left vague, Sneh said. Taking such steps could "dramatically" bring "much more stability" to the territories.

"But if it comes up that all this talk about autonomy is only to gain time . . . the result in the territories could be very destructive." He said he believed that "such a limited autonomy" as he outlined might win a consensus within the coalition Israeli government.

A physician, Sneh participated in the 1976 Entebbe raid, and in 1981–1982 commanded Israeli forces near the Lebanese border. He now works as director-general of the Golda Meir Association, which sends its own teachers and programs about democracy, pluralism and Jewish tradition into Israeli schools.

December's outbreak of violent demonstrations in the territories was "spontaneous," Sneh noted. He recalled that Palestinian Arabs "said very proudly to us that . . . we did it ourselves."

If PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat tries to participate directly in Israeli-Palestinian-Jordanian diplomacy, he risks organizational unity and attacks from "far-left radical factions" including the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. If he steps aside completely, "Palestinians will blame him for missing an opportunity."

What "is very likely to happen," Sneh said, is that local Palestinian Arab leaders will get the "silent blessing" of the PLO to negotiate. "And in these conditions . . . a local leadership may emerge."

These leaders might not be those who helped organize the riots after they began, but more pragmatic business and professional people. "They know not only our weak points, but how strong we are," Sneh asserted.

Responding to charges that Israel used excessive force in trying to regain control, he said "the level and character of the violence in the territories is not the level you know" from student demonstrations in the West.

In the latter, protesters and police "still belong to the same nation . . . they don't intend to kill [the security forces] but to express their problem. These demonstrators [in the territories] want to kill. . . . It's not just a protest but a confrontation between two national movements."

"Softer measures" did not always work and "the only way to contain it is by using force." Some troops out of the thousands deployed may violate orders, but "there is no policy of reprisal, of [after-the-fact] punishment by beatings."

E.R. □



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## EDITORIAL

### Plenty to Do

The Reagan Administration has been taking another look at ways to get Israel, Jordan and non-PLO Palestinian Arabs to the negotiating table. Certainly there is plenty to do to breathe life into what has been called the Arab-Israeli peace process. Seven weeks of deadly unrest in the Gaza Strip and West Bank—and a roundup of Syrian-backed Palestinian radicals in Jordan, reported arrests of several Palestinian Arabs in Iraq, crackdowns on pro-Palestinian student demonstrators in Egypt and Morocco—testify to the political urgency.

Any Administration reappraisal should note the following:

- To increase Israeli confidence in anticipated talks with Jordan and Palestinian Arabs, it would be helpful for Egypt to strengthen its bilateral ties with Israel. While Cairo has resisted pressure from some Arab quarters to withdraw its ambassador from Tel Aviv, there is a big difference between non-withdrawal of an ambassador and political leadership. Mubarak's government needs to make clear to the Egyptian public that peace with Israel has served its interests, and that expanding the peace—with Egypt's help—could serve the interests of other Arabs as well.

- Jordan acknowledged arresting 23 members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), a major PLO group, after the PFLP members received instructions from headquarters in Damascus to create a "revolutionary atmosphere" for "the agent Jordanian regime." As the "Black September" civil war with the PLO in 1970 demonstrated, Jordan, as well as Israel, has a powerful interest in defusing the danger of Palestinian Arab nationalism.

King Hussein reportedly has met with Israeli leaders secretly over the years—supposedly even agreeing with Foreign Minister Shimon Peres on how an international confer-

ence might lead to direct bilateral talks. But to reach a political settlement, more will be needed: active Jordanian involvement in "quality-of-life" improvements in the territories and direct talks with Israel—with or without a full-blown conference. Such talks could focus on workable interim solutions, not on appeasing Jordan's impossible old ultimatum—the demanded return of every square inch of the West Bank and east Jerusalem.

- The President made no mention of the Middle East in last week's State of the Union message. After temporarily abandoning Israel at the U.N. Security Council in the early weeks of the violence, the Administration has kept its public statements low-key. But the Arab-Israeli peace process Washington seeks to mediate carries with it great potential dangers for Israel, almost as great as the absence of any peace process. So more than low-keyed pronouncements is needed. The Administration should be just as zealous, publicly, on behalf of the U.S.-Israel relationship in its last year as it has been in previous ones. Weakening bilateral ties now would only encourage Israel's enemies.

- The U.N.—and its Arab League echo—should heed their own criticisms of Israel for conditions in the Gaza and West Bank refugee districts. They contributed to them over the decades, blocking or calling for Israel to rescind efforts to move people out of the camps and into new housing. Nothing would help improve the "quality-of-life" for Palestinian Arabs in the camps more than U.N. and Arab League investment in money—not words.

- Israel may not be able to consider long-range solutions until after it holds elections later this year. Its friends need to understand that, and understand that such a settlement is more likely to evolve from interim efforts and existing autonomy proposals than from the impulse for a quick, "comprehensive" fix. □

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### New Soviet Base

The Soviet Union has opened its only naval base on the Mediterranean at the Syrian port of Tartus, approximately 150 miles from the Israeli border (*Yediot Ahronot*, Jan. 15). This is the first and only Soviet naval base to be opened on the Mediterranean since the Russians were expelled from Egypt in 1972.

The *Economist Foreign Report* speculates that the Tartus base, equipped with maintenance and repair facilities, may become the home port for the Soviet Fifth Fleet. Situated adjacent to a Syrian facility, the Soviet base is defended by long-range SAM-5 anti-aircraft missiles and Sepal

anti-ship missiles. It is reported that a Soviet military airfield is being constructed at the site.

### Syrian Support Up

A clandestine Palestinian Arab radio station operating out of southern Syria has been broadcasting words of support for West Bank and Gaza rioters from Syrian Minister of Information Muhammad Salman (*Kol Yisrael*, Jan. 12). Called "Al-Quds," Jerusalem, the station initially was believed to be located in Lebanon.

Salman said that the terrorist hang-glider attack from Syrian soil helped spark the "uprising" in the territories. The disturbances have brought a renewal in Damas-

cus' support for the Palestinian struggle, he said, adding that the time has come for "action, not slogans."

### No Shortages

The delegate general of the International Red Cross in the Middle East denied that there was a shortage of food in Palestinian refugee camps in the West Bank and Gaza during curfews imposed by Israeli authorities (*Kol Yisrael*, Jan. 21). Michel Amiguet said, "I haven't gotten any report which would conclude that there is any lack of food so far. . . . I refer to the reports of our own people present daily in the field, and they have not reported to me that there was urgent need." □



## BACKGROUNDER

# Diplomatic Men in Motion

**C**oncerned with disturbances in the West Bank and Gaza, Administration officials are "seized with" the problem of advancing the Arab-Israeli peace process, according to a senior U.S. diplomat. While the Administration remains committed to the 1982 Reagan plan as a blueprint for peace, it is exploring a variety of short-term steps to move toward a political solution to current unrest. A senior Administration official told reporters that neither the President nor the Secretary of State wants to leave any stone unturned in the search for a political solution.

To this end, Secretary of State George Shultz last week met with two prominent Palestinian Arab activists: Hanna Siniora, editor of east Jerusalem's *al-Fajr* newspaper—close to Yasir Arafat's Fatah group—and Gaza attorney Fawaz Abu Rahme. [Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir rescinded an order barring Siniora from travel abroad for three months to enable him to meet with Shultz.]

One factor hampering U.S. efforts has been the absence of a common strategy between the nations involved, or within the Israeli government. With Israeli elections just ten months away, political rivals Shamir and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres remain divided on how best to pursue the peace process. Shamir recently called for a

renewal of the Egyptian-Israeli autonomy talks outlined in the Camp David Accords, while Peres reiterated his support for an international conference on the Middle East. Administration officials are divided on whether Washington should take a more active role in the peace process at this time for fear of appearing to favor either side.

Peres sent the director general of the Foreign Ministry, Yossi Beilin, to Washington recently to solicit U.S. support for an international conference. According to Beilin, the Administration backed Israeli efforts to restore order in the territories and agreed, in principle, to give the peace process a higher priority. But in an interview with the *New York Times*, an Administration official rejected Beilin's request for a special U.S. emissary to the region. "There's the old idea that you can send an envoy out and beat up on all sides until they come around. Frankly, that doesn't sound very appealing to the Administration."

Nevertheless, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Michael Armacost has begun a Middle East tour with a stop in Israel. State Department spokesmen emphasized that while Armacost undoubtedly will discuss the current disturbances while in Israel, his trip is part of a regularly scheduled series of consultations.

Following Beilin's return to Israel,

Shamir dispatched Cabinet Secretary Eli Rubinstein to Washington to present the Prime Minister's proposal for a renewal of the Camp David autonomy talks. Rubinstein's arrival coincided with the state visit of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak.

Mubarak came to Washington with his own proposal for the peace process. He called for a six-month suspension of Palestinian Arab violence and a halt to new Jewish settlements in the territories. The Israelis, in return, would agree to move toward an international conference and to "respect and strictly observe the political rights and freedoms of the West Bank and Gaza."

Shamir expressed dismay that Mubarak supported the Camp David Accords but rejected its autonomy framework. Shamir will personally discuss the future of the peace process with President Reagan during a March visit to Washington.

According to the Israeli daily *Maariv*, Malcolm Hoenlein, executive director of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, secretly brought a personal message from Shamir to senior Jordanian officials in Amman encouraging King Hussein to enter direct negotiations with Israel.

J.R. □

## CAMPAIGN '88

## Dole's Views on U.S.-Israel Ties

*Editor's note: NER is highlighting the presidential candidates' views toward U.S.-Israeli relations and the Middle East. Following are the views of Sen. Robert Dole, (R-Kan.) taken from the New York Times, a speech to the National Jewish Coalition, a Dole press release and his Congressional voting record.*

**S**en. Dole referred to Israel as "one of our best and most loyal friends anywhere." In a speech to the National Jewish Coalition last April, he proposed "a new initiative: to begin exploring with Israel in a more comprehensive and concrete way—and in cooperation with our NATO and Asian allies—a new level of strategic partnership; a partnership that in the first instance aimed at stabilizing and shoring up NATO's southern flank in the Mediterranean."

Dole also outlined in that address how

Israel could "become a key partner in the development of the Strategic Defense Initiative" and work with the United States in combatting international terrorism.

As Senate Minority Leader, Dole co-sponsored legislation with Sens. Charles Grassley (R-Iowa), Rudy Boschwitz (R-Minn.), Frank Lautenberg (D-N.J.), and Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) to close the PLO offices in the United States. "The PLO is a terrorist organization. Its leaders are terrorists," Dole stressed.

He added that the measure was "not an anti-Palestinian bill. It is an anti-terrorist bill."

Dole has supported Reagan Administration positions on arms sales to some Arab countries. Twice in 1986 he voted in support of the Administration and against resolutions to disapprove U.S. weapons sales to Saudi Arabia.

Recently, Dole criticized Israeli policy

on controlling the turmoil in the Gaza Strip and West Bank. As quoted by the *New York Times* and verified by his office, Dole said: "When you start using live ammunition on young people and mothers, you've got a problem, more than a P.R. problem, and we don't like it."

As a Majority Leader in 1985 he voted for the emergency \$1.5 billion in supplemental economic aid for Israel. Dole also has supported Administration requests for foreign aid, including regular economic and military aid to Israel.

In addition, that same year, Dole supported strengthening U.S.-Israel ties in a number of ways including as original sponsor of the precedent-setting U.S.-Israel Free Trade Area Agreement (FTA). He said the FTA marked "a new, enduring commitment by the United States to Israel's economic—and therefore political—security." □

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## HEARD ON THE HILL

# Jordan Arms Sale Considered

**T**he Reagan Administration reportedly began consulting with Congressional leaders last week over a weapons sale to Jordan. Under consideration was the provision of U.S. missiles for eight British-built Tornado fighter-bombers being acquired by Jordan.

Meanwhile, several members of Congress urged the Administration to step up U.S. participation in the Middle East peace process, and they looked to Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's Washington visit as an opportunity to promote the process.

Sen. KENT CONRAD (D-N.D.), upon returning from a trip to Israel, reported that Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir told him that he would write President Mubarak and ask to resume negotiations under the Camp David Accords to establish Palestinian Arab autonomy in the territories.

Noting the high level of tension in Gaza and the West Bank, Conrad concluded it is important for the Palestinian Arabs to recognize Israel's right to exist and for negotiations to begin over the return of territory occupied by Israel. "Third party assistance will be needed to bring the two parties to the negotiating table," Conrad said.

Rep. LARRY SMITH (D-Fla.), a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee,

gathered more than 60 colleagues' signatures on a letter to President Mubarak urging him "to exercise your renewed influence in the Arab world to garner support for a political solution to the Palestinian question and to revive the stalled process." Smith hopes Egypt's reacceptance into the Arab fold will encourage Mubarak "to revive the process begun under Camp David. Israel must have a credible Arab partner to negotiate with or this opportunity for a possible peace in the Middle East will be missed."

Sen. ALFONSE D'AMATO (D-N.Y.) and Rep. WAYNE OWENS (D-Utah), commenting on their recent trip to Israel on the MacNeil-Lehrer report, agreed that the current situation "cries out for a political solution."

"We have a very special relationship with Israel . . . and we have to take advantage of it," commented D'Amato.

Owens wrote President Reagan on Jan. 22 urging him "to appoint a national bipartisan Peace Commission, composed of perhaps three experienced and distinguished American diplomats. . . . We have important national interests at stake in the Middle East that need to be protected. . . . If the United States does not act . . . the Sovi-

et Union will take advantage. . . ."

Freshman Rep. ARTHUR RAVENEL (R-S.C.), referring mainly to the West Bank, said that the Israeli government is taking reasonable action to quell the Arab rioting. Commenting about the hilltops of central Judea and Samaria, he added: "If you give up the high ground and put yourselves in a militarily indefensible position, you are liable to find yourselves once again without a homeland." Ravenel also visited Israel recently.

However, some lawmakers expressed concern about Israeli riot control. Rep. BILL GREEN (R-N.Y.) said that Israeli policy "serves only to shift responsibility for the neglect and abuse of the Palestinians from the Arabs to the shoulders of Israel."

Rep. DALE KILDEE (D-Mich.) stressed that he "can find little comfort in Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin's policy of substituting severe beatings for live bullets as a means of suppressing the demonstrations. . . . The Israeli-Palestinian conflict cries out for a solution based on mutual recognition of both peoples' right to self-determination and their desire to establish a just and lasting peace. . . ."

## HEARD IN WASHINGTON

# Debating the International Conference

**T**he concept of an international conference on the Middle East can spark lively debate in policy circles, as demonstrated recently at a symposium sponsored by the B'nai B'rith International Commission on Adult Jewish Education.

Professor Emanuel Sivan of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem contended that there is an urgent need to find a political solution to the Palestinian Arab problem lest "the recent despair and frustration break out again at any moment, triggered by any mundane event." He worried that Israel's response to the disturbances threatens the democratic nature of the state in the short term, and that demographic growth in the territories threatens its Jewish character in the long run.

King Hussein of Jordan fears that Israeli annexation of the West Bank will force an influx of unwanted Palestinian Arab refugees into Jordan, according to Sivan. At the same time, other Arab leaders have given the Jordanian monarch leeway to negotiate with Israel. Sivan called on Israeli and U.S. officials to use this opportunity to sit down with Hussein at an international conference as outlined by Israel, Jordan and the

United States last April. "I am not talking about a panacea," Sivan said. "It is simply the best workable idea that the best minds of the three sides could come up with."

But Sivan conceded that the Arab-Israeli conflict is not ready for a solution at present. He proposed a five-year interim agreement in which Jordan would have control over most civil affairs on the West Bank, but not defense or matters of sovereignty.

Former U.S. diplomat Philip Habib agreed that there is an urgent need to push the peace process forward, arguing that it would contribute to a stabilization of the territories. "The United States should support a revitalized process based on the international conference," Habib said. He suggested that all sides accept the Peres-Hussein concept of an international conference and build upon it.

"It should be made clear that we favor the conference before the [Israeli] elections," Habib said.

"Whether that exerts undue influence in the political process is irrelevant. . . . If we wait until after the [Israeli] elections we run the risk of prolonging the impasse, increasing the intractability of the problem and

allowing more annexation."

But former Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs Lawrence Eagleburger disagreed. "I hate to see foreign policy planned on the basis of, 'Don't just stand there, do something,'" he declared. "Clearly there is a need for movement toward a resolution of the Palestinian problem . . . . But it is wrong to raise false hopes only to have them dashed. This could cause seriously heightened tensions and instabilities."

Eagleburger counselled that Israel must first elect a government that speaks with one voice before it can become involved in an international conference. Unanimity of purpose within Israel will lead to a clarification of objectives with the United States. Only at that point will Israel and the United States be able to enter an international conference together with the same clear goals.

Former Israeli Ambassador to Washington Meir Rosenne agreed that "it is far worse to try something and fail than to do nothing at all." He contended that any new negotiating framework would be the death of the Camp David autonomy process. □

## BACK PAGE

## The Next Bell

In a Jan. 21 letter-to-the-editor, a *Washington Post* reader who described himself as "a survivor, a diaspora Jew," demanded, "Let's have it out: Does Israel intend to live in peace with Arabs or to oppress them forever? If the latter, Israel desecrates its own survival as a homeland for Jews who know what oppression is."

On Jan. 26 the *New York Times* quoted Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir: "We are not allowed to kill, we are not allowed to expel, we are not allowed to beat. You ask yourself what we are allowed to do [to end seven weeks of rioting by Palestinian Arabs]. Only to be killed, only to be wounded, only to be defeated. The U.N. Security Council has never been convened because of the murder of Jews."

Neither Shamir—nor, judging by news stories, most of the Israeli public—share the letter-writer's ahistorical moral masochism. And the Israel Embassy said that Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin's proclamation of "might, power and beatings" was not meant to apply to anyone but those caught in the act of rioting.

Nevertheless, if the numerous accounts of random, summary corporal punishment—beating and bone-breaking—prove true, the technique can only demoralize the troops who apply it and diminish Israel's standing to carry out legitimate measures including mass arrests, curfews and deportations.

Because of its duration and breadth—and consequent difficulty for Israel in re-establishing order—the uprising among Arabs of the Gaza Strip and West Bank, echoed by some of their brethren in Israel, marked the start of a new round in the conflict.

Jewish prestate-building was round one. In round two, from 1949 to 1967, Jordan controlled the West Bank and Egypt the Gaza Strip. They, and the rest of the Arab League, used Palestinian Arab terror to spearhead their war against Israel inside the old "green line."

Israel opened round three in 1967 by preempting an Arab war of destruction. The Israelis succeeded, and they gained the West Bank and Gaza, as well as the Sinai Peninsula from Egypt and the Golan Heights from Syria.

Instead of quick negotiations, the Arabs responded with the "three no's": no talks, no recognition, no peace. The next 11 years included the internationalization of Palestinian Arab terror through the PLO; the 1969–1971 War of Attrition with Egypt; Jordan's 1970 "Black September" battle against the PLO; and the 1973 Yom Kippur War, launched by Egypt and Syria.

Then one Arab country said "yes." But a new round did not begin in 1978 because the

Palestinian Arabs and all other Arab states refused to follow Egypt's lead.

In 1982 Israel completed its Sinai withdrawal—and invaded Lebanon, booting out about 10,000 PLO gunmen, whose presence had accelerated the collapse of the Lebanese state. The next year Syria, with Soviet arms and Arab oil money, embarked on its search for "strategic parity," the ability to fight Israel one-on-one.

Round four seems to have taken Israel by surprise, much the same way the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War did. Hence the initial unpreparedness of the police and army and the early resort to live ammunition.

Round four means that the long-prophesied demographic threat already has arrived—for Jordan as well as for Israel. Without the confidence born of their numbers, the Palestinian Arabs in Gaza and the West Bank would not have done what they did.

The 3.6 million Jews of Israel rule 1.4 million Arabs in Judea, Samaria and Gaza. Another 750,000 Arabs with Israeli citizenship also tend to identify themselves as Palestinians.

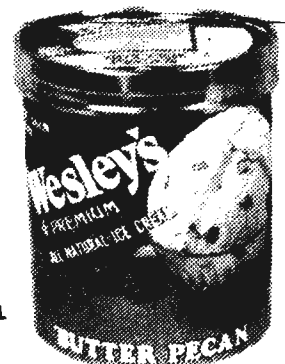
In Jordan, an estimated 60% of the population of 2.8 million are West Bankers by origin or children of West Bankers. And in the boundaries of the original Palestine Mandate—including Israel, Jordan, and the West Bank and Gaza—Jews are a minority compared to the approximately 5 million Arabs.

If Israeli, Jordanian and Palestinian nationalisms were boxers in a three-man tournament, it would be likely that only two—or even just one of them—would be left standing at the end of round four. But they are not boxers, they are peoples. That makes it in their interests to find a compromise settlement, if possible, before the next bell. E.R. □

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AMERICAN POLICY IN  
THE MIDDLE EAST

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# NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

VOL. XXXII, NO. 4 JANUARY 25, 1988

## EDITORIAL

### Free Advice, and Worth It

Israel has been receiving a lot of advice lately—from well-meaning friends, imposters and foes—on what to do about the uprising in the Gaza Strip and West Bank. Basically, the suggestions make two points:

- Israel should get out of the territories, yesterday. But anyone familiar with the history of the Arab conflict with Israel and with the military and geographic realities—not to mention Israel's legitimate religious and historical claims to Judea and Samaria—understands this cannot be a serious proposal.

- Israel should reach out to Jordan, or to an emerging Palestinian Arab leadership in the territories ready to make a deal. Of course.

Ever since the Camp David Accords, Israel has been committed to doing just that. The Accords' provisions for Palestinian Arab autonomy are surprisingly, even ominously, open-ended in light of Israeli and U.S. policy which has long opposed the idea of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. Nevertheless, Jordan, the PLO, and—to the extent they speak for themselves, Palestinian Arabs—vociferously rejected autonomy.

More recent initiatives have fared no better. In the Jan. 13 *New York Times*, columnist William Safire noted Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's acceptance of a U.S. proposal to meet with Jordan's King Hussein and Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak in Washington on the sidelines of last December's Reagan-Gorbachev summit. Secretary of State George Shultz's idea was, according to Safire, "to break the logjam and give frustrated Arabs in the disputed territories hope for self-rule."

Hussein said no. But, Safire added, after "the Palestinian Arabs and their frustration spilled out in violence . . . Israel has been made to look the villain. . . ."

How about reaching out to Palestinian figures like Mubarak Awad, the naturalized American depicted in the news media as a disciple of non-violence? In a Jan. 7 interview Awad was asked if he believed in a coalition with people committing violence:

"Yes, I do. To me a Palestinian who carries a gun and a Palestinian who believes in non-violence are both reaching to one aim. That aim is liberation. First the liberation of [Israeli] occupation. . . . Then the objective that we want to achieve, that people have to live in peace. . . . We have to have our own state . . . and from then *we might choose, if you want to have peace with Israel or Jordan* . . . [emphasis added]."

No wonder Israel sees Awad as less an Arab Gandhi and more a provocateur and has ordered him deported.

A quote attributed to "a Ramallah matriarch" by the *Washington Post* on Jan. 17 symbolizes Israel's problem of finding a Palestinian Arab leadership with which it can deal: "Now, even we don't know who is really organizing the uprising, and *we don't care* [emphasis added]. Now it's Israel's problem."

No, not if residents of the territories want a political settlement both parties can live with. If they do, political maturity demands that Palestinian Arabs take responsibility for developing leaders able to represent them justly—this disqualifies the PLO and Islamic extremists—and of reaching a settlement with Israel. If it is only Israel's problem, Palestinian Arabs cannot complain about Israeli actions. □

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### Visit Approved

The Kremlin okayed a Moscow visit by Israeli officials, according to Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov (Reuter, Jan. 19). It will be the first such visit in over 20 years.

The Israelis will be allowed to examine the Dutch embassy in Moscow, which has handled Israeli consular affairs in the Soviet Union since the Kremlin severed relations following the 1967 Six-Day War. Although the Soviets deny any "reciprocity," the Israeli visit is considered a trade for the six-month presence of a Soviet consular delegation in Israel. Israeli Foreign Ministry Spokesman Ehud Gol expressed regret that the Soviets are still placing conditions

on the renewal of relations between the two countries.

### Warrant Withdrawn

The U.S. Justice Department has withdrawn the arrest warrant for Mohammed Abbas, the PLO executive committee member who masterminded the 1985 hijacking of the cruise ship *Achille Lauro*. U.S. citizen Leon Klinghoffer was killed during the incident (Associated Press, Jan. 18).

U.S. officials claimed that although Abbas already has been convicted in absentia in an Italian court, they lacked sufficient evidence for a U.S. trial. Klinghoffer's daughters are seeking a reinstatement of the warrant.

### Begun Released

Josef Begun and his family were allowed to leave the Soviet Union last week after a 17-year struggle to emigrate. "We will not forget those we are leaving behind. . . . That's the most important thing—not to forget," Begun told friends at the Moscow airport. The refusenik had been sentenced to seven years in prison "for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and served more than three years.

Begun emigrated with his wife Inna, her mother, and his son's family. "There is a terrible situation for Jews" in the Soviet Union he declared, vowing to work on behalf of refuseniks when he arrives in Israel (Associated Press, Jan. 18). □

## HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

# Members Rebut Anti-Israel Critics

**T**he 100th Congress returns for the second half of its session this week, but already several members have spoken out against Palestinian Arab violence in the Gaza Strip and West Bank.

Rep. HOWARD BERMAN (D-Calif.), a senior member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, strongly opposed any U.S. efforts to pressure Israel into an unwanted peace initiative. Appearing on NBC-TV's "Today" show with Edward Said, a member of the PLO's Palestine National Council and a professor of English literature at Columbia University, Berman said that "anyone who would suggest that the United States use that [\$3 billion in aid] as a hammer is not seeking a solution to the conflict in the Middle East. . . .

"In fact, nothing could more harden positions in Israel and . . . undermine U.S. national interests than attempting to place that kind of hammer on U.S. aid to Israel. There are a lot of other things we can do and there are a lot of things the Israelis can be doing.

"And the one hopeful sign happening on the West Bank is that perhaps there will emerge leadership residing [in the territories] . . . who will be willing to negotiate, to make peace and to try to bring an end to a conflict and not to tease and terrorize. . . . Every time there has been an opportunity

[for peace] Arab leaders and the Palestinian so-called leadership have rejected this."

Sen. PHIL GRAMM (R-Tex.) wrote Secretary of State George Shultz early in the month, expressing "concern over the position taken by the United States in voting in favor of U.N. Security Council Resolution 607 condemning Israel" for deporting some Palestinian Arabs. Gramm noted that "if these rioters become convinced that they have achieved a measure of official American approval, I fear that the joint interest of the United States and Israel in battling terrorism ultimately may be damaged."

SEN. JOHN CHAFEE (R-R.I.) and Rep. LARRY SMITH (D-Fla.) discussed the situation in Israel on Cable News Network (CNN) recently. Chafee had just returned from Israel where he had been caught in a riot in the Qalandiyah refugee camp on the West Bank. He commented that Israel's "use of violent force has not been successful and it is counterproductive."

The Senator supports an international conference as proposed by Jordan's King Hussein and backed by Israel's Foreign Minister, Shimon Peres.

However, Chafee noted that Israel's national unity government remains a "democracy at loggerheads" over how to proceed with the peace process. "The United States can't jam anything down the throats

of the Israelis. . . . Israel is a democracy and rightfully so."

When questioned by the CNN newscaster about PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat's reported willingness to recognize Israel, Smith stated that "Arafat never said he wants to recognize Israel . . . he said he'd recognize all [U.N.] resolutions dealing with Israel . . . most of which condemn Israel."

Smith stressed that "most Israeli Arabs are at peace with Israel and are unwilling to live under the PLO." According to him, without the organization and its chairman, peace could prevail. "Yasir Arafat kills people . . . all over the world."

Rep. JOHN LEWIS (D-Ga.) spoke at the recent Israeli Embassy commemoration of Martin Luther King, Jr. (See *NER*, Jan. 18 for related story.) The Atlanta representative, a veteran of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a participant in the Freedom Rides and the Selma to Montgomery march, stressed the strong bonds between blacks and Jews.

An acquaintance of King's, Lewis said the slain civil rights leader "more than any other human being of the 20th century, had the power to bring people together to do good—black and white, Protestants, Catholics and Jews, young and old, rich and poor. . . ." □

## CAMPAIGN '88

## Gore on U.S.-Israeli Relations

*Editor's note: NER is highlighting the presidential candidates' views toward U.S.-Israel relations and the Middle East. Following are the views of Sen. Albert Gore (D-Tenn.) taken from interviews with the Washington Jewish Week and the Long Island Jewish World, and from a speech at Georgetown University.*

**C**alling Israel "our principal ally in the region," Sen. Gore said that the United States must play "a vigorous role in bringing parties together for meaningful discussions on peace in the Middle East." This does not mean, he added, that the United States should "impose a solution on Israel."

Gore criticized the Reagan Administration for "having given signals that it supports Foreign Minister Shimon Peres' proposal" for an international conference. "I don't think we should be in the middle of an

internal debate in Israel," he stated.

The candidate believes that the American position on peace negotiations should be in accordance with Israel's and therefore Washington "should carry out a dialogue with Israel . . . until we are satisfied there is some degree of consensus."

Gore said U.S. policy should make the peace process "the focus of our policy in the region." By doing so, and also by "making clear to those [Arab] nations that nothing is going to go forward that they want unless they are willing to play a constructive role," prospects for peace could be advanced.

The Senator noted last year that "Israel is correct in not showing flexibility"—as of yet—concerning possible compromises regarding the West Bank and Gaza Strip. He does believe, however, "that if Jordan and others are willing to come to the table and

talk . . . they might well be surprised to find that there is some flexibility."

While serving in the House and Senate, Gore consistently opposed the sale of U.S. weapons to Israel's Arab neighbors. In 1985 he co-sponsored a bill which opposed arms sales to Jordan pending King Hussein's consent to negotiate with Israel. Gore has also been a strong supporter of foreign aid.

Maintaining that there is a connection between arms agreements with the Soviet Union and Soviet emigration, Gore emphasized that "it is hard to expect much progress on arms control" without increased emigration.

Last summer he led a group of approximately 150 Tennesseans—Christians and Jews—on a two-week trip to Israel. □

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## BACKGROUND

# Egypt Seeks Independent Course

**D**uring his recent trip to the Persian Gulf, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak told a Kuwaiti newspaper that Egypt must maintain its forces in the Sinai. "I will not station forces in Sinai if we reach a comprehensive Arab settlement with Israel," he said. "I can dispense with stationing forces in the desert on which I will spend large sums while we are experiencing difficult economic circumstances. However, their presence is needed now. If other circumstances prevail, I can withdraw more than half of these forces since they cost me huge sums."

The Egyptian leader noted, "It is worth mentioning here that the forces now stationed in Sinai are larger in size and better equipped than those that were there before 1967."

Although Israel and Egypt are at peace, both nations design their military strategy with an eye to the other. "This is only natural," said an official of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA). He pointed out that last year Egyptian Defense Minister Abdal Halim Abu Ghazalah referred to Israel as Egypt's chief enemy. "He was accurately quoted but widely misinterpreted," said the official. "If people took him to mean a near-term break with the peace treaty, they were wrong. . . . As Defense Minister he has to take into consideration the most powerful regional power, and that's Israel."

In terms of military expenditure, Israel is ranked fourth in the region, behind Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Iran. Egypt is fifth. Ac-

cording to the latest ACDA study, Cairo spent more than \$5 billion on its military in 1984; Israel, over \$7 billion. The Arab states, excluding Egypt, spent over \$58 billion in 1984. Saudi Arabia alone invested \$22.2 billion in its military.

But military prowess includes more than expenditure. With 466,000 men in arms, Egypt has the second largest army in the Middle East and broad experience with a variety of weapons from the Western and Eastern blocs. During his visit to the Gulf, Mubarak sought to trade Egyptian equipment and expertise for petrodollars. Cairo has already provided advisers and over \$1 billion in equipment to Iraq, despite the fact that the two nations only recently renewed relations. Kuwait, which has agreed to invest \$3.5 billion in Egypt, has also expressed interest in Egyptian military assistance. And it is believed that Egyptian troops will replace the 10,000 Pakistanis who left Saudi Arabia late last year.

Arms exports to the Gulf provide needed capital for the Egyptian economy and work for the country's arms industry, which is ranked thirty-first internationally. While in the Gulf, Mubarak sought renewed support for the Arab Industrialization Organization (AIO). The AIO was created in 1975 by Saudi Arabia, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Egypt to enable Arab nations to provide for their own defense needs. With the withdrawal of its partners in 1979 following the Camp David Accords, Egypt has operated the industry independently. Cairo has also managed another govern-

mental defense firm, the National Organization for Military Production. It is estimated that the country exports \$300-\$400 million in military items annually, chiefly to African and Arab nations.

Egypt has created its own arms industry to free itself from the political commitments which accompany reliance on foreign arms. Under Gamal Abdel Nasser, Egypt was dependent upon Soviet equipment; when Sadat threw the Russians out, these arms supplies ended.

The chairman of the board of the AIO recently told a Kuwaiti newspaper that the AIO could provide Gulf states with a means of circumventing U.S. constraints. "If a request for a specific missile like the Stinger or other equipment is turned down, we might be able to develop [similar] types. . . . In such a situation we would have our decision in our hands and not in the hands of other states." According to one U.S. official familiar with the third world arms trade, the Gulf states are interested in high technology items which Egypt is unable to provide at present.

By purchasing arms from a variety of countries and by producing its own, Egypt has reduced its dependence on a single source. But Washington, which will provide \$1.3 billion in military assistance to Egypt in 1988, still plays a key role in maintaining the Egyptian army. The Pentagon has agreed in principle to help build Egypt's independent arms industry by permitting the assembly of the M-1 A-1 Abrams battle tank in Egypt. J.R. □

## HEARD IN WASHINGTON

## Israeli Victims Speak Out

**C**oncerned about what they regard as harsh news media coverage of Israel's actions in the Gaza Strip and West Bank, six Israeli civilians recently traveled to the United States, at their own expense, to present another side of the story. Each had been affected, directly or indirectly, by Palestinian Arab terrorism.

At a news conference in Washington, Abraham Moses and his daughter Adi, nine, recalled last year's fire-bomb attack on their car near Alfe Menashe, a religious suburb on the West Bank. Mrs. Ofra Moses—who was pregnant at the time—and the Moses's five-year-old son, Tal, were killed.

Abraham and Adi were burned on over half their bodies, and an older son suffered burns over 25% of his body. Adi, whose face was heavily scarred, appeared at the press conference, still wearing bandages on her head and hands.

Mesodi Ochana, a 47-year-old Moroccan immigrant, spoke through an interpreter. Her 20-year-old daughter Esther had been killed by rocks thrown through the windshield of her car. Mrs. Ochana held in her hands rock splinters removed from her daughter's brain during unsuccessful surgery.

David and Geula Pollack, of Jerusalem, lost their two daughters when a bomb exploded on a bus the girls were riding. "I feel like [there is] a Holocaust in my soul," Mrs. Pollack cried.

Meir Indor, who heads Volunteers for Israel (NER, Apr. 13, 1987) interpreted for the Pollacks and then told his own story. He had been wounded in a grenade attack while on Army duty in 1972. He said he organized the victims' visit after becoming angry at American coverage of the West Bank and Gaza riots, which he saw on Israeli television.

"I knew how Palestinians had killed and wounded Israelis . . . so I decided to do something about it," Indor explained.

The group brought a petition for President Reagan, to protest what it termed U.S. siding with "agents of the PLO" in criticizing Israel over the disturbances. A similar press conference was held in Miami and several were planned for New York.

[On Jan. 12, Reuter news service reported that "Jewish community leaders in Italy . . . accused the Italian media of fomenting anti-Israeli feelings through its coverage of the unrest in the occupied territories and asked the government for increased protection outside Jewish schools, homes and synagogues."]

Rachel Kogan. □

*Kogan, a freshman at Brandeis University, is an NER intern.*

BACK PAGE

# The Envelope, Please

In the avalanche of news coverage of the uprising in the Gaza Strip and West Bank, a few nuggets:

• Jeane Kirkpatrick, writing in the Jan. 18 *Washington Post*: "It is a classic late-20th-century confrontation between not-so-civil disobedience and a not-so-iron fist. Each time Israel uses lethal force to fight off stone throwers (in this region where stoning is a mode of execution) Israel loses, and the demonstrators know it. The media make the difference, and the media know it."

Kirkpatrick, the Reagan Administration's first U.N. Ambassador, writes that "the longer a problem lasts the harder it is to remember what it is about. Since the so-called Arab-Israeli problem is now 40 years old, it is hard for Americans and others to remember that Israel's Arab neighbors still refuse to accept Israel's existence."

She adds that Egypt's education minister recently "barred from his country's schools a world map that included Israel." Egypt, of course, is the one Arab country to make peace with Israel. As a result, it was ostracized by most of the rest of the Arab world for a decade; partly as a result of making peace, its then-president, Anwar Sadat, was assassinated.

• David Pryce-Jones, in the Feb. 1 issue of *The New Republic*, referred to the real iron-fist policy Egypt's Nasser used in Gaza before 1967: "Neither rehoused nor offered work nor allowed to travel or to emigrate . . . the Gazans were penned into a pitiable plight."

Then, "in 1969 and 1970, 76 West Bankers and Gazans were killed by the PLO and 1,122 were injured. In the same period there were only a handful of Israeli casualties. On some mornings, Israeli patrols discovered the corpses of those killed by the PLO and hung up on meat hooks in Gaza markets."

"Gen. Ariel Sharon put a stop to such horrors by the use of what might be called Nasserist methods, surrounding refugee camps . . . with tanks, bulldozing roads straight through them, arresting and screening hundreds of suspects. . . ."

Gazans and other Palestinian Arabs in the territories had no constitutional rights under Arab rulers and "as things stand, Israel has no title to be granting rights" to them, Pryce-Jones continues. "Where and how . . . are the Israelis to begin remaking the family and tribal order so that a Palestinian electorate can emerge instead?"

Until what he calls "constitutionality" replaces the all-or-nothing approach (the Arabs or Israel) in Palestinian politics, the choice "facing any Israeli government is stark:

"Either to stay and enforce law and order

at whatever cost to themselves and the Gazans, or to pull out and surrender the population to anarchy or to tyranny. Just like the Israeli government, world opinion does not care to inspect this choice in its ugly detail—but world opinion can go hang."

• Tom Teepen, editorial page editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, Jan. 14, on U.N. criticism of Israel's handling of Arab refugees: "Israel will take still another public relations drubbing from its refusal to let a U.N. official inspect areas of the Gaza Strip, one of the two Palestinian territories Israel has occupied since its Arab neighbors ganged up on it in the 1967 war. . . ."

Teepen notes that while Israel settled its large influx of Jewish refugees from Arab lands, "the Arabs did not settle the Palestinians. Arab politics preferred to keep them as refugees and a political irritant to Israel," a policy the U.N. participates in, thanks to Arab- and Soviet-bloc votes.

• Meanwhile, the networks' frequent flyer, PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat, turned up on CBS-TV's "Face the Nation," Jan. 17. He once again proved unable to utter an unambiguous endorsement of U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338—the basis of all successful Arab-Israeli diplomacy since the 1967 and 1973 wars, respectively.

• With utter two-dimensionality, ABC's "World News Tonight" on Jan. 18, noted Israel's effort to distinguish between its handling of Palestinian Arabs and South Africa's handling of blacks. Anchorman Peter Jennings then used pointless fragmentary appearances by correspondents in each country and colorful graphics to imply such an equivalence. If there is an Emmy for breathtaking superficiality, this particular segment is in the running.

For the context ABC omitted, see *NER*, Jan. 11. E.R. □

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# NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

VOL. XXXII, NO. 3 JANUARY 18, 1988

## EDITORIAL

### A Role for Egypt

President Hosni Mubarak frequently has spoken of the need to expand Egypt's peace with Israel. He has said that all parties concerned—including Jordan and the Palestinian Arabs—need to be involved.

The leaders of both halves of Israel's ruling coalition, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir of the Likud bloc and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres of the Labor alignment, would agree to that. In fact, both do, under the guidelines of the national unity government.

Their agreement on the desirability of reviving the "peace process"—of using peace with Egypt as a bridge to talks with Jordanians and Palestinian Arabs—stands apart from their differences over an international conference on the Middle East as demanded by Jordan's King Hussein. The question is: once Israel restores order in the Gaza Strip and West Bank, will the bridge be open?

Make no mistake: Israel will quiet the wave of violent demonstrations in the territories. It must.

The violence—worst in the 20 years Israel has controlled Gaza and the West Bank—already has resulted in 32 Palestinian Arabs killed, approximately 200 wounded, and roughly 2,000 arrested. In addition, since late November, 10 Israelis have been killed in Israel and the territories and several dozen wounded—most of them soldiers.

Israel cannot afford to allow the territories to slip into Lebanese-style anarchy. It cannot allow that—not only for its own sake but also for the sake of the Palestinian Arabs who live there. Further, since political contagion can spread quickly, especially in the Middle East, the uprising must be put down for the sake of Jordan, which has a potentially

restive Palestinian Arab majority, and for Egypt, whose Islamic fundamentalists benefit from the example of their brethren in Gaza. Unlike the impotent Lebanese government, Israel has the power to act. Once order is restored, Jerusalem will be ready to talk with Palestinians about autonomy.

Which brings us back to Egypt. Last week Mubarak toured Arab oil states along the Persian Gulf, in the process making the first visit of an Egyptian leader to Saudi Arabia since Cairo and Jerusalem signed their peace treaty nine years ago. The majority of Arab states renewed full diplomatic relations with Egypt following last November's Arab League summit. They now look to Cairo to help counter the threat from Iran.

But Egypt has an important role elsewhere. As it reasserts its role in inter-Arab politics, it could help persuade, help influence Palestinian Arabs. The majority may detest Israeli control but they are not throwing stones or using knives to attack soldiers. Egypt, by taking on more responsibility for Arab-Israeli diplomacy—as it takes on more responsibility for inter-Arab security—could aid in reviving the "peace process."

The Reagan Administration has seen fit to abstain on a U.N. Security Council attack on Israeli measures in the territories and to vote for a resolution condemning Israel's policy of expelling those it terms "chief instigators." Mubarak is scheduled to be in Washington at the end of this month. The Administration, which has described the Camp David Accords and Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty as the bedrock of its Arab-Israeli diplomacy, should see fit to urge the Egyptian leader to do more than talk about expanding the peace. □

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### Spy Suspect Caught

Shabtay Kalmanovich, a 42-year-old Soviet immigrant, was arrested in Israel last month on charges of spying for Moscow (Israel Television, Jan. 10). Kalmanovich arrived in 1971 and rose rapidly in Israeli society. He served as an aide to former Knesset Member Samuel Flatto-Sharon and developed an international business which allowed him to travel to many countries, including the Soviet Union. Kalmanovich had close relations with many Israeli political and military leaders.

Foreign Minister Shimon Peres minimized the incident's effect on relations with Moscow. Meanwhile, the Soviet consular

delegation in Israel has requested a one-month visa extension and has announced that the Kremlin will reach a decision soon on a reciprocal Israeli visit.

### Preemption Planned

Citing "an Israeli source," the *Washington Times* reports that Israel might launch "preemptive air raids against Syria to destroy a secret nerve gas plant if it is confirmed that Damascus [is preparing] a chemical weapon attack."

Douglas Feith, a former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, noted that "Syria is one of the very few countries the United States has called attention to by

name for developing chemical weapons." Washington has halted the export of certain chemicals to Syria because of Damascus' chemical weapons program.

### Syrian Links

While an investigation continues into the April, 1986 West Berlin discotheque bombing, the State Department maintains that it has irrefutable evidence that Libya was directly involved. West German authorities believe there are possible Syrian links to the bombing, but don't "support the U.S. contention of Libyan involvement" (Associated Press, Jan. 12). □

## PERSPECTIVE

# IDF Official Defends Policy

Israel mishandled the first days of West Bank and Gaza unrest, according to Israel Defense Forces (IDF) spokesman Lieut. Col. Raanan Gissin. "We thought we could localize the disturbances and so we used those troops who were in the area. It turned out that there were not enough and a situation developed in which rioters stormed Israeli soldiers."

"The troops found themselves in tight spots and were forced to use lethal weapons. . . . In hindsight we should have used a more firm hand and poured in troops." Gissin said that live ammunition was used improperly in only one case.

Gissin, in the United States on behalf of the Jewish National Fund, explained that the IDF has now changed its tactics, deploying more troops, more quickly and with better equipment. But this has diverted resources from Israel's primary defense needs.

According to the spokesman, outside groups became involved in the rioting after the disturbances began. "These external forces tried to guide and steer the rioting: the [mainstream] PLO to restore the stature it lost at the Arab League summit; the pro-Syrian groups to demonstrate that the rejectionist front is still alive. But regardless of the specific group, they were out to exploit a highly volatile situation on the backs of the Palestinians."

The officer blamed these groups for standing in the way of quality-of-life improvements in the West Bank and Gaza.

"These outside influences—including the U.N.—have succeeded in freezing . . . unilateral attempts by Israel to improve the situation in Gaza and elsewhere. I haven't seen attempts by them to improve the quality of life in the territories."

"Sure, conditions in Gaza are appalling, but all our attempts to improve them have been thwarted by groups for their own self-interest." In 1977 the U.N. passed Resolution 3290 calling on Israel to return Arab residents of Gaza to refugee camps. In 1984 residents of the Dheisheh refugee camp near Bethlehem protested an Israeli plan to improve living conditions. As one Palestinian activist told the *New York Times*' David Shipler, "Without the camps, I can say fully that the Palestinian case will not have a clear face."

Gissin defended the detention of over 1,900 Arabs and the decision to expel nine: "We have deported only those individuals who have continued to engage in activities repeatedly. In our judgment they will do less harm out of the area than in it." He said that the women, children and religious zealots who have been at the forefront of the disturbances are merely foot soldiers; "they are not the ones who make the decisions."

Gissin revealed that the Israeli government has conducted discussions with Arab leaders throughout this period but has come away disappointed. "Arab leaders' voices were muted inside and outside the territories. They have demonstrated a lack

of effective control . . . over their constituency either due to unwillingness or inability." He called on these leaders to preach restraint.

"We need courageous leaders from the PLO and other Arab groups to start a dialogue," he said. "These leaders have to try a different approach. For the past 40 years they have been responsible for the hardship and anguish of the Palestinian people. I am saddened that within the Palestinian community there is not the same sort of internal debate about how to move toward a practical solution to coexistence as is going on in Israel. The voices of moderation have been muted by waves of violence."

The army official asserted that Washington acted precipitously in condemning Israel for its use of lethal force and deportations. He charged that the political solutions Washington would impose in the region could lead to the deployment of U.S. peace-keeping forces in the territories. "I don't think the U.S. government is really interested in that," he remarked.

Defending press restrictions in some areas, he said the presence of media has fueled unrest. "At the same time we are a democratic country and there is free coverage of events elsewhere. . . ."

Gissin said that before political discussions on the fate of the territories can begin, order must return. "We will take all the necessary measures to restore law and order. But it may take longer than people expect." J.R. □

## HEARD IN WASHINGTON

## Pickering Moves Up and Over

As the State Department wraps up its annual round of diplomatic reassignments, rumors have begun to circulate about relocations of Middle East policymakers. It is believed that U.S. Ambassador to Israel Thomas Pickering will return to Washington to become Under Secretary of State for Management, of the department's highest posts.

In this position, Pickering, the country's most senior career ambassador, would oversee the department's financial, physical and human resources. He is now concluding a three-year term in Israel, a tenure marked by public disagreements with Is-

raeli leaders over such issues as the proposed international conference on the Middle East, Israel's administration of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and, most recently, the handling of disturbances in the territories. His predecessor, Ambassador Samuel Lewis, served an unusually long eight-year period in Tel Aviv.

William Brown, a former second-in-command at the Tel Aviv embassy, is said to be returning to Israel to replace Pickering. An expert on Soviet and Middle Eastern affairs, Brown has served as Ambassador to Thailand for the past three years.

It is also believed that Deputy Assistant

Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs Philip Wilcox will go to the region to serve as Consul General in east Jerusalem, a post which the State Department has accorded ambassador-level status. The Consul General oversees U.S. interests in the West Bank and maintains extensive contacts with Palestinian Arab leadership.

Wilcox was formerly the director of the department's Office of Israel and Arab-Israel Affairs. He would not discuss these reports until the appointments were announced officially. Neither Pickering nor Brown could be reached for comment. □

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## ANALYSIS

# Mubarak Visit Signals New Egypt

**P**resident Hosni Mubarak arrives in Washington next week. He will represent an Egypt emerging from diplomatic isolation within the Arab world, a nation beset by chronic internal problems yet powerful enough to play an important role in the Persian Gulf.

With the largest population and one of the most powerful armies in the Arab world, Egypt has long been recognized as a leading force in Arab politics. Egypt lost this role in 1979 when it became the first and only Arab nation to recognize Israel; Arab allies severed relations. This period of isolation ended last November when the Arab League voted to permit its members to restore bilateral relations with Cairo. Only Libya, Syria and Algeria have refused to renew ties.

Mubarak comes to Washington fresh from a tour of six Persian Gulf nations. The trip marked his reacceptance into the Arab fold and was an opportunity to seek financial assistance. For Gulf Arabs it provided an opportunity to solicit Cairo's support in containing Iran. Egypt already provides military advisers to Kuwait and has sold millions of dollars of weapons to Iraq.

Egypt is to become the arsenal for a number of Arab countries through the revived Arab Organization for Industrialization (AOI). The AOI was shelved in 1979; now increased arms sales are to bolster Egypt's economy and the defenses of other

Arab states.

But while Mubarak was out of the country, Egyptian authorities had to quell thousands of anti-Israel demonstrators expressing solidarity with the Palestinian Arabs. The government also condemned Israeli tactics in the territories. The violence at home—and remarks by other Arab leaders—forced Mubarak to defend Egypt's unique relationship with Israel once again. "The Camp David agreement does not cancel our Arab obligations or collective Arab defense pacts," he told a Kuwaiti newspaper. "We have not given up any of the Palestinian rights."

The Egyptian President claimed that Israel would have withdrawn from the West Bank and Gaza had other Arab states refrained from condemning the Camp David autonomy plan. "This would have enabled the Palestinians to determine their future," he said. "They would have been spared their current suffering and we would have reached a much better stage."

Mubarak obliquely criticized PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat for refusing to participate in a joint negotiating delegation with Jordan. "I do not want to mention this Palestinian leader's name. Regrettably, our cause has become famous as the cause of 'no's' and lost opportunities. Thanks to these 'no's,' the entire cause is now being lost."

While defending the Camp David Ac-

cords, Mubarak rejected a continuation of the autonomy talks suspended by Egypt in 1982. When Israeli Prime Minister Shamir called on Egypt to renew the discussions, Mubarak demanded that Israel first repeal the laws annexing the Golan and reuniting Jerusalem. Shamir responded by citing a letter expressing Mubarak's readiness to pursue autonomy talks on the basis of the Camp David Accords which was written two years after the Jerusalem law and four months after the Golan law.

Mubarak also rejected Shamir's interpretation of the autonomy plan: "Suggesting that the Palestinians . . . should rule themselves without possessing any part of the territory . . . is completely against the spirit of Camp David."

The Egyptian leader said that he and Jordan's King Hussein "are working strenuously to achieve a comprehensive and just settlement of this issue through the convening of an international peace conference . . ."

U.S. officials watched these developments closely, hoping to use the Mubarak visit to push the "peace process" forward and defuse the violence in the West Bank and Gaza. "You have Shamir calling for the renewal of the autonomy talks and Mubarak calling for an international conference," said one official. "You've got to build on what you already have to bridge the various gaps." □

## CAMPAIGN '88

### Bush on U.S.-Israel Relations

(Fifth in a series.)

*Editor's note: NER is highlighting the presidential candidates views toward U.S.-Israel relations and the Middle East. Following are the views of Vice President George Bush taken from The Jewish Press; The Nashville Tennessean; The New York Times; The Reagan Administration and Israel, a booklet by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, and a Bush campaign source.*

**A**ddressing the Zionist Organization of America, Vice President George Bush stated that "as an American I recognize the common bond of love, of freedom and respect for human values that exist between this country and Israel. Whatever threatens the freedom and security of Israel threatens the freedom and security of the United States."

Bush has stated that the only way to

achieve stability in the Middle East is through negotiations: "We know that peace between Israel and all its Arab neighbors can only come through direct negotiations."

These negotiations would not include the PLO, however, which Bush sees as little more than a "terrorist organization." "It's common sense, as well, that in diplomacy any government or organization that embraces terrorism should be treated as an outcast. First among these is the PLO. The PLO has an appalling record of sponsoring terrorism against innocent civilians. They boasted about murdering the Israeli athletes in Munich. They boasted about killing school children in Israel."

Bush said he stands behind President Reagan, who stated that "the United States will not support the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West

Bank and Gaza . . ." but "it is the firm view of the United States that self-government by the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza in association with Jordan offers the best chance for a durable, just and lasting peace."

When asked about arms sales to countries such as Saudi Arabia, which officially are at war with Israel, a Bush campaign source said that "we're selling them arms now and I don't think we're going to change that."

In 1984, *New York Times* columnist William Safire wrote that after Israel had bombed an Iraqi nuclear reactor, Bush recommended the Administration withhold shipments of promised aircraft.

But, Bush maintains that "we [the United States] have a deep and abiding friendship with Israel. No wedge can ever be driven between us." □



BACK PAGE

# Kidnapping Civil Rights

**C**on jobs depend on plausibility. The one being attempted now by some in the Arab American and black communities—to beat Israel with the club of civil and human rights—got a plausible airing last week on a Washington, D.C. radio talk show.

James Zogby, executive director of the Arab American Institute, had called on Coretta Scott King to boycott the Israeli Embassy's annual ceremony in honor of her late husband, Martin Luther King, Jr. Mrs. King spoke at last year's observance. Zogby, a long-time PLO supporter and a member of D.C.'s King observance commission, urged that body to disassociate itself from the national commission, which helped sponsor the Embassy's program.

WRC's Joel Spivak called Zogby for an explanation. Israel, Zogby said, was trying to honor King while violating the murdered civil rights leader's ideals. It did so, he claimed, by occupying the West Bank and Gaza Strip, denying Palestinian Arabs their human rights, repressing and killing them.

Zogby said he would oppose Israel's exploitation of King's memory by organizing a picket line outside the Embassy during the ceremony. He expected to be joined by Del. Walter Fauntroy (D-D.C.), and others, including clergy. The Rev. Joseph Lowry of King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference would not cross the line, Zogby added.

[Although she was in Washington, Mrs. King did not attend. At another ceremony she called on Israelis and Palestinian Arabs to declare "a moratorium on further violence."]

After Zogby's 30 minutes, Spivak called Asher Naim, information minister at the Embassy, for a response. The moderator noted that "some Americans are seeing parallels with blacks in South Africa, the black civil rights struggle in the United States, and the Palestinians' desperate struggle for self-determination."

Naim rejected the comparison, calling it the real exploitation of King's legacy. He asserted that the "plight of blacks in the United States was exactly [parallel to] the struggle of Jews" for equality and for independence. "That is why the Jews joined the black civil rights struggle, not the Arabs," Naim added.

A basic problem, he maintained, was the violent nature of politics in the Arab-Islamic Middle East. Zogby, of Lebanese Christian ancestry, should know better, Naim added, pointing to the more than 100,000 killed in the Lebanese civil wars from 1975 on.

The Israeli did not mention the U.S. State Department's annual human rights country reports; they describe an Arab

world of more than 20 Arab countries in which the term "human rights" barely applies.

Yet Israeli troops firing on rock and Molotov cocktail-throwing demonstrators was "an awful thing to watch," Spivak said. Of course, Naim replied, let those like Zogby deliver one Arab leader with whom Israel could negotiate peace.

Yasir Arafat, Zogby rejoined. He pointed to the PLO Chairman's statements on ABC-TV's Jan. 8 "Nightline" as proof that Arafat was ready to talk with Israel—at an international conference under U.N. sponsorship.

Spivak did not press Zogby on this. However, a State Department spokesman noted that the PLO Chairman had said nothing new, again. The official pointed out that Arafat "didn't take the opportunity [offered by "Nightline's" Ted Koppel] to talk about the legitimacy of Israel." Again.

Of course, that is the real issue—the desperate Jewish struggle for self-determination. Do Israeli Jews, like South African blacks, have—in common with those from America's civil rights movement—the right to life and liberty? Do Jews, as well as Arabs, have legitimate national rights? Are the views of Gaza's knife-wielding rioters, incited again by calls from the mosques to "Slaughter the Jews!" analogous to those of civil rights marchers, or the Klan?

Zogby said he wanted Palestinian Arabs, and "progressive" American Jews and Israelis to "reestablish peace in the Middle East." Such "Newspeak" is part of the con job. The only Arab leader yet to make peace with Israel was Egypt's Anwar Sadat. Partly as a result, he was assassinated, like King. We look forward to attending the ceremony Zogby and the Arab American Institute sponsor in honor of Sadat and the Egyptian-Israeli peace.

E.R. □

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# NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

VOL. XXXII, NO. 2 JANUARY 11, 1988

## EDITORIALS

### Hardly Harsh

The United States joined the rest of the U.N. Security Council last week in calling on Israel not to deport nine Palestinian Arabs the Israeli authorities described as "chief instigators" of December's violence in the Gaza Strip and West Bank. Reagan Administration officials already had claimed that the prospective expulsions would violate the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.

The Administration—and Security Council—reading of Article 49 of the Convention echoed the view expressed in the Christmas Eve editorial in *Al-Fajr*, a pro-PLO east Jerusalem newspaper. The Council's resolution itself reportedly was drafted by the PLO. But it was not the only interpretation.

Morris Abram, Chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, pointed out two weeks ago that "Israel under the Geneva Convention is absolutely responsible for maintaining order in the territory under its control for, among other reasons, the sake of the inhabitants. International law does not bar even capital punishment in the execution of the responsibility to preserve public order. Israel does not employ so harsh a sanction, but in the most extreme cases of individuals who pose a grave and immediate threat to public order Israel has occasionally deported the perpetrators."

Occasionally is right. Only 22 people have been ordered expelled in the past two-and-a-half years; and three of those orders remain unexecuted, pending appeals and reviews.

Israel's view is that the 1949 Convention applies to mass deportation, not to individuals properly charged with and found guilty of attempting to undermine public order.

An Israeli newspaper quoted a "senior security source" as saying that "we probably would like to expel hundreds of people. But realistically, we know that we are only talking about . . . several dozen . . ." The several dozen turned out to be just nine, of more than 1,000 arrested last month. (Nearly 250 already have been released. No one protested their treatment as too lenient.)

Most of those to be deported already have served prison

sentences; two were released as part of the 1985 swap of 1,150 terrorists—including convicted killers—and suspected terrorists for three captured Israeli soldiers. Not coincidentally, after that exchange terrorism—including murders—in the territories and in Israel escalated. It was then that Israel resumed deportations; the following year the number of terrorist murders dropped dramatically.

That recent violence in the territories appeared to begin spontaneously does not contradict the description of the nine as instigators. Jumping on an already rolling bandwagon and reaching for the reins would be mandatory for PLO and fundamentalist leaders terrified of appearing irrelevant.

At the U.N., the United States said Israel had used unnecessarily harsh measures in the territories. Just how would Washington deal with a riot, like that in Gaza last week, in which live ammunition had to be used after tear gas, rubber bullets and a water cannon failed to restore order? Expulsions, in this context, are not harsh.

### Chutzpah, British-Style

David Mellor was born too late—by about a century. The Junior Minister of State at the British Foreign Office apparently is unaware that the sun has set on the Empire, and that the Mandate for Palestine expired a few years back.

On a walking tour in the Gaza Strip last week, Mellor—in front of salivating television cameras—berated an Israeli officer for the arrest of a stone-throwing Palestinian Arab teen-ager. He went on to call living conditions in the Strip "an affront to civilized values," and declared himself shocked by Israel's failure to improve them.

No doubt Whitehall will be extending invitations to the world's foreign ministries to critique on the spot, on camera, Britain's response to violence in Northern Ireland. No doubt Mellor will declare himself shocked when he discovers that Gaza's wretched conditions are due in no small part to the refusal of Arab governments and the PLO to countenance Israeli proposals to move people out of refugee districts and into new housing. No doubt. □

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### Emigration Up

Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union this year was the highest since 1981, according to the Intergovernmental Committee for Migration. Eight thousand and eleven Jews were permitted to leave, eight times the number allowed in 1986. However, only 24.4% went to Israel. The 1987 total nevertheless was well below annual figures of the 1970's, "before the Kremlin

cut the departure of Soviet Jews to a trickle" (United Press International, Jan. 4).

### Bad Press

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir expressed shock and disappointment over an anti-Semitic article in the Egyptian press. Shamir previously had asked officials to lower the "anti-Israel tone" in the media. Shamir was concerned "because the line

. . . is overseen by the Egyptian government" (*Hadashot*, Dec. 28).

He responded to an article in *Al-Akbar* which stated that "the Talmud contains a call on Jews to destroy the world, mix the races, and maintain the purity of the Jewish race by imposing a heavy hand on the world's economy and media and holding them in bondage in the service of Zionism." □

## BACKGROUND

# The PLO After the Storm

**A**fter a year spent in virtual obscurity, Palestinian Arabs, the PLO with them, are back at center stage. All but ignored at an Arab League summit just two months ago, Palestinian Arabs have forced their way into the spotlight through a series of violent demonstrations on the West Bank and Gaza.

In a recent interview with the *Washington Post*, Arafat praised "the continuous waves of uprisings" by Palestinian Arabs which, he said, "definitely washed up" plans to exclude the PLO from a proposed international conference on the West Bank.

Arafat was optimistic enough to resuscitate the 15-year-old idea of creating a Palestinian Arab "government-in-exile." "If we have a provisional government, it will open some gaps in this dogmatic American Administration policy," Arafat said. Declaring himself neutral toward such a provisional government, Arafat cautioned that the Administration might not look favorably on such a plan.

One analyst suggested that the creation of a government-in-exile would enable the PLO to separate its terrorist and political functions. It would also allow Arafat to undertake a campaign to win worldwide diplomatic recognition at a time when elections in the United States and Israel seem to preclude new initiatives from either quarter.

But the creation of a provisional govern-

ment might exacerbate existing tensions between Arafat's Fatah faction and more radical PLO groups who would see in this plan "the revolution going soft," according to one observer. The reunification of Fatah with PLO splinter groups at the Palestine National Congress (PNC) meeting last April has survived, thanks to the strong support of the Soviet Union. Now Arafat's leadership is being challenged from within the territories themselves.

The recent disturbances in the West Bank and Gaza have demonstrated the PLO's operational irrelevance to some Palestinian Arabs. Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin recently explained that while PLO operatives played a role in fanning the flames of protest, much of the unrest ignited spontaneously.

Nevertheless, PLO officials claimed responsibility from afar, unwilling to concede their lack of control over West Bank Arabs. Earlier this year, Walid Khailidi, a Palestinian observer at the PNC meeting, said that in 1982 Israel succeeded in severing the ties between the PLO leaders, then based in Lebanon, and their supposed constituency in the territories. Moreover, aging PLO leaders had fallen out of touch with the new generation of Palestinian Arabs born since Israel captured the West Bank and Gaza.

Arafat must compete for the hearts of West Bank Arabs with Abu Nidal, whose ruthlessness is attractive to many young

Palestinian Arabs, according to Arab and U.S. sources. He must also contend with continued Syrian support for PLO splinter groups such as Ahmed Jibril's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command, the sponsor of the November hang-glider assault. And Jordan, in an attempt to assert its influence in the territories, recently announced that it would provide financial assistance to families which lost members during the recent riots.

Israel, too, has attempted to restrict Arafat's influence through the expulsion of PLO operatives and air raids against terrorist bases in Lebanon. The U.S. Congress sent Arafat a message by passing legislation closing the organization's offices in Washington and its observer mission to the U.N.

(Although the President signed this measure into law, the Administration has declared that the law usurps the President's right to direct foreign policy and may violate the U.N. headquarters agreement. But the *Washington Times* reported that a classified U.N. legal memo states that the United States has the power under the headquarters agreement to close the PLO'S U.N. office.)

Nevertheless, Arafat's resilience is well-known; the PLO still has bases and offices—and financial assets—around the world.

J.R.

## HEARD IN WASHINGTON

### Justice Considering Anti-Terrorist Laws

**T**he Justice Department is in the process of creating new legislation which would assist in the battle against terrorism. Proposed laws would allow: U.S. citizens to sue terrorists in civil court; the speedy deportation of aliens engaged in terrorist activities; and the seizure of terrorists' assets.

According to Deputy Assistant Attorney General Victoria Toensing, a law is currently being drafted which would facilitate the deportation of aliens from the United States if they are shown to be involved in terrorism. At present, the ejection of these individuals can take from four to five years.

Toensing emphasized that the new law would ensure due process but would expe-

dite its application. The official remarked that several instances have arisen in which such a statute could have been employed, but she refused to cite specific cases.

A second law currently in the draft stage would allow the U.S. government to seize the assets of individuals or organizations involved in terrorist activities in the United States or abroad. A Justice official involved in creating this legislation explained that the department is examining two possibilities: an extension of the federal RICO (Racketeering-Influenced Corrupt Organizations) statute which would enable the government to confiscate the assets of a terrorist organization; or the creation of a separate law making it a crime to engage in

terrorist activity and permitting the expropriation of assets.

Toensing commented that money collected in the United States and destined for terrorist organizations is often "laundered," making it difficult to target. It is estimated that the PLO has up to \$1 billion in assets in the United States.

The Justice Department also is drafting legislation which would allow U.S. citizens to sue terrorists in civil court.

These measures must be approved at various levels of the Justice Department, submitted to the Office of Management and Budget and introduced in Congress by a member or members.

□

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## MEDIA MONITOR

# Rejecting Received Wisdom

**T**he Israel-as-South Africa insinuation seems poised for a breakthrough:

- On Dec. 27 the *New York Times* Op-Ed page featured not one but two columns alleging that Israel was on its way to behaving toward the Arabs under its control like South Africa behaves toward the blacks.

- A *Washington Post* story on Dec. 24 quoted a U.N. official as saying the situation between Israeli forces and Palestinian Arabs "is a Sharpeville in the making." He was referring to the killing of 69 blacks by South African police in 1960.

- ABC's "Nightline" program on Dec. 23 opened by juxtaposing Israel's suppression of Palestinian Arab riots with pictures of South African troops putting down black demonstrators.

The Israel-as-South Africa slogan stems from the 1975 U.N. General Assembly Resolution which equated Zionism with racism. For years that equation has been a centerpiece of the Soviet-Arab effort to delegitimize the Jewish state.

It is hard to believe now, but the U.N. resolution was condemned at the time in the West. However, after a dozen years of reiteration the Zionism-is-racism big lie has worn a groove from the political fringes to the media centers.

Israeli troops did kill 24 Palestinian Arabs—most while putting down stone-and-Molotov cocktail-throwing riots. But this is not a case of Israel's supporters wanting to shoot the media messengers instead of dealing with implications of bad

news. That is because Israel quite simply is not like South Africa. Among the differences:

- South Africa's white minority officially denies its black majority anything resembling equality. Israel's Jewish majority (83%) extends to its Arab minority (17%) full legal equality.

It is true that Israeli Jews generally enjoy a higher social-economic status than Israeli Arabs. But this results in no small part from the fact that the latter are exempt from compulsory military service—the society's great assimilator—to avoid the potential problem of facing other Arabs in battle.

- Neither are the Palestinian Arabs under Israel's control in the West Bank and Gaza comparable to South African blacks. Those on the West Bank hold Jordanian citizenship and Jordan technically remains at war with Israel. Nevertheless, the standard of living has risen significantly for West Bankers while they have been under Israeli administration and may be higher than that of the Palestinian majority in Jordan itself.

Palestinian Arabs in Gaza live in densely-populated, squalid conditions. The majority are stateless; Egypt, which occupied the area from 1948 to 1967, refused to extend citizenship to them. Gazans and West Bankers rejected the opportunity offered by the autonomy provisions in the Camp David Accords. So until a negotiated settlement, Israel's military remains the legal authority.

Israeli suggestions for improving life for the Gazans—beginning with moving those in refugee camps into new housing, have been met by nearly universal Arab rejection. The PLO and its backers value the camps as the symbol of their cause and as mines for recruits.

- A somewhat lesser charge is made that Israel exploits Palestinian Arab labor, employing residents of the territories to do the menial jobs Israelis disdain. Do they suggest that Israel seal the territories economically? Or perhaps make massive job-producing local investments and then not annex the land?

- The sentences being handed down now for many of those arrested during last month's eruptions do not compare to those in South Africa or some Arab states. Hundreds of those arrested during the riots already have been released. Many others are getting a few months in jail and fines of a few hundred dollars. Meanwhile, earlier this year Iraq destroyed dozens of Kurdish villages and forcibly relocated tens of thousands of Kurds—and it was a one-day, inside-page news story here.

- It is sometimes charged that Israel, like South Africa, is a "settler-state." The United States and Canada are settler states. So, historically, are most nations. Israel is unique in that modern Jewish settlers returned to the ancient Jewish land. Israel-as-South Africa? Only to those who think in slogans.

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## CAMPAIGN '88

## Babbitt on U.S.-Israel Relations

(Fourth in a series.)

*Editor's Note: NER is highlighting the presidential candidates' views toward U.S.-Israel relations and the Middle East. Following are the views of former governor Bruce Babbitt (D-Ariz.) taken from the Washington Jewish Week, the Northern California Jewish Bulletin, the Greater Phoenix Jewish News, and a Babbitt campaign position paper.*

**F**ormer Governor Babbitt stated that "Israel's importance to the United States cannot be overemphasized" and that Israel—the "most reliable ally in the region, is vital for protecting Western interests in the Middle East."

Babbitt has a history of interest in Israel and visited the country twice. While governor, he arranged a successful venture between the University of Arizona and Ben-

Gurion University on a drip-irrigation agriculture system. Babbitt also helped initiate a petition among other governors to persuade the Vatican to recognize Israel.

The candidate believes the United States should cut back "on arms sales to fair-weather friends," specifically countries like Saudi Arabia.

In order to achieve peace, Babbitt called for negotiations "among adversary parties," although he would be unwilling to include the PLO. He was recently quoted as supporting the Reagan Administration's condemnation of Israel's use of deadly force in putting down riots in the Gaza Strip and West Bank. "It is the responsibility of friends to be critical," Babbitt said.

He noted that the United States and Israel share "democratic values" and that Israel's well-being is essential for American in-

terests. Babbitt decried the "inadequate" level of understanding among many Americans concerning Israel.

The *California Jewish Bulletin* described the candidate as "a politician who doesn't just talk about Israel for his Jewish constituents."

□

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BACK PAGE

# On a Solid Foundation

**A** panorama of Jerusalem, striking even to repeat visitors, can be viewed from the south—from the landscaped Haas Promenade and adjoining restaurant. The promenade was opened last summer, another Jerusalem Foundation project.

When Teddy Kollek first was elected Mayor of Jerusalem 20 years ago—not long before the Six-Day War—Nahum Bernstein wanted to help him. So Bernstein, a New York lawyer who had known Kollek from the pre-state Haganah, established the Foundation, a tax-deductible U.S. philanthropy.

Shortly afterward, Kollek found himself in charge of a reunited Jerusalem—a city ready for transformation from Tel Aviv's provincial backwater into a busy capital and urban center.

"After 1967 there was a new push. . . . The whole world started looking at the city," recalled Ruth Cheshin, who had joined the Foundation in its early days as an all-purpose staffer. She is now president.

The Foundation began by constructing three parks—two in Jewish neighborhoods, one in an Arab section. But its role went beyond small beautification projects for which the municipality did not have money.

"Things that would be under many roofs in the States" are supervised by the Foundation, Cheshin said. These include cultural arts projects, youth and other social programs, ballet, and archeology as well as beautification—"whatever we can raise funds for." The organization built the new Crown Symphony Hall, sees to community center activities, opened a health clinic in Arab east Jerusalem and an after-work literacy program for Arab women, "all under the heading of improving the quality of life," Cheshin explained.

The Foundation played a role in the expansion of the downtown Ben Yehuda pedestrian shopping mall and other brick-and-mortar projects. However, "we are trying to concentrate more on activities than before," the president noted. Combating the emigration of young, non-Orthodox Jerusalemites to new suburbs like Maale Adumim—for more affordable housing—to Tel Aviv—for a more open social-entertainment environment—or even out of the country altogether, is another goal of the Foundation.

In addition, the organization assists with events like the Israel Festival and the Jerusalem Film Festival at the city's impressive Cinematheque theater complex—another Foundation project—which overlooks the Old City.

Until a few years ago Jerusalem had no main basketball arena. With Foundation backing, a 2,000-seat facility went up in the Kiryat HaYovel neighborhood, with space

for other sports as well.

"We took a great part in the tennis center now in south Jerusalem, and intend to help with one in the north part of the city," Cheshin said. A major swimming pool in the Jerusalem Forest and several smaller ones at neighborhood community centers also benefited from Foundation involvement.

Efforts over the years to construct a soccer stadium have run into objections from Jews concerned that games on Saturday would desecrate *shabat*. The issue became a political hot-potato but the Foundation—with a donor ready—remains interested.

Now Tel Aviv and Haifa have their own foundations, as does Safat, and Beersheva hopes to start one, Cheshin noted. Competition "is there from all sides," including supporters of Israel's various universities, the United Jewish Appeal, Israel Bonds and the Jewish National Fund, among others. "But," she added, "there are plenty of places to look."

## Reprisals

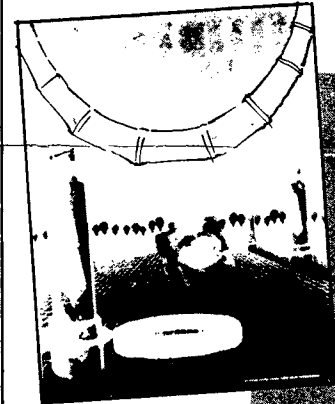
During a week in which Israel was criticized for an alleged violation of international law (*see editorial*), it apparently retaliated for the hang-glider commando attack which killed six soldiers at a base in the northern part of the country. Planes and helicopters bombed and rocketed Lebanese bases of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command, which staged the November attack, and of Fatah, both PLO components.

More than 20 people were killed, including some women and children. Such unfortunate casualties sometimes are inevitable. The PLO puts bases in civilian areas. It thereby holds hostage people it claims to represent, hiding behind them and, when that fails, using civilian casualties for propaganda. E.R. □

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# NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST VOL. XXXI, NO. 51 DECEMBER 21, 1987

## EDITORIALS

### The Same, But Different

Do not look for a single cause behind seven straight days of rioting in the West Bank and Gaza Strip—which by the middle of last week left 13 Palestinian Arabs dead and more than 100 wounded. Do not look for a short, illuminating chronology of what may have been the worst disorders in decades. Nevertheless, some facts stand out—and so do requirements for a solution.

The inspiration seems to have come from the successful attack late last month on an Israeli army base by a hang-glider-borne gunman from a PLO faction. The stabbing death of an Israeli businessman in Gaza, the protests over the expulsion of a terrorist suspect and subsequent increased Israeli security activity, then a collision between an Israeli military vehicle and a civilian car in which four Palestinian Arabs died—these generated the sparks.

This time there seems to have been less direct PLO incitement than in similar violence last December. But some rioters did wave the PLO flag; others carried pictures of Chairman Yasir Arafat. Thus, the violence served to put the Arab spotlight—focused on the Iraq-Iran war at the recent Arab League summit—back on the Palestinian Arabs.

But different this time, or part of a trend growing more visible with each outbreak of major unrest—in 1975–1976, in 1980–1981, the spring of 1982, and last year—was the behavior of the participants. As a *Jerusalem Post* reporter observed, “Now it lasts longer, more people are involved, and they are not afraid to confront the army.” Youth attacked Israeli patrols “with stones, bottles, Molotov cocktails and iron bars, knowing the . . . soldiers would shoot back at them, killing and wounding at least some.”

Why? Half of the Arab population in Judea, Samaria and the densely populated Gaza is under 21, as Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy testified last week before a House Foreign Affairs Committee hearing on U.S. policy regarding the territories. He portrayed the youth as increasingly frustrated, over-educated for the limited job opportuni-

ties in the stagnant local economy, identifying with the PLO as a symbol but despairing of its ability to accomplish anything. They feel abandoned by the Arab states and see no way out of Israeli control. And in the background Islamic fundamentalism grows.

In the short-run, a member of the Knesset Defense and Foreign Affairs Committee told *NER*, Israel can manage the cycles of violence. But the long run, especially in Gaza, could bring not riots but insurrection.

What to do? The Arab side—led by the PLO—has long resisted Israeli proposals to move people out of the camps, into better housing nearby. But this would be an important step in relieving some of the frustration which the United States believes leads to violence.

It is past time Arab oil states stopped pumping money into PLO coffers and began supporting seriously Jordanian, U.S. and, yes, Israeli efforts to improve the quality of life of Palestinian Arabs in the territories.

If Palestinian Arabs mean to challenge Israel politically, it is time they stopped rejecting negotiations between Jordan and a non-PLO Palestinian delegation and Israel, stopped rejecting an existing mechanism: the Camp David autonomy provisions. Of course, to do this they will need not an Arafat but a Sadat, a Sadat with followers.

### Restructure, Now!

The proposal by Senators Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii) and Robert Kasten (R-Wis.) to restructure some high interest U.S. military debts of credit-worthy friends such as Israel has been around for more than two years. It would help this country by helping its allies (*NER*, Dec. 14).

Yet adjournment looms, and new proposals have surfaced. Congress must not let the best plan—that of Inouye and Kasten—get delayed or supplanted by inadequate last-minute arrivals. Interest rates are relatively low, but starting to rise. The time for debt restructuring—for Inouye-Kasten—is now. □

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### Disappointing Summit

A Jordanian newspaper criticized the lack of attention paid to the Arab-Israeli conflict at the Reagan-Gorbachev meetings. It urged Arabs to “rid themselves of the delusions” that good conduct and diplomatic action will suffice (*Al-Ray*, Dec. 11).

“To put it bluntly, the Arabs must build their intrinsic power quickly. They must convince the international community of their determination to pursue all options.

They must keep to the road of lengthy struggle as the way to regain their usurped rights.”

### PLO in Cairo

A PLO delegation met with Egypt's Prime Minister, Foreign Minister and a top adviser to President Hosni Mubarak (Middle East News Agency, Dec. 9–10). Egypt, which closed PLO offices throughout the country after being criticized by the organi-

zation in April, recently permitted some to reopen.

At a Cairo rally “in solidarity with the Palestinian people,” opposition Socialist Labor Party leader Ibrahim Shukri thanked “those Egyptian organizations, officials and unions that have burned the Israeli flag and raised the Palestinian banner.” (*Al-Shab*, Dec. 8). Israeli Knesset member Mohammed Miari, of the Progressive List for Peace, participated in the ceremony opening the PLO offices in Cairo. □

## HEARD IN WASHINGTON

# Rabin Signs U.S. Memorandum

Israeli-American relations took another step forward last week when Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci and Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin signed a memorandum of understanding (MOU) enhancing Israel's status as a major non-NATO ally (MNNA). The MOU represents a significant strengthening of Israel's military ties with the United States and enables Israeli firms to bid on a wide range of Pentagon contracts. The MOU will run through 1998.

According to one Washington observer, by eliminating bureaucratic obstacles the agreement allows Israel to "play on a level field" with NATO countries when selling defense equipment to the United States. Of the five MNNA countries, only Israel and Australia have concluded MOU's, while Egypt is expected to sign one soon. Neither South Korea nor Japan has plans to sign an MOU, according to the Pentagon.

The signing ceremony was a welcome beginning to Rabin's three-day visit to Washington, a mission intended to answer questions of strategic cooperation made imperative by the cancellation of the Lavi fighter plane. By allowing additional de-

fense exports, the MNNA agreement could provide additional business for an Israeli defense industry still reeling from the cancellation of the Lavi: Israel Aircraft Industries has laid off 3,000 workers due to the project's termination. Pentagon officials estimate that the government may pay as much as \$400 million in cancellation costs, half to Israeli firms and half to American manufacturers.

In his meetings with top Administration and Congressional leaders, Rabin was expected to address several key issues. First, the Defense Minister sought to conclude an agreement on U.S. participation in a joint program to research and develop an anti-tactical ballistic missile system (ATBM). Such a system would enable both countries to counter a threat from Soviet short-range ballistic missiles. Israel has turned down a Pentagon proposal to share development costs equally as too costly.

Sens. Malcolm Wallop (R-Wyo.) and Howell Heflin (D-Ala.) signed a letter to Carlucci, as did Richard Shelby (D-Ala.), Alfonse D'Amato (R-N.Y.) and Pete Wilson (R-Calif.) urging "a more equitable division of funding" for the ATBM with Isra-

el. Rep. Duncan Hunter (R-Calif.) led an effort in the House with a similar letter with Hal Rogers (R-Ky.), Andy Ireland (R-Fla.), Bob Stump (R-Ariz.), Tommy Robinson (D-Ark.), Jim Courter (R-N.J.), Joel Hefley (R-Colo.) and Curt Weldon (R-Pa.). Reps. Jim Courter (R-N.J.) and Les Aspin (D-Wis.), with Charlie Wilson (D-Tex.), Jack Davis (R-Ill.), Bob Dornan (R-Calif.) and Dave McCurdy (D-Okla.) also wrote Carlucci to secure a more equitable funding to ensure construction of the ATBM.

In a meeting with representatives of General Dynamics, Rabin discussed costs and specifications for 75 to 100 F-16's which will substitute for the Lavi. Administration officials had pledged to help Israel reduce the cost of these planes prior to the Lavi's termination.

The most critical issue raised by Rabin in Washington was the possibility of continued U.S. testing and long-range procurement of Israel's Popeye air-to-surface missile and Israeli participation in the maintenance of U.S. equipment based in Europe.

J.R. □

## HEARD ON THE HILL

# Aid Passes by Record Margin

By the biggest margin in history—286-122—the House passed the Foreign Aid Authorization bill for fiscal 1988 and 1989. Strong bipartisan support contributed to the outcome.

Included in the bill is \$3 billion in annual all-grant aid to Israel and over two dozen other favorable provisions. House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman DANTE FASCELL (D-Fla.), Committee Whip HOWARD BERMAN (D-Calif.), Majority Whip TONY COELHO (D-Calif.) and Freshman Whip JAMES BILBRAY (D-Nev.) were praised by their House colleagues for their work on the Hill. Ranking committee member WILLIAM BROOMFIELD (R-Mich.) supported final passage despite defeat of his substitute bill (which contained most of the same pro-Israel provisions).

In addition to \$1.2 billion all-grant economic assistance for Israel, the authorization bill earmarks \$150 million of the \$1.8 billion in all-grant military assistance to be spent in the United States and \$300 million

in Israel for advanced weapons systems. It also limits the sale of anti-tank shells containing depleted uranium penetrator components to NATO and major non-NATO allies (MNNA) such as Israel and Egypt, and amends the Arms Export Control Reform Act authorizing MNNA countries to join NATO, Australia, New Zealand and Japan in agreements for the cooperative, reciprocal use and furnishing of training not currently available. The United States has an interest in some aspects of Israeli training techniques, especially in the area of special forces.

The Foreign Aid Authorization bill also continues Congressional opposition to arms sales to Jordan in the absence of progress toward peace between Jordan and Israel.

Moreover, the bill includes an *en bloc* amendment by Fascell containing two amendments by Rep. LARRY SMITH (D-Fla.). The first restricts the transfer of Stinger anti-aircraft missiles to NATO and

MNNA countries unless specifically authorized by Congress; the second limits the number of F-15 aircraft in Saudi possession at any one time to 60 and prohibits the transfer of F-15-E (a ground-attack plane) upgrades to Saudi Arabia.

An amendment by Rep. MEL LEVINE (D-Calif.) requiring Congressional review of all missile, rocket, and launcher sales, regardless of the dollar value of the sale, also passed as part of the Fascell *en bloc* amendment. Levine's proposal incorporates the principle of positive Congressional review expressed in the pending Arms Export Control Reform Act. Currently, all sales under \$14 million do not require Congressional notification.

Sen. HOWARD METZENBAUM (D-Ohio) successfully amended a minor Administration-sponsored bill (H.R. 3283) to include restrictions on the number and type of F-15's transferred to Saudi Arabia (identical to the Smith amendment).

(Continued)

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## NEWS ANALYSIS

# Summit Yields No Breakthroughs

**T**he Arab-Israeli peace process was discussed by President Ronald Reagan and Secretary General Mikhail Gorbachev during their recent summit in Washington but no new ground was broken. "Both leaders committed themselves to do what they could to see if the process can be moved along," said a senior Administration official.

According to Yevgenni Primakov, the chief Soviet adviser on regional issues, the peace process was "tackled" during six hours of deliberations in working groups. Both sides emphasized the importance of reducing regional tensions and facilitating the peace process, but "fundamental differences remain," according to an American diplomat.

"We are chiefly interested in bilateral negotiations between the parties," said the State Department source. "We are prepared to look at an international conference as an instrumentality to get to bilateral talks, not as an end in itself. But the Soviets seem to be proposing a conference with plenipotentiary power."

He complained that the Soviets remain ambiguous on their position regarding the PLO's role in such a conference, the power

of the plenary, Syria's involvement and other important issues.

But in a briefing with reporters, regional specialist Primakov was expansive. "We would like to begin our work preparing the peace conference on the Middle East," he said. "Only one country opposes this now, it is Israel. And the United States is not eager to take a position . . ."

He said that Jordan's King Hussein will not "make any separate deals without international cover."

Primakov called for the creation of a Palestinian state and said, "We support the PLO still and forever. The PLO is the only one representative of the Palestinians." He declined to detail the PLO's role in an international conference saying, "It is up to Palestinians to decide and the Israelis to accept."

Primakov reiterated Gorbachev's belief that the lack of relations with Israel is "abnormal" adding only that the renewal of ties is "a process of political decisions." But a Communist Party official in the delegation said that "We are against Zionism as a philosophy." The Party official added that the Soviet Anti-Zionist Committee, a group formed in 1983 to promote anti-Zionism

domestically and abroad, may be "restructured."

He definitively rejected a visit of Israeli officials to the Soviet Union as reciprocity for a Soviet consular delegation currently in Israel. "I don't think they [the Israelis] need the same mission to Moscow because they don't have such problems as we do. We have our property there, we have our citizens there. What do they have?"

Asked whether Moscow would discourage Syria from armed conflict with Israel, the official responded, "We are still for a peaceful solution." He added that Moscow would be willing to discuss the "limitation of arms" to Syria if the peace process would go on . . . and the United States should be involved "because they are the main supplier of arms to Israel."

The Soviet official said, "We have known that the Israeli side . . . possesses nuclear weapons but I will not exclude a situation when the other side will do the same. . . ."

President Reagan personally raised the issue of Jewish emigration with Gorbachev and U.S. officials are cautiously optimistic that restrictions imposed earlier this year may be relaxed. □

## Record Margin . . . Continued

One of the 77 amendments included in the omnibus Senate Continuing Resolution (CR) passed last weekend was Congressional approval for an Administration-planned sale of Stinger missiles to Bahrain. The \$7 million sale was sanctioned after repeated arguments stressing the Iranian threat to Bahrain. The Senate stipulated, however, that all unfired missiles would have to be returned to the United States after 18 months—a safeguard to limit possible surreptitious transfer.

The CR reported out of the Senate Appropriations Committee included an amendment by Sen. DENNIS DECONCINI (D-Ariz.) banning sales of Stinger missiles to Persian Gulf countries. However, DeConcini worked out a compromise with Administration officials when the CR went to the floor for debate.

The full House passed the State Department Authorization bill conference report (H.R. 1777), 366-49. It includes provisions requiring the closure of both the Washington and New York PLO offices; expanding the U.S. commitment to walk out and halt funding to the United Nations if Israel is expelled from that body or any of its agencies or subsidiary bodies; providing \$25 million for refugees resettling in Israel; and specifically excluding members of the PLO

from the liberalization of U.S. visa policies contained in the bill.

The conference report also includes a provision introduced by Sen. PETE WILSON (R-Calif.) barring Soviet participation in any Middle East peace conference until

the U.S.S.R. reestablishes full diplomatic relations with Israel and changes its emigration policy.

Reps. DAN MICA (D-Fla.) and Larry Smith were instrumental in securing passage of these items. □

## Nominee Questioned Closely

**T**he Senate Foreign Relations Committee recently questioned April Glaspie, the nominee for U.S. Ambassador to Iraq, on a variety of Middle East issues including the PLO and the recent Arab League summit. The Committee is scheduled to vote on her confirmation soon.

Sen. JESSE HELMS (R-N.C.) asked Glaspie whether she thought the PLO was a terrorist organization and for her views on closing the PLO offices in the United States.

The nominee contended that the PLO is an organization which contains "constituents that are most definitely terrorists" but also contains individuals and groups such as an Anglican bishop and the Red Crescent who are not terrorists. Helms quipped, "I am sure that Al Capone's crowd had one or two who went to church on Sunday."

Glaspie also does not believe the PLO is a force for moderation or the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians. She called Achille Lauro hijack mastermind Abu Abbas—a PLO executive committee member—"perhaps the most vicious terrorist the world has seen" and stated the PLO will not "earn respect" in the world or "the right to sit down" to negotiate until it "rids itself" of such terrorists.

Sen. MITCH MCCONNELL (R-Ky.) asked Glaspie if "she agreed with many commentators that Iran has replaced Israel as the number one enemy" of the Arab world. She responded that Iran, not Israel, is the "preoccupation" in the Arab world, but added that "the core problem is still there. . . ." Apparently referring to the Palestinian Arab issue, she added: "If we don't deal with it we may fail to gain stability in that region in our lifetime."

## BACK PAGE

## Foregone Conclusion

Last month's "Middle East Consultation" at the Carter Presidential Center in Atlanta was described as a rehearsal for the proposed international conference on the Middle East. It lived up to that billing in at least one respect, drawing ambassadors and other diplomatic specialists from Israel, Jordan, Egypt, Syria, the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Great Britain and France. In short, most of the countries mentioned as conference participants were there—as were Palestinian Arabs, represented by *Al-Fajr* editor Hanna Siniora.

Without intending to, the consultation demonstrated how an international conference might intensify pressure on Israel. With the predictable exception of Israeli Ambassador Moshe Arad (not on the same panels with Siniora or the Syrian ambassador), speakers and questioners from the audience seemed to share an implicit assumption:

The goal of a conference would be not so much to arrange an Arab-Israeli compromise—territorial, functional or otherwise—but to supervise Israel's return to the boundaries it held before 1967. But it was just those 1948 armistice lines—attenuated and vulnerable—that bolstered the pan-Arab dream of crushing the Jewish state with a sudden blow, contributing to the decades of intransigence and to the 1967 Six-Day War.

Jordanian Court Minister Adnan Abu Odeh, in outlining what was termed the moderate Arab approach, pointed to his country's effort to convene a conference as "the only acceptable venue for achieving a comprehensive, just and durable peace . . . on the basis of implementing [U.N. Security Council] Resolutions 242 and 338."

He interpreted 242—adopted just after the 1967 war—as calling for Israeli withdrawal from *all* territory occupied in the war, an interpretation not shared by the U.S. or British diplomats who helped draft the resolution nor by Israel, then or at any time since.

Odeh noted that the Labor alignment's half of Israel's coalition government accepts the idea of a conference—but remained silent on Labor's refusal to endorse a prospective abandonment of all of the West Bank, Golan Heights and Gaza Strip. Instead, ignoring his own maximalist view of 242, he castigated Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, who has vowed not to give up any of *Eretz Yisrael*.

Former President Jimmy Carter expressed his "deepest disappointment" that Jordan did not join the Camp David Accords he mediated between Israel and Egypt. However, Carter praised the 1982 Reagan plan as "a major step forward that

was not at all incompatible with Camp David."

But then-Prime Minister Menachem Begin spurned the Reagan plan, which asserted that Israel possessed no rights of sovereignty at all over the territories—including not only the Golan and Gaza but Judea and Samaria as well.

Syria's Adeb al-Daoudy, Ambassador to the U.N. in Geneva, lamented at length "the great injustice inflicted on the Palestinian people" and the Arab nation as a whole "since the creation of Israel. . . ." The cure for "Israeli expansionism and aggression against the Arab homeland," according to al-Daoudy, would be "complete Israeli withdrawal from all, I repeat, all occupied Arab territory. . . ."

He implied that "all occupied Arab territory" included either land settled by Jews since the 1917 Balfour Declaration or all territory under Israeli control in excess of the statelet envisioned by the 1947 U.N. Partition Plan.

The means to complete Israeli withdrawal, al-Daoudy made clear, would be the international conference. Syria rejects Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres' idea of a conference leading to direct bilateral talks as "a ceremonial shell."

In *The Geopolitics of Israel's Border Question*, a study sponsored by Tel Aviv University's Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Saul Cohen notes that "insisting upon holding on to too much of the territories gained in 1967 could undermine the prospects for a successful peace agreement. Retaining too little of the land that was acquired could endanger future generations should a peace agreement prove ephemeral."

The consultation should have consulted Cohen. E.R. □

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# NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST VOL. XXXI, NO. 50 DECEMBER 14, 1987

## EDITORIALS

### We Told Them So

Many of those opposed to shutting the PLO's Palestine Information Office in Washington and the U.N. observer mission in New York have insisted that closure would violate First Amendment and other constitutional rights.

For example, the *Washington Post* on Dec. 2 blasted a provision of the State Department Authorization bill—adopted the following day by a House-Senate conference committee—which would force the closing of both offices in the United States and forbid American citizens and resident aliens from receiving or spending PLO money or opening offices on its behalf. The *Post* looked to the courts to resist this “terrible, small-minded idea.”

But on Dec. 3, Judge Charles Richey of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia ruled that the State Department acted lawfully in ordering the PLO's Washington office to close under the Foreign Missions Act (*NER*, Dec. 7). The Judge noted that the Secretary of State issued the closure order under his wide foreign policy authority and that the order “was content neutral and unrelated to the suppression of free expression.”

Closing the PLO office “in no way prevents” the American citizens and resident aliens who operated it from “debating political issues with respect to the PLO.” As a foreign political entity, “the PLO has no due process right under our Constitution or laws.”

Last week at the U.N., Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar joined Arab League and PLO spokesmen in protesting the Congressional move which would close the observer mission. That is unfortunate, because ousting the PLO would be a small step in rehabilitating the organization that de Cuellar heads.

### Of the Essence

As Congress moves toward adjournment a crucial legislative item affecting U.S.-Israel relations remains unresolved. The proposal by Sens. Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii) and Robert Kasten (R-Wis.) to permit restructuring of military debts owed to the United States by credit-worthy countries such as Israel requires action by a House-Senate conference committee.

Inouye and Kasten are the chairman and ranking minority member, respectively, of the Senate Appropriations Committee. Their plan—detailed previously by *NER*—would permit debtor countries to borrow money in the private sector at lower rates, with partial federal guarantees, to pay off U.S. government loans incurred during periods of much higher interest rates. Israel's savings could be as high as \$150 million annually for a number of years.

With foreign aid levels effectively frozen for the present, debt relief is urgent. (The \$1.2 billion in economic aid Washington gives Jerusalem annually is roughly cancelled by Israel's debt service to the United States.)

The argument by Treasury Secretary James Baker and others that debt relief would forego some “profit” overlooks the fact that military loans were intended to strengthen America's allies, not drive them into crippling debt. Aid makes the United States stronger by helping its allies to become stronger.

Inouye, Kasten and the Senate Appropriations Committee are to be commended for their work so far. The House-Senate conference committee should be urged to continue the effort, and quickly.

□

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### Denial Issued

Official spokesmen “flatly denied that Israel is selling arms to Iran or had done so since the start of the Irangate affair last year. . . . The denial came after a Reuter report from Stockholm which claimed that Israel had sold millions of dollars worth of explosives, artillery ammunition and shell components to Iran through a Swedish middleman between 1984 and 1986” (*Jerusalem Post*, Dec. 3).

### First-Timers

Karolos Papoulias recently became the first Greek Foreign Minister to visit Israel (Athens Radio, Nov. 30). He said Greece was reviewing the question of extending

formal recognition to Israel but made no commitment. (IDF Radio, Dec. 1)

In addition, Deputy Foreign Minister Takakazu Kuriyama became the first senior Japanese official to include Israel on a Middle East itinerary, meeting with Prime Minister Shamir and Foreign Minister Peres after visiting several Arab countries (*Kol Yisrael*, Nov. 27).

### Decision Criticized

One of Israel's leading military correspondents called Chief of Staff Gen. Dan Shomron's ruling on the attack at Gibor base—which limited direct responsibility to two officers and one enlisted man—“the most lenient possible from the point of view of military law and the responsibility of the

Northern Command for what happened on the night of the hang-glider attack” (*Ha'aretz*, Dec. 3).

Ze'ev Schiff wrote that “over and beyond all this, there is the deeper question of faulty discipline and the criminal complacency constantly gnawing at the IDF [Israel Defense Forces].” He said similar faults were detected during the Lebanon war.

However, Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin noted that no civilians have been murdered by terrorist attacks staged from Lebanon in the past two-and-a-half years. During this time 21 IDF troops, 78 members of the Israeli backed South Lebanon Army and 340 Palestinian Arab and Lebanese Shi'ite terrorists have been killed by Israeli soldiers (IDF Radio, Nov. 30). □



## BACKGROUND

# Ethiopian Jews Face Famine

**J**ewish organizations assert that the famine which is now sweeping Ethiopia will soon reach Jewish villages in the country's Gondar region and are working quietly to alleviate the suffering. The U.N.'s World Food Program estimates that five million of the country's 40 million citizens are threatened with starvation.

The approaching famine has exacerbated fears among Ethiopian Jews in Israel that the estimated 10,000 to 20,000 who remain in Africa—largely women, children and the elderly—may not survive. Activists have called for reunification of these families in Israel, but their pleas to Ethiopian officials have fallen on deaf ears. In September, Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres held an unsatisfactory meeting with his Ethiopian counterpart at the U.N.

Kassa Kebede, Ethiopia's Ambassador to the U.N. in Geneva, addressed the problem of Ethiopian Jewry in a recent Washington news conference. His comments provide the government's official perspective on Ethiopian Jewry.

Kebede called Operation Moses—the 1984 rescue of approximately 8,000 Ethiopian Jews by Israel at the height of Africa's worst drought in decades—"a forcible ab-

duction." And with his country now facing a second period of famine, he invited 1,500 Ethiopian Jewish children in Israel separated from their parents "to come back to Ethiopia and to be reunited with their families."

Israeli officials have said privately that the Ethiopians still feel their national sovereignty was violated by Operation Moses—even though many top-ranking government officials complied with the effort. Kebede said, "What we hate to see is that certain missionary groups come to Ethiopia to tell Ethiopians that they have a home promised by the Bible. They leave, not because they want to, not because they are not Ethiopians, but because they have been given all sorts of promises."

A member of the National Assembly in the Kebede entourage claimed that Operation Moses was a U.S.-backed attempt by Israel to destabilize Marxist Ethiopia.

Kebede himself asserted that Ethiopians are constitutionally guaranteed the right to emigrate as individuals, but that in order for Jews to emigrate as a group they must demonstrate that they are of another nationality. "Studies we have undertaken in Ethiopia clearly determine that the

Falashas are Ethiopians who have accepted Judaism. Now religion is not a cause to abandon Ethiopia. . . ." Ironically, while accepting the Jews as Ethiopians, the official called them "Falashas," the Amharic term for stranger.

A U.S. activist explained that the Ethiopian government retains control of passports and has made it extremely difficult for Jewish families to leave the country.

Kebede, alluding to demands from the Israel's Chief Rabbinate that Ethiopian Jews undergo ritual immersion, contended that "most religious quarters in Israel and around the world question the identity of Ethiopian Jews and this has led some Ethiopian Jews to difficulties, some even to suicide. As a government we are concerned about the safety and welfare of our citizens who are in Israel."

Israeli officials and Jewish activists called Kebede's comments a perverse distortion of reality. "The truth is, it is the Ethiopian government which is keeping families apart, causing Ethiopian Jews pain and exposing them to starvation," said one activist.

## PERSPECTIVE

## Arab Oil Sales to Pretoria

**A** report issued last month by an inter-governmental U.N. group accuses Arab oil-exporting states of "frequent and regrettable violations" of U.N. and Arab League embargoes on petroleum exports to South Africa. The fact-finding panel of 11 oil-producing and importing nations surveyed U.N. member and non-member states for compliance with the U.N.'s 1977 voluntary oil embargo of South Africa. Although the majority of oil-producing nations asserted they were in compliance with the U.N. restriction and the mandatory 1973 Organization of Arab Oil Exporting Countries boycott, the report alleges that Arab exporters sold at least 20 shipments of oil to South Africa in the last several years.

The panel's report is divided into two parts. The first records official responses to questionnaires sent to governments throughout the world regarding their compliance with the oil boycott of South Africa. The second section lists alleged shipments of oil to Pretoria based on data received from the Shipping Research Bureau (SRB),

a Dutch non-profit group. Last year SRB estimated that Persian Gulf nations provided half of South Africa's crude oil needs in 1983 and 1984.

Only 50 nations responded to the panel's questionnaire. Among those conspicuously silent was the United Arab Emirates (UAE), the Arab state which allegedly sold the most oil to Pretoria, making at least ten shipments. Saudi Arabia is accused of selling five shipments; Iran, four; Oman, three; and Egypt, two. (The 1986 SRB study found that between 1983 and 1984 Saudi Arabia and Oman had each sold 13 shipments to Pretoria; the UAE, 11; Iran, seven; Qatar, three; and Kuwait, two.)

In a denial to the board, the Saudi government affirmed that "South Africa, like Israel, is boycotted by Saudi Arabia and cannot obtain a single drop of Saudi Arabian oil."

The U.N. study asserts that oil producers, faced with a glut of oil and a hungry South African market, would rather sell oil surreptitiously than comply with embar-

goes. "It should be noted that the embargo has so far not resulted in the cessation of the supply of oil and petroleum products to South Africa; instead it has led to the expansion of middlemen and others who have been able to circumvent the decisions of most oil-exporting States regarding their prohibition of the export of oil to South Africa."

In a slap at Arab oil exporters, the report says, "South Africa continues to receive supplies of oil from the outside world through frequent and regrettable violations of the embargo."

"It has been noted that many States have not introduced legislation or comparable measures to enforce the oil embargo. In some cases, even declared policies have not been fully observed."

"Technical measures such as 'end user' certification and other restrictive destination clauses in oil contracts . . . are in many cases either not implemented, neglected or subjected to cheating and falsification."

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## HEARD IN WASHINGTON

## Soviet Positions at Summit

**S**oviet Jewry activists, inspired by the prominence of human rights on the summit agenda and massive participation in the Washington march for Soviet Jewry, expressed optimism that Soviet Communist Party General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev would respond to American calls for freer emigration and greater religious freedom during his summit meeting with President Ronald Reagan. But U.S. and Israeli officials doubted that the summit would produce any breakthroughs on the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Prior to the summit, Administration spokesmen had said that the Arab-Israeli conflict would be given less priority than such issues as human rights, the Iran-Iraq war and Afghanistan. By lumping "regional issues" into one working group with human rights and bilateral issues, the Arab-Israeli peace process was pushed even further down the summit agenda. "The problem is there is so little time," said one meeting planner.

U.S. diplomats expressed frustration that the Soviets have been ambiguous about Afghanistan, the Persian Gulf and important aspects of a proposed international conference on the Middle East. A recent meeting between Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs Michael Armacost and senior Soviet official Yuli Vorontsov provided no new answers.

In a position paper issued during the summit, the Soviets affirmed that "the So-

viet triad for Mideastern settlement provides for returning [all] the occupied territories, restoring the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, and ensuring equal security for all countries of the Middle East."

Moscow reiterated its support for an international conference, saying that "separate bilateral deals are also unable to bring nearer the final settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The U.S.S.R. believes that all disputes must be settled by peaceful means, at a special international conference with the equal participation of all parties concerned. . . . Such a conference is to be attended by the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and all sides involved in the conflict, including the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people."

The Soviets spoke favorably of U.N. General Assembly resolutions which make "it clear that the Palestinian people have the right to self-determination and establishment of their own independent state."

The paper states that "successful talks within the framework of an international conference and positive shifts in the state of affairs would create favorable conditions for solving one more problem—restoring diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and Israel."

Even before the summit began, Administration officials expressed concern for human rights in the U.S.S.R. Reagan told

television anchormen, "We've got to make them see that the full human rights—the rights that they agreed to in the Helsinki pact—have got to be observed; the right of the people to live where they want to live." A State Department official added, "We want to get a firm commitment that any Jew who wants to leave the Soviet Union can, and that any Jew who wants to remain, may live as a Jew."

This message was expressed by over 200,000 protesters from around the nation who gathered in Washington to rally for Soviet Jewry. Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Genadi Gerasimov told reporters, "I don't think it was an anti-Soviet demonstration. It was a demonstration on one issue, Jewish emigration, and those who took part in it wanted to make a point and I think they did." Gerasimov added, however, "People asked me where were the Palestinians who are deprived of their native land and why didn't they demonstrate."

The Soviet spokesman echoed a denunciation of the rally by Clovis Maksoud, the Arab League's Permanent Representative to the U.N., who criticized the "disproportionate attention given to the issue of Jewish emigration during the Reagan-Gorbachev summit . . . ignoring completely the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes."

J.R. □

## HEARD ON THE HILL

## Foreign Aid, Defense Appropriations Move

**T**he Senate Appropriations Committee adopted the Foreign Aid Appropriations bill for fiscal 1988, including \$3 billion in all-grant aid for Israel, debt relief, a one-year ban on the sale of Stinger portable anti-aircraft missiles to Persian Gulf countries and numerous other pro-Israel provisions (*NER*, Dec. 7). The bill now becomes part of the Senate Continuing Resolution (CR) for fiscal 1988 and goes to the full Senate.

Senate Appropriations Committee members voted 16-10 to support the Stinger ban despite lobbying by Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci and Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Admiral William Crowe for exemptions for Bahrain and Oman.

Sen. DENNIS DECONCINI (D-Ariz.), author of the ban, was quoted as saying that "the Stinger has become an elite diplomatic tool. . . . If you don't give us a Stinger, you're not really committed to us." He argued that Bahrain's air defense requirements could be met by other weapons.

The full Committee also approved De-

fense Department Appropriations funding that furthers U.S.-Israel strategic cooperation. It includes \$15 million for cooperative research and development for major non-NATO allies such as Israel, funding for second-phase procurement of the Israeli Popeye air-to-ground missile system, and \$75 million for further research and development of the anti-tactical ballistic missile (ATBM) system. Israel is interested in ATBM's to help counter threats from Syria's Soviet-supplied SS-21's.

Sens. ROBERT KASTEN (R-Wis.) and DeConcini wrote to Defense Subcommittee Chairman JOHN STENNIS (D-Miss.) and ranking minority member TED STEVENS (R-Alaska) advocating Popeye funding and cooperative research and development provisions in the Defense Appropriations bill. Signers of the Kasten-DeConcini letter included Sens. DANIEL INOUE (D-Hawaii), JAMES SASSER (D-Tenn.), PATRICK LEAHY (D-Vt.), LOWELL WEICKER (R-Conn.), ALFONSE D'AMATO (R-N.Y.), and WARREN RUDMAN (R-N.H.).

The Defense Appropriations bill is also part of the CR.

The House agreed to language in the Senate's Anti-Terrorism Act, authored by CHARLES GRASSLEY (R-Iowa) and FRANK LAUTENBERG (D-N.J.), calling for the shutdown of PLO offices in Washington and at the U.N. The provision was sponsored in the House by Reps. DAN MICA (D-Fla.) and JACK KEMP (R-N.Y.). Rep. DAN BURTON (R-Ind.) also led the move to instruct House conferees to adopt the Senate language.

Rep. BARNEY FRANK (D-Mass.) offered an amendment to exempt the PLO's observer mission at the U.N., but it failed by an 8-10 vote. Reps. MICA, CONNIE MACK (R-Fla.), OLYMPIA SNOWE (R-Maine) and BENJAMIN GILMAN (R-N.Y.) and Sens. JESSE HELMS (R-N.C.) and JOE BIDEN (D-Del.) spoke in favor of the bill, as did Patricia Stethem, mother of Robert Stethem, the U.S. Navy diver who was killed by Shi'ite Moslem terrorists during the 1985 hijacking of TWA flight 847. □

## BACK PAGE

## Questions of Sovereignty

Recently American diplomats including Ambassador Thomas Pickering waged a public campaign to prevent Israel from expelling a naturalized U.S. citizen, Mubarak Awad.

Washington also reportedly has cautioned Israel—this time quietly—not to stage a reprisal attack on Syria or on terrorist bases belonging to Syrian-backed PLO factions in Lebanon. The reprisal would be for the deadly assault by a gunman from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command on Israel's Gabor base near Kiryat Shemona.

Meanwhile, a senior official of the European Community (EC), the political side of the Common Market, warned Israel that if it does not permit the export of West Bank and Gaza Strip produce directly to Western Europe—free of Israeli jurisdiction—a crisis looms.

In the first case, Israel's Interior Ministry ruled that Awad, a Palestinian Arab, had given up his Israeli citizenship by virtue of 15 years' residence in the United States. Accordingly, Awad must now leave Jerusalem, where he has been living for several years on a tourist visa which he has periodically renewed. During that time he founded the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence in east Jerusalem.

The *Jerusalem Post* noted that "while Awad practices 'non-violence,' he also advocates a strategy of civil disobedience that many clearly consider a threat to the state." This strategy not only urges Palestinian Arabs in the territories not to pay Israeli taxes, but also advocates that they cut utility lines and acknowledges that non-violent resistance often leads to violent struggle.

At press time the Interior Ministry had not acted on Awad's expulsion, and the Foreign Ministry reportedly was trying to avoid further open confrontation with U.S. diplomats.

Meanwhile, the *New York Times* said that the United States asked "both Israel and Syria to show restraint" following the killing of six Israeli soldiers and the wounding of eight others. The *Times* said the appeal was not made in connection with the Reagan-Gorbachev summit but in response to a Jordanian request.

However, the United States surely wants to avoid the complication of an attack by an Israeli ally on Moscow-backed Syria or Syrian-supported terrorists during Gorbachev's Washington stay.

In addition, the United States has attempted to improve relations with Damascus recently. The Reagan Administration may hope to reduce obstacles to Israeli-Jordanian/Palestinian negotiations and to make use of Syria's occupation of much of

Lebanon, where several Americans are still held hostage.

As for the EC, Commissioner Claude Cheysson was quoted by the *Jordan Times* as warning Israel "that it risks a major crisis in relations with the EC if it refuses to allow Palestinians in the occupied territories to export their produce independently to the 12-member community."

The paper added that "the EC seems determined not to ratify an agreement cutting tariffs on key Israeli exports unless Israel allows Palestinian growers to market their produce independently in the European market. That could be a blow to Israel's citrus and flower growers, who export heavily to Europe. . . ."

These three cases are more than the sum of their parts:

Israel might be wise to let Awad stay, testing whether his approach can lessen the influence of the PLO and its rhetoric and practice of "armed struggle"—or whether Awad's activism complements or is destroyed by terrorism. Nevertheless, imagine Israel publicly intervening on behalf of an Israeli advocate of civil disobedience about to be kicked out of the United States.

Perhaps a superpower summit is not the best time for Israel to hit Syria or its clients—but no doubt they must, eventually, be hit. The attack at Gabor, after all, was an act of war.

And it ill-becomes the EC—many of whose members still discriminate against Israel in military and commercial trade—to lecture Jerusalem about the export of fruits and vegetables from territory over which Israel maintains legal authority as a result of the 1967 Six-Day War.

Friends as well as foes should remember that Israel is a sovereign nation. Like any other country, it has the right—indeed the obligation—to decide its own policy. E.R. □

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## EDITORIAL

### Message to Mikhail

*Glasnost*, as Boris Yeltsin learned two weeks ago, is still more a phrase than a policy. The Russian word for "openness" has become the label for changes in Soviet domestic and foreign policy under General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. But Yeltsin—formerly the powerful boss of the Communist Party in Moscow—apparently took *glasnost* a bit too far. At a meeting presided over by Gorbachev himself, Yeltsin was savagely criticized by his colleagues and booted out.

He should have listened to Ida Nudel. About the same time as Yeltsin lost his job, Nudel warned the United States and Israel: "Danger is nearing. I plead with all people of influence. Keep your eyes on the Soviet Union. Please look carefully at what is happening and do not be fooled by *glasnost*."

Nudel survived years of Siberian banishment, internal exile, and other forms of official oppression before winning her battle to emigrate to Israel earlier this year. On Dec. 6 she and other former refusenik leaders, including Natan Sharansky, Vladimir Slepak and Yuli Edelshtein, will lead tens of thousands of supporters of human rights in general and Soviet Jews in particular in a Washington march and rally. A 1 p.m. procession will go from the Ellipse eastward to a rally opposite the Capitol reflecting pool.

In addition to the four former refuseniks, those scheduled to appear include Helen Jackson, widow of former Sen. Henry Jackson, co-author of the Jackson-Vanik amendment; Israel's Ambassador to the United States, Moshe Arad; Nobel Prize laureate Elie Wiesel; Catholic and Protestant clergy; civil rights activists; and leaders of several ethnic groups. The event will precede by one day the Washington

summit between President Ronald Reagan and Gorbachev. Organizers want to send the General Secretary a message:

Yes, changes seem to be under way in the Soviet Union. Prisoners of Zion have been freed and a number of long-time refuseniks have been permitted to emigrate. The number of Jews allowed to leave the Soviet Union has risen sharply in recent months, and diplomatic contacts between Moscow and Jerusalem also have increased.

Nevertheless, there has been very little real progress. The number of emigrants remains far below the levels of the 1970's. While groups in the United States and Israel working on behalf of Soviet Jewry speak not only of the 12,000 or more refuseniks but also of approximately 400,000 others who have taken the initial step to emigrate, Moscow seems to recognize only the first category. New procedures may bar potential applicants as well as those already trying to leave.

Meanwhile, increased contacts with Israel have not yet translated into a renewal of diplomatic relations. Neither is it clear yet that the Kremlin accepts a role in Middle East diplomacy in which it would not block bilateral agreements reached between Israel and its neighbors.

The status of Soviet Jewry and the issue of Soviet-Israeli relations belong on the agenda of the superpower summit. The first is a question of human rights, and, as John F. Kennedy asked, what are international relations but questions of human rights. As for the second, Soviet willingness to play a constructive role in regional conflicts certainly must reflect its worldwide goals.

Dec. 6 is a chance for all of us to be a part of history, to reinforce the favorable stance of the Reagan Administration on Soviet Jewry and Soviet-Israeli relations, and to send a message to Mikhail. □

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### Japanese in Israel

A Japanese trade delegation is visiting Israel and it is hoped that Israel will double its exports to that country in the next two years, according to Yaakov Kohen, Israel's ambassador to Japan (*Jerusalem Post*, Nov. 12). Israeli businesses are being encouraged to engage in dealings with medium-sized Japanese firms that are less concerned with Japan's reported compliance with the Arab trade boycott than larger corporations.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir informed the delegation that Israel is agreeable to any kind of cooperation with the

Japanese government (IDF Radio, Nov. 13). Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon told the business group that Israel has much to offer Japanese companies, especially because of its free trade agreements with the United States and Europe.

### Nasserites Revealed

Egyptian police have broken up an underground revolutionary group thought to be responsible for the assassinations of two Israelis and an attack on American diplomats in Cairo (*The Washington Post*, Nov. 17). The group, Egypt's Nasserite Revolu-

tion, drew inspiration from the fervent nationalism of former President Gamal Abdel Nasser, and may have involved the president's son, Khaled Abdel Nasser, who has fled the country.

Sixteen alleged members of the group have been arrested, including three colonels. According to an Egyptian, official the group was financed by Libya.

Group member Essam Sayed, brother of the cell's leader, exposed its activities in a clandestine meeting with American diplomats. U.S. officials declined comment on the story. □



## NEWS ANALYSIS

# Arabs Unify Against Iran

**E**gypt, Iraq and Jordan appeared to be the winners, Syria and non-Arab Iran the losers at the recently concluded Arab League summit in Amman, Jordan. Originally called by Arab leaders to create a united front against Iranian aggression, the meeting heralded the readmission of Egypt to the heart of Arab politics, and marked a growing realization that Iran is the Arabs' main enemy, not Israel. But diplomats and analysts cautioned that it remains to be seen whether rhetorical commitments will yield practical results.

In what some U.S. officials called a "remarkable" show of unity, Iranian ally Syria joined fellow Arab League members in condemning Iranian aggression against Iraq, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. The summit agreed to allow members to renew bilateral ties with Cairo, but did not readmit Egypt to the League. The League also endorsed a U.N.-sponsored conference on the Arab-Israeli conflict.

An Arab observer said that the summit did not represent an ideological shift by the Gulf states as much as a flexing of their muscle. "They have had this power for the past five or six years but were waiting for an event to finally say, 'We've had it,'" he said. "They finally called Syria's bluff." Arab radicals, Syria and Libya, will no longer have veto power over their Gulf patrons, he said.

Syria, a nation in deep financial trouble, was induced to support the condemnation of Iran—and to reconcile with its rival, Iraq—by a threat that its hundreds of millions of dollars in annual subsidies from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates would be cut off. It is also reported that cooperation at the summit would mean an infusion of \$2 billion in overdue aid from the Gulf states.

One Arab observer questioned the viability Syrian-Iraqi rapprochement: "There is such enmity with the Iraqis and there has been so much blood shed that I find it difficult to believe that they will kiss and make up."

Analysts explained that the Arab League's rapprochement with Egypt was motivated largely by a need for Cairo's assistance in the Gulf war. Egypt is the most populous Arab nation and maintains a standing army second in size only to Iraq's. Although it has not had diplomatic relations with the Gulf states—except Oman—since they severed ties following the Camp David Accords, Egypt has provided millions of dollars worth of weapons and hundreds of military advisers to the Gulf. Within hours of the summit's conclusion, the United Arab Emirates dispatched its Foreign Minister to Cairo to announce the resumption of relations. Kuwait, Iraq, Morocco, North Yemen, Bahrain, Saudi Ara-

bia and Qatar quickly followed.

A State Department official pointed out that Egypt was not forced to make any concessions on its relationship with Israel to regain Arab recognition, nor did the summit's final communiqué condemn the Camp David Accords. But an Israeli official worried, "We hope that we will not have to pay the bill for this rapprochement in colder relations with Egypt."

An Arab analyst denied that by accepting Egypt, Arab states also accepted Camp David. "This is not an acceptance of the peace treaty. It is just the moderates saying that breaking with Egypt is not doing their cause or the Palestinians' cause any good."

The League also recommended "that peace in the Middle East will not be achieved except through the recovery of all the occupied Arab territories; foremost among them is al-Quds al-Sharif [Jerusalem], and the restoration of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people . . ." The final communiqué denounced "the Israeli danger that threatens the whole of the Arab nation and subjects its very existence and future to danger."

What will the Arab states achieve with their new-found unity? "Nothing," said an Arab academic. "Beyond the rhetoric, the atmosphere, the signatures, the joviality, the handshakes, I think that nothing will happen in the coming year." J.R. □

## HEARD IN WASHINGTON

## Iran-Contra Report Mentions Israel

**T**he publication of the Congressional Iran-Contra investigating committee report last week refocused attention on the sale of arms by the United States to Iran and the diversion of profits to the Nicaraguan resistance.

Both the majority (Democratic) and minority (Republican) versions show that Israel's involvement was stimulated by separate overtures in 1985 from Iranian arms merchant Manucher Ghorbanifar and U.S. National Security Council (NSC) consultant Michael Ledeen working for then-National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane. When Ledeen asked then-Prime Minister Shimon Peres for assistance, the Israeli leader agreed to sell weapons to Iran, providing the sale had U.S. approval. Both governments saw the sale as an opportunity to win the release of U.S. hostages held in Lebanon, and as a means to win influ-

ence in the Iranian government.

Before the Israelis would participate, says the report, they demanded "a clear, express, and binding consent by the U.S. Government." McFarlane testified that he first received President Reagan's approval in July 1985 while the President was recuperating from surgery. In August, Reagan again orally authorized the first sale of weapons to Iran, over the objections of Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and Secretary of State George Shultz.

When a shipment of HAWK missiles was proposed in November, Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin again demanded specific U.S. approval. According to McFarlane, the President assented.

By December 1985, the President had decided that future sales to the Iranians would come directly from U.S. supplies.

NSC aide Lt. Colonel Oliver North first

used money from the Iran operation to fund the Nicaraguan resistance in November 1985. In December, he held a meeting with Israeli Defense officials in which he revealed his intention to divert funds from the arms sales to Nicaragua. North later testified, however, that the idea was first broached to him by Ghorbanifar.

The majority report concluded: "Israel's sponsorship of the Iran initiative, and of Ghorbanifar as an intermediary, carried great weight with the President and his advisers." But both reports emphasize that the President and the Secretary of State were aware that U.S. and Israeli interests diverged. The minority report concluded, "We believe the U.S. Government responsibly made its own judgments, and its own mistakes." □

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## N.E.R. SPECIAL

# Diplomats Duel in Atlanta

**M**iddle East canards die hard, as scores of diplomats, academics and journalists were reminded last week during a conference at the Carter Center of Emory University.

The meeting was titled "A Middle East Consultation: A Look to the Future," but Adee al-Daoudy, Syrian Ambassador to the United Nations in Geneva, had his eyes on the past. During a lengthy presentation—former President Jimmy Carter, as moderator, whispered a request to al-Daoudy to be brief—the Ambassador asserted, "In 1967 Israel launched the war and conquered territory of three Arab nations . . . then pretended to be the victim."

Al-Daoudy argued that the disposition of the territories and the rights of the Palestinian Arabs have been the root of the Arab-Israeli conflict, not Arab rejection of Israel's right to exist. Any international conference on the Middle East must focus on Palestinian rights, he asserted.

"We did not accept Camp David as a framework—forget about it!" Al-Daoudy asserted. "You have to start fresh if you want a viable solution . . . and Israel must forget the Biblical history—Judea and Samaria. . . . Palestinian rights are to be defended."

Speaking from the audience, veteran U.S. diplomat Philip Habib responded: "The security and recognition of Israel ought to be part of the conference, and that has not been mentioned here."

Habib said that there is wide agreement that an international conference is the quickest means to advance the peace process and he called on Israel to discuss how

best to reach such a conference. However, he conceded that "it looks like elections will have to take place" in the United States and Israel before a conference is convened. In the meantime, he said, "we can lay the groundwork."

Habib asked al-Daoudy if Syria could accept a Jordanian formulation which calls for Palestinian Arab representation in a conference, but not PLO participation. Habib maintained, "If you insist on the PLO, you won't have a conference within the next two to three years. . . . No Israeli government will survive in my opinion which would accept direct PLO participation."

Al-Daoudy, noting that he has been involved diplomatically with the Arab-Israeli conflict for 35 years, said, "I want the agenda [of the international conference] to put down the right to Palestinian statehood . . . to Palestinian self-determination."

"Why do you come to the victim and ask him to recognize the aggressor?" Al-Daoudy said to some applause.

Habib replied that "the United States again and again has said that the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people must be respected. . . . Now, what about [Arab recognition of] Israel?"

Israel acknowledged the rights of the Palestinian Arabs in the Camp David Accords, Habib pointed out. "So, don't mislead this audience about U.S. policy."

Earlier in the program, Jordanian Minister of Court Adnan Abu Odeh confirmed that in discussions with Israeli and Jordanian leaders last month U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz suggested a plan

whereby the United States and the Soviet Union would provide international backing for discussions between Israel and a Jordanian-Palestinian Arab delegation. These talks would have been a spin-off of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit. Syria also would have been invited to participate. "We thought this was not really an international conference," Abu Odeh said.

Israeli Ambassador Moshe Arad, who also spoke in Atlanta, confirmed reports that both Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres gave the Americans some flexibility in pursuing a U.S.-Soviet umbrella for talks.

Arad praised Carter for his "dominant role" in achieving the Camp David Accords, and said, "Israel remains entirely committed to Camp David as we believe Egypt is and hope the United States is as well." Although neither Jordan nor Palestinian Arabs signed the accords, they provide a framework for the resolution of problems between Israel, Jordan and Palestinian Arabs, Arad said.

He stressed that Jerusalem seeks direct, bilateral talks with its Arab neighbors and said Palestinian Arabs should be represented in a joint delegation with Jordan. Referring to the PLO, Arad added, "There is no room for any organization which preaches and practices violence or terrorism." And "no Palestinian state should be constituted" on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Another speaker, Hanna Siniora, editor of a pro-east Jerusalem newspaper, called for such a state in his generally well-received remarks.

E.R. □

## HEARD ON THE HILL

### Aid Discussed; Carlucci Recommended

**T**he House has begun debate on the Foreign Aid Authorization Bill for fiscal 1988 and 1989 which contains \$3 billion annually in all-grant aid for Israel plus several other pro-Israel provisions. The House is expected to conclude debate and vote on the full aid authorization measure in early December.

The Senate has not scheduled floor action on its version of the bill, which passed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in April by a margin of 17-2.

Rep. STEPHEN SOLARZ (D-N.Y.) offered an amendment to the Foreign Aid Authorization Bill to support the sale of Stinger anti-aircraft missiles to Bahrain, but Rep. LARRY SMITH (D-Fla.) blocked it.

Smith and Rep. MEL LEVINE (D-Calif.) offered a successful amendment restricting the transfer of Stingers. Solarz said that Smith's and Levine's argument that Stingers sold to Bahrain could fall into the hands

of terrorists is "sheer hogwash. . . . They've [Bahrain] made arrangements for terrorists not to get the Stingers." Solarz then spoke strongly in support of selling the missiles to the Persian Gulf island sheikdom.

The Senate Armed Services Committee recommended that the full Senate confirm National Security Adviser Frank Carlucci as the next Secretary of Defense.

In response to a question by committee member Sen. RICHARD SHELBY (D-Ala.), Carlucci said he was "delighted to have Israeli involvement" in a U.S. program to develop anti-tactical ballistic missiles (ATBM's). The official stated that Israel has rejected a Pentagon offer to split development costs for the project on a 50%-50% basis as too burdensome.

Carlucci "sympathized" with Israel's economic situation and said that although the United States would like to assume a

"greater share" of the overall cost, the Administration could not give a firm proposal until Congress sets the level of funding for the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). He agreed with Shelby that Israeli expertise would aid the United States.

Sen. JESSE HELMS (R-N.C.) wrote to Rep. DAN MICA (D-Fla.) asking him to join in efforts to persuade the House-Senate conferees working on the State Department Authorization Bill to retain Senate language calling for closure of the PLO's observer mission at the U.N. The Senate version calls for closure of both the PLO's Washington and New York offices.

Helms said he understood an effort would be undertaken to get the provision covering the U.N. office stricken from the bill. Mica was a co-sponsor with Rep. JACK KEMP (R-N.Y.) of the original legislation to shut PLO offices in the United States. □

BACK PAGE

# After a Decade, Division

(First of two related articles.)

**O**n Nov. 19, 1977 Egyptian President Anwar Sadat flew to Israel. His meetings with Prime Minister Menachem Begin and other Israeli leaders and his address to the Knesset shattered monolithic Arab rejection of the Jewish state. After 30 years of repeated refusals of open, direct contacts, an historic step had been taken which would lead to the Camp David Accords and the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty.

A decade later Israeli, Egyptian and U.S. officials still agree with the interpretation given at the time: Sadat's trip was a momentous event, one which opened the way for Arab-Israeli peace. But Israeli and Egyptian officials now hold nearly opposing views on the status of relations between their two countries.

"It is a cold peace . . . that's the general line," said an Israeli source recently. Although Egyptians do not say so formally, this "has been the line laid down by [President Hosni] Mubarak since he came to power—put peace on hold." This is true especially in nine areas—including culture, tourism and trade—in which the Accords called for normalization.

An Egyptian source disagreed strongly. "The expression 'cold peace' has become out of date. It's unfortunate, a description of relations that are not growing. [But] I see them as growing . . . not in cold storage."

The official cited the "definitely growing" number of Israeli tourists and experts in many fields, "especially agriculture and land reclamation" arriving in Egypt, and high-level visits. Among the latter: last year's Alexandria meeting between Mubarak and Israel's then-Prime Minister (now Foreign Minister) Shimon Peres, and a recent trip to Israel by Egyptian Foreign Minister Esmet Abdel Meguid.

"Is Hosni Mubarak representing all the policies of peace with Israel that Sadat stood for? Absolutely," the Egyptian official stated.

He noted that when Mubarak spoke to Parliament last month to open his second term, "he listed three points" which will guide him—peace, democracy and economic development. "And peace came first. He utterly refused to compromise on the question of peace."

Apparently alluding to alleged attempts by other Arab states to bribe Egypt into breaking its treaty with Israel, the source said "there were many [suggested] deals in the last six years" to induce Egypt "to compromise on this, but we didn't. I don't know how Israelis can't see this."

He asserted that the recent Arab League summit—permitting states which broke relations with Cairo because of the treaty with Israel to restore them—"validated Egypt's position on the question of

peace. . . . The Arab attitude toward Israel has greatly changed since Sadat went to Israel."

This change occurred "not because of the Iran-Iraq war [and the Arab states need for Egypt as a counter to Persian Iran] but because the biggest Arab country made peace with Israel . . . and proved it could be viable." The treaty—and Israel's total withdrawal from the Sinai peninsula—"proved that once Israel made a commitment, it carries out its commitment."

The official cited resolutions of the 1982 Fez summit, which called for peace between all Middle Eastern states—without mentioning Israel by name—and the 1985 agreement between Jordan's King Hussein and PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat to pursue joint diplomacy as by-products of Sadat's initiative. "Arafat . . . made many concessions then [and] put his career on the line," but "did not find a sufficient response on the Israeli side." [Hussein froze the pact with Arafat when the latter refused to endorse unambiguously U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.]

The official said he was not familiar with statements attributed to Defense Minister Abdel Halim Abu Ghazallah that Egypt still considers Israel its first potential military threat and that inter-Arab defense commitments take priority over Camp David. "What about action? No action has been taken by Egypt that is in any sense prejudicial to Israel. . . ."

Asked about a possible invitation for Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir to visit Egypt, the official said, "I know for a fact Shamir will be welcomed, if he has something to talk about as significant as Peres did." Peres and Mubarak agreed on the need for an international conference on the Middle East, which Shamir opposes.

E.R. □

(Next: An Israeli critique.)

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# NEAR EAST REPORT

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## EDITORIAL

### Keeping a Commitment

High-level U.S. and Israeli teams are to meet in Washington this week for regular, biannual Joint Security Assistance Planning (JSAP) and Joint Political-Military Group (JPMG) sessions. The meetings follow closely the return from Israel of Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Armitage and together are the formal mechanism of the strategic cooperation agreement signed by Washington and Jerusalem four years ago.

Despite the greatly increased official cooperation which has developed between the United States and Israel since 1983, the JSAP and JPMG delegations face a serious problem on a vital project. As things stand, Israel will not be able to continue work on a joint U.S.-Israeli anti-tactical ballistic missile (ATBM) program.

A recent Pentagon proposal would place the ATBM funding formula at 50%-40%-10%: The United States would pay for half the project directly, Israel would put up 40% out of its \$1.8 billion in annual U.S. military aid, and Jerusalem would supply the other 10% from domestic funds.

But from 1984 on, Israel has undergone the serious budget-cutting Washington is now considering. The fiscal knife has cut sharply into the Israel Defense Forces. Manpower levels, training hours, and procurement have all been reduced even as the armies of neighboring Arab states modernize and grow. And the new Defense Ministry budget may contain more reductions. Therefore, Israeli officials had been looking at an 80%-20% or even 90%-10% American-Israeli ratio to be able to continue the impressive progress made up to now in ATBM research.

As *NER* reported previously, Israel needs an ATBM

shield against the threat of Soviet-built SS-21's based in Syria. These accurate, short-range missiles can carry chemical and nuclear, as well as conventional, warheads. A workable ATBM defense would also benefit U.S. NATO allies, including Turkey and Western European NATO nations who face similar dangers from short-range Soviet missiles. The proposed U.S.-Soviet agreement to eliminate medium-range ballistic missiles *increases* the importance of short-range missiles and the need for a defense against them.

In Israel, Armitage reaffirmed that the United States stands by commitments made to Israel to ease the economic and military pain of Jerusalem's cancellation of the Lavi fighter plane project. One way those commitments can be honored is to reexamine the recommendation on ATBM funding.

Israel has pioneered ATBM research. To continue the progress, it needs U.S. help. As National Security Adviser, Frank Carlucci supported finding a formula which would ensure Israel's participation in the project. Now, as Secretary of Defense-designate, he has an opportunity to encourage its development.

In Congress, support for the ATBM program crosses party lines. Committees working on the fiscal 1988 Defense Authorization Bill earlier this month earmarked \$75 million in two separate accounts for continued ATBM work.

At this week's bilateral meetings on strategic cooperation, both sides—ideally able to count on the new Secretary of Defense and on Congress—should hammer out a formula that lets the crucial ATBM program go forward. This project is too important to get lost in the bureaucratic thicket of Defense Department decision-making. □

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### Arab Summit

As leaders of the Arab League met in Jordan, a spokesman for the Abu Nidal terrorist group claimed to have hijacked a yacht off the Israeli coast (United Press International, Nov. 9). A spokesman for Abu Nidal said that the hijacking was intended to embarrass Jordan's King Hussein.

Saudi Arabia called the Arab summit to arrive at a unified strategy to confront non-Arab Iran, but other issues, such as Egypt's role in the Arab world and an international conference on the Middle East, were expected to be put on the agenda. Hussein was also to serve as intermediary between Syria's Hafez Assad, an ally of Iran, and

Iraq's Saddam Hussein. PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat was also expected to try to improve relations with Assad and Hussein.

### Mubarak on Terror

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, whose Interior Ministry has battled underground Islamic fundamentalists, said in an interview that extremism is a world phenomenon. "We are fighting terrorism like any disease" (Middle East News Agency, Nov. 5).

However, Mubarak also told the Paris-based *Al-Watan al-Arabi* that, contrary to Israeli claims, the PLO is not a terrorist organization. He emphasized the need for the PLO's presence at an international con-

ference on the Middle East and said Yasir Arafat is the best man to represent the Palestinian Arabs.

### Bourguiba Ousted

The 31-year reign of Tunisian "President for Life" Habib Bourguiba came to an end last week in a bloodless coup launched by recently appointed Prime Minister Zine Abidine Ben Ali (Associated Press, Nov. 9). Bourguiba, 84, reportedly suffered from progressive senile amnesia. Ben Ali announced that the moderate North African country would maintain its pro-Western posture. In his first major gesture as president, Ben Ali freed from house arrest Habib Achour, former leader of Tunisia's main labor union. □



## BACKGROUND

# States in Partnership with Israel

Last month, American business had a chance to learn about operating in Israel at a seminar in Richmond, Va. A few days later, the director of volunteer services for the Israeli Minister of Labor and Social Affairs visited Virginia to study how the public and private sectors in the Old Dominion handle their volunteer work.

Both events were organized by the Virginia-Israel Commission (VIC), established by Gov. Gerald Baliles shortly after he took office last year. Baliles had visited Israel and been struck by the similarities in economic development and social growth between Israel and his state.

In addition, VIC sponsored a symposium for Israeli and Virginia doctors on cancer-related research, arranged meetings between Israeli teenagers and Virginia legislators, hosted representatives from the Israeli Ministry of Police, promoted tourism, and assisted with the Virginia Education Department's adoption of a Holocaust curriculum.

Baliles issued his executive order establishing VIC to help commemorate Israel's 40th anniversary. The commission, he said, has generated "a plan for a year of shared ideas and efforts which hold great potential for Israelis, Virginians and ultimately all Americans."

VIC activities for 1988 will feature a leadership tour to Israel, headed by Baliles, for Independence Day celebrations. Foreign Minister Shimon Peres described

the commission's work as an "historic step in the broadening of relations between the citizens of Virginia, specifically, and the United States, in general."

Funding for the programs comes in part from the state's General Assembly, according to Ric Arenstein, a top aide to Baliles. The legislature allocated \$200,000—with the stipulation that it be matched by private funds. It was, and VIC was able to budget more than \$450,000.

The Texas-Israel Exchange (TIE) was a forerunner in cooperation between individual American states and Israel. Launched by Agriculture Commissioner Jim Hightower during his 1984 trip to Israel and authorized by a 1985 memorandum of agreement between Israeli Deputy Agriculture Minister Abraham Katz-Oz and Hightower, TIE is solely an agricultural interchange.

Progress in TIE's first project, "Blueprint Farm of the Future," at Laredo Junior College, resulted from the "pioneering leadership of the people of Laredo, coupled with the technical expertise" of the Israelis," Hightower said.

Rep. Albert Bustamante (D-Texas), a member of the TIE steering committee, said he has "an active interest" in the exchange and is "working hard to multiply its success" into similar efforts in education and other areas. He welcomed a \$125,000 grant from the private Meadows Foundation, noting that "the Meadows Foundation

is not a Jewish affiliation; this shows strong support for the exchange throughout the entire community."

Several other states have followed the lead of Virginia and Texas. California's Lt. Gov. Leo McCarthy initiated and now chairs the California-Israel Technology Exchange (CITE) and Meir Ben-Meir, Director of Israel's Agriculture Ministry and Israeli chairman for CITE, is negotiating a memorandum of agreement with McCarthy to officially authorize the program.

CITE will focus on agriculture. Its first project, planned for California's Central Valley, will revise water usage systems.

Kentucky has put together an ad hoc committee—the Israel-Kentucky Exchange on Agricultural Technology (IKE-Agritech). State Rep. Sam McElroy anticipates that Agricultural Commissioner Ward Burnette will make IKE-Agritech a priority. Emphasizing the potential benefits, U.S. Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) said that "the future of agriculture is vitally dependent upon international cooperation and we can only gain from an exchange between Kentucky and Israel."

Washington, Georgia and Oregon are among other states in the early stages of establishing exchanges with Israel.

Hillary Mann □

*Mann, a student at Brandies University, was an NER intern.*

## HEARD IN WASHINGTON

## Herzog's Historic Visit

Israeli President Chaim Herzog was in Washington last week, the first Israeli head of state to visit the United States. His trip, heavy in ceremony, was to highlight the 40th anniversary of Israel and the strong ties which characterize U.S.-Israel relations.

Herzog met with President Reagan, and other sessions were scheduled with Vice President Bush and Secretary of State Shultz. In his welcoming remarks to the Israeli President, Reagan said that the United States remains committed to achieving peace in the Middle East: "We share the conviction that Israel can be secure and realize its full promise and genius only when security and lasting peace are achieved."

In an address to a joint meeting of Congress—one of few to host a foreign statesman—the Israeli President noted that his visit coincided with the anniversary of Kristalnacht, the night in 1938 when the Nazis destroyed Jewish businesses and institutions throughout Germany, and the anniversary of the 1975 United Nations resolution which equates Zionism with racism. Herzog, who was then Israel's Ambassador to the U.N., thanked Congress for passing H.J. Resolution 385 calling on the U.N. to revoke the scurrilous resolution.

Herzog told Congress that he stood before them as a representative of "a grateful nation and a staunch ally." Noting that U.S. aid to Israel "is extended as a function of the vital interests of the United States,"

Herzog added, "Thanks to your aid my small country is capable of defending all that you stand for in terms of human freedom and dignity in an area buffeted by the winds of extremism and fanaticism." □

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## NEWS ANALYSIS

# Israel Rethinks the Gulf

For most of Israel's history, Iraq has been the Jewish state's most implacable enemy and Iran one of its most important allies. Israeli officials have sought contacts with the Iranians whenever possible, and have seen the seven-year-old Iran-Iraq war as a convenient way to tie up two potential foes.

But now Israeli officials are rethinking their traditional positions. In his U.N. General Assembly speech, Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said that both nations posed an equal threat to Israel and he called for an end to the Gulf war.

A "senior member" of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's Likud coalition recently told the *Wall Street Journal*, "If the Iraqis are ready to have some rapprochement, I think they will find some interest here." The official also reportedly said that if Baghdad were to call publicly for an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict and terrorism, Israel would consider providing intelligence on Iranian-backed terrorist groups, assuring the security of an Iraqi oil pipeline which runs through Jordan to the port of Aqaba on the Israeli border, and eventually opening diplomatic relations.

But Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin told foreign journalists in Tel Aviv that although Iran is currently Israel's "bitter enemy," the friendly relations that existed between

the two countries for 28 years could resume following Ayatollah Khomeini's demise.

The Israeli debate on the Gulf has been joined by academics, Knesset members, Cabinet-level officials and members of both the Defense and Foreign Ministries. Positions transcend party lines.

The reassessment was prompted by a number of factors: First, Washington's growing involvement in the Gulf conflict and its apparent tilt toward Iraq have put Israeli policymakers at odds with their American counterparts. Second, an Iranian victory would further destabilize the Gulf and "incalculably alter" the strategic environment in which Israel exists, according to one analyst. Third, Iran continues to send men, weapons and \$60 million to \$70 million annually to anti-Israel terrorists in Lebanon. Finally, Israel fears the magnetism of Iranian-style fundamentalism among Arabs in Israel, the territories, Egypt and other states.

But Israeli policymakers are also encouraged by the fact that Iraq has discarded its radical, anti-Israel rhetoric of years past in favor of a more moderate tone. Before he returned to Baghdad to become Deputy Foreign Minister, former Iraqi Ambassador to the United States, Nizar Hamdoon, told *NER*, "We do not hope there will be another Arab-Israeli war. . . . I don't think

[the Arabs] are in favor of throwing the Jews into the sea as the slogans said 20 years ago. . . . We are looking for a reasonable solution to the Palestinian question."

Some Israeli policymakers discount such pronouncements as a ploy—unsupported by high-level officials—to win American support. "It's not that we haven't looked for a new [Iraqi] attitude; we just didn't see it," a Knesset member told the *Wall Street Journal*. But Western analysts and others have seen an "important shift" in Iraq's attitude toward Israel.

The pro-Iranian school contends that were the war to end, Iraq's 1.5 million-man army, armed with the most sophisticated conventional weapons in the world, would be free to fight Israel; that Iran's 30,000 Jews remain at the mercy of the regime; and that Israel must lay the groundwork for cooperation with Iran in a more moderate post-Khomeini era. [These reasons were also used to justify Israel's role in the sale of U.S. arms to Iran.]

But others argue that Iraq's forces will be pointed east toward Iran long after hostilities cease. They contend that Baghdad will be reluctant to "stick its neck out" and risk a war with Israel after its costly conflict with Iran. By contrast, it will take years for the virulent anti-Zionism of the Khomeini years to fade. J.R. □

## HEARD ON THE HILL

### Foreign Aid Bills Progress

Floor action in the House of Representatives on H.R. 3100, the two-year Foreign Aid Authorization Bill, is not expected until early next month. The legislation authorizes \$3 billion in all-grant assistance for Israel and contains numerous pro-Israel provisions, including an amendment by Rep. LARRY SMITH (D-Fla.) to place conditions on the model, number and upgrading of F-15's sold to Saudi Arabia.

Smith's amendment bars transfer of F-15-E's and other ground attack aircraft to Riyadh and limits the number of F-15's in the Saudi Air Force to 60 "at any one time" allowing only a "one-for-one replacement" as each F-15 is "totally removed from the inventory of Saudi Arabia." Congress must be notified of any replacement transfer.

The House voted to extend the short-term Continuing Resolution (CR) (H.J. Res. 394) from Nov. 10 until Dec. 16. The year-long CR (H.J. Res. 395)—which lumps together all 13 appropriations bills for fiscal 1988—was approved by the House Appropriations Committee, but

probably will not be considered by the full House for several weeks. Both CR's include the \$3 billion in all-grant aid to Israel as well as several other Israel-related measures.

A resolution calling on the U.N. to overturn General Assembly Resolution 3379 which equates Zionism with racism was passed resoundingly by the House. (The Senate passed an identical resolution last month [*NER*, Nov. 2].) Reps. HAMILTON FISH and BENJAMIN GILMAN, New York Republicans, introduced the proposal. A bipartisan group including Reps. TOM LANTOS (D-Calif.) and SID YATES (D-Ill.) echoed Fish's contention that U.N. General Assembly Resolution 3379 is a "gross distortion of the truth."

Rep. JOHN MILLER (R-Wash.) suggested that the U.N. take a step toward world peace and "end its slur against the nation of Israel" by revoking 3379. Rep. DAN BURTON (R-Ind.) pointed out that the PLO supported the 1975 U.N. measure and, "one of the best signals we could send to repudiate

this resolution. . . would be to remove the U.N. mission for the PLO from New York and [its office] from Washington, D.C."

Reps. DAN GLICKMAN (D-Kans.) and MARIO BIAGGI (D-N.Y.) and 28 of their House colleagues sponsored legislation calling for federal penalties for perpetrators of religiously motivated violence and vandalism. The bill (H.R. 3258) passed the House last month.

The legislation makes it a federal crime to destroy religious property and/or to obstruct any person in their exercise of religious belief. Persons convicted of these acts will be subject up to life imprisonment and a \$250,000 fine.

Glickman noted, "Religious freedom is a right guaranteed in the Bill of Rights and the practice of one's religion must be free from fear and violence. . . . This bill will send a strong signal that violence against religious institutions of any kind will not be tolerated in this country."

□

BACK PAGE

# The Politics of Amnesia

Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of France's far-right National Front Party—which won about 10% of the vote in last spring's parliamentary elections—recently declared that the Holocaust was “a detail in history.” Pressed by an interviewer, Le Pen, referring to the Nazi gas chambers, asked, “Are you trying to tell me [they] are a revealed truth which everyone is obliged to believe?”

Last month the British revisionist David Irving, described by the *Australia/Israel Review* as “historian, enthusiast, and seasoned hater,” favored the Aussies with a speaking tour, spiced with the usual media stops. His exertions included denying any link between Hitler and the Holocaust because he, Irving, could find no primary documents establishing the tie.

The motives, and the hatreds, of Le Pen, Irving, and their ilk are easy to identify. More difficult to deal with is revisionism—whether about World War II and the Holocaust, or about Israel and the Middle East—which occurs because of indifference, ignorance or ideological trendiness.

For example: Last June the Associated Press ran a story from Majdanek, Poland about Pope John Paul II's visit to the site of a major Nazi concentration camp. The Pope's words, “Your fate is a warning to us,” were reported, as was the fact that 1.5 million people died at Majdanek. But nowhere in the story was it mentioned that most of those murdered were Jews.

Two months later AP moved a story about Liudas Kairys, ordered deported from Chicago to the Soviet Union. Kairys allegedly entered the United States illegally after concealing his World War II activities at Treblinka.

AP, citing government sources, wrote that “thousands of Jewish and Polish civilians were incarcerated at the Treblinka labor camp and many died as a result of conditions there. . . .” Treblinka was a death camp for millions; “conditions there” included gas chambers.

About the same time, the *Washington Post* weekly TV magazine included this entry: “World at War Special, ‘The Final Solution: Auschwitz.’ From 1939 to 1941 a conventional war develops into a systematic attempt to murder civilians in occupied countries.” In one short sentence minimalist Holocaust revisionism (as opposed to the maximalist variety, which denies the event altogether) reaches its universalist conclusion: The “Final Solution” was not about Jews at all, but “civilians in occupied territories.”

The link between revisionism dealing with Nazi era and similar treatment of the post-war Middle East became clear during

last summer's trial in France of war criminal Klaus Barbie. One of Barbie's lawyers, an Algerian, compared his client's record with Israel's treatment of Palestinian Arabs. “There is no difference between the crimes of yesterday and the crimes of today,” asserted Nabil Bouaita.

No difference. It was on that basis the U.N. General Assembly 12 years ago was able to declare that Zionism, the ideology behind the rebirth of Israel, is a form of racism.

On the basis of no difference, or the relativistic dogma that, in any case, differences do not matter all that much, AP—like most of the news media—routinely refers to PLO gunmen as guerrillas. With the wire services leading the way, local media sometimes go further. When Israel bombed PLO bases in Lebanon in September, the *Washington, Pa. Observer-Reporter* headlined, “Surprise attack deadly for rebels in south Lebanon.”

From terrorists to guerrillas to rebels, gaining in legitimacy with each ideological-semantic victory. Going the other way, much news media coverage last summer of the 20th anniversary of the Six-Day War portrayed it not so much as a battle for survival but as militaristic expansionism and occupation.

Perhaps at the subconscious level, the anti-Zionist campaign symbolized by the Zionism-equals-racism resolution gave new legitimacy, if not to anti-Semitism, then to indifference to Jewish concerns. Maybe that explains cultural phenomena like the play “Garbage, the City and Death,” by the late Rainer Fassbinder, darling of the avant-garde. One of its major characters is called, simply, “The Rich Jew.” The play was to have its European opening in Rotterdam this week. E.R. □

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# NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

VOL. XXXI, NO. 45 NOVEMBER 9, 1987

## EDITORIAL

### The Sensible Thing To Do

American allies like Israel, burdened by high-interest U.S. loans for their own defense, cannot go to their local bank to refinance when interest rates drop the way ordinary home owners can with their mortgages. But there may be some hope in the form of legislation being drafted by Sens. Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii) and Robert Kasten (R-Wis.).

In the late 1970's and early 1980's—when interest rates reached as high as 14.5%—Israel was offered, as part of the Camp David Accords, billions of dollars worth of foreign military sales (FMS) loans by the U.S. government. The money was used partly to continue the rebuilding of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) necessary after the 1973 Yom Kippur War. It also helped pay for relocation of major bases from the Sinai Peninsula to the Negev Desert after the 1979 peace treaty with Egypt. And some of the funds assisted the IDF in keeping pace with Arab countries using their then seemingly limitless oil wealth to buy modern weapons from both the Soviet bloc and the West—especially from the United States. Prices for those weapons soared, due to technological advances and oil-price driven inflation. For example, F-4 Phantoms costing \$3 million each had to be replaced by F-15's at \$40 million per plane.

But the FMS loans also added to Israel's already heavy indebtedness. In fact, Israel owes \$24 billion—including \$10 billion to the United States government. Israelis shoulder the world's largest per capita debt, \$8,000-plus for every man, woman and child.

Restructuring about \$5.5 billion of the high-interest FMS debt owed to the United States would help ease the burden. One plan suggested would make it easier for Israel to borrow from commercial banks at lower, current rates and pay off the U.S. government loans ahead of schedule and without penalty. Then Israel, its total indebtedness lightened and its economy already stabilized and showing signs of real growth, would repay the less-expensive private loans.

Experts estimate that refinancing could save \$1.5 billion in interest payments as the loans come due. Relief is necessary: Israel's debt service to the United States nearly equals the \$1.2 billion in annual economic assistance it receives from Washington. As a result, economic aid makes almost no practical impact. The purpose of American assistance—to help an ally strengthen itself and thereby strengthen U.S. interests—is not met by such a situation. Nor is it served when the coincidence of old, high interest loans lets the American government now reap an above-market profit from repayments by friendly nations.

Legislation allowing such a restructuring makes sense. Had the loans in question been taken out five years earlier, their interest rates would have been lower. Had Israel requested the fund five years later, it might have been provided as grant aid, with no repayment at all.

But Congress does not have much time. Adjournment looms and interest rates may resume their climb from the comparative low reached late in 1986 and early this year. In the rush to adjourn, debt restructuring must not be forgotten. □

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### Egyptian Refusal

Egypt has refused to change its stand on compensation to the families of the victims of the 1985 Ras Burka massacre, despite intervention by the United States (*The Jerusalem Post*, Oct. 26). Egypt accepts responsibility for the killing of Israeli tourists by an Egyptian soldier but insists that the amount of compensation must be determined by an Egyptian judicial tribunal. The Israeli families want the amount to be agreed upon in Israeli-Egyptian government negotiations, fearing that the tribunal will set an insultingly low sum.

### Syria's Nazi

"The most notorious Nazi war criminal still at large, Alois Brunner, said in an interview from his home in Syria that he regrets nothing he did in World War II and would

do it all over. . . ." Brunner, 75, told the *Chicago Sun-Times* by telephone that "all of them (Jews) deserved to die because they were the devil's agents and human garbage" (Associated Press, Oct. 31).

The paper reported that Brunner lives in Damascus, protected by Hafez Assad's regime in exchange for service in "security matters." Syria for years denied that it hosted the reputed chief aide to Adolf Eichmann. More recently, it responded to a West German request for Brunner's extradition by stating that he committed no crimes "that are punishable."

### Chirac in Israel

Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, the first French premier to visit Israel, said during talks with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir that he did not consider the PLO to be the sole representative of the Palestinian Arab

people (Reuter, Nov. 2). Chirac called for self-determination for Palestinian Arabs, but promised he would not visit Syria until it improved the conditions of its small Jewish community.

### Arafat—"A Mere Toy"

As the Arab summit approaches, the Syrian newspaper *Tishrin* has denounced PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat as a "mere toy" in the eyes of the Israelis and as unable to "take the initiative" or to "appease the leaders of Washington and Tel Aviv to allow him to join the Sadat course" (Syrian Arab News Agency, Oct. 25). The paper said that Arafat's "desire to enter history through the same gate through which Sadat entered [apparently a reference to negotiations] will only lead him down the same road as Sadat." □

## HEARD IN WASHINGTON

# Refugees, Justice and Peace

One of Israel's greatest successes and one of its greatest failures are linked, according to its U.N. Ambassador Benjamin Netanyahu. And together, success and failure have permitted the case of the Palestinian Arabs—and their refugee minority—to masquerade as the crux of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The success was the absorption of more than 600,000 of the 850,000 Jewish refugees who fled from Arab countries in the years immediately after the 1948 War of Independence. The failure was in not focusing world attention on this success while the Arabs simultaneously converted the plight of Palestinian Arabs (the total of 590,000 is often used, but some believe even that number was inflated) into the world's only perpetual refugee problem.

Israel came to be seen as the dispossessor, despite the fact that Jews left behind in Arab lands an estimated \$11 billion worth of property—five times that abandoned by Palestinian Arabs. Thus, Israel's legitimacy could be questioned and Arab refusal to make peace could be validated.

To correct the historical record—and thereby to help set the stage for genuine compromise and peace—the World Organization of Jews from Arab Countries (WOJAC) held its third international conference in Washington late last month. WOJAC met

in London in 1975 and Paris in 1983.

Even inside Israel, the organization has run into trouble. Chairman Leon Tamman recalled Golda Meir's insistence that there were no Jewish refugees, only immigrants making *aliyah*. Before this gathering some in the Foreign Ministry opposed the idea, fearing it could disturb delicate Middle East diplomacy, he said.

But Foreign Minister Shimon Peres overruled them, and sounded a warning in the Knesset about the remnant Jewish communities still trapped in Syria, North Yemen and elsewhere. In any case, Tamman said, "it is not a question of [Arab-Israeli] conflict, but a lack of awareness of the barbaric treatment" suffered by Jews from Arab lands. "We want justice and nothing else."

Netanyahu told the delegates that while Jews "spent our energies on making known the calamity in Europe . . . and the salvation of Jews of the Soviet Union . . . we did not devote equal energy to this cause." He argued that the saga of Jews from Arab countries who emigrated to Israel is "enormously powerful," especially compared to the conscious decision of Arab nations to leave the Palestinian Arab refugees "to fester and rot" in camps as anti-Israeli symbols.

Bat Ye'or, author of *The Dhimmi: Jews and Christians Under Islam*, touched on the real crux of the Arab-Israeli conflict:

the Arab-Islamic belief "that Jews [and Christians] cannot be a sovereign people in the Middle East. . . ."

Underlying everything, she stressed, is the concept of *jihad*, still operative in the Middle East. It not only means an Islamic war, but also forms "part of a comprehensive religious system which regulates the relations between the Islamic community and the non-Muslim peoples. Jihad is the normal and permanent state of war between the Muslim and non-Muslim territory."

Bat Ye'or called on Muslims to "examine their own history of imperialism, oppression and injustice" and on Arab intellectuals and moderates to forsake the concept of *jihad*. The first victims of failure to do so will not be Israel, Arab Christians or the West, but the Arab moderates themselves, she said.

Seymour Maxwell Finger, former senior adviser to the U.S. Permanent Representative to the U.N., pointed to numerous major population exchanges in this century, including Greeks and Turks, Hindus and Moslems on the Indian subcontinent, and ethnic Germans from Russia and Poland. Only the Palestinian Arabs have gone into the second and third generation of refugee status, Finger said.

## HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

## Legislators Aim at Stingers

Sens. DENNIS DECONCINI (D-Ariz.), ROBERT BYRD (D-W.Va.) and ALAN CRANSTON (D-Calif.) and Reps. MEL LEVINE (D-Calif.) and LARRY SMITH (D-Fla.) introduced identical legislation to prohibit the sale of Stinger missiles to the Persian Gulf.

The Senate and House bills—S. 1798 and H.R. 3540—explicitly state that "no Stinger antiaircraft missiles may be sold, leased, donated, or otherwise provided, directly or indirectly, during fiscal 1988 to foreign governments in the Persian Gulf region." The Senate and House bills have been referred to the Foreign Relations and Foreign Affairs Committees, respectively.

The Stinger is a shoulder-launched, heat-seeking missile capable of shooting down low-flying aircraft. It can be fired easily by one person and, according to DeConcini, "can fit into a large suitcase and . . . can therefore prove to be an ideal terrorist

weapon if it should fall into the wrong hands." The United States reportedly has supplied Stingers to Saudi Arabia and the Afghan rebels, but some Stingers have found their way from Afghanistan to Iran.

Legislative action was prompted by renewed Reagan Administration efforts to sell 70 Stingers to Bahrain and reports of possible sales to Oman, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates. DeConcini argued that "the situation within that country [Bahrain] is not politically stable enough for the Stinger . . . . If Iran were to overthrow Bahrain, Stinger missiles would threaten United States helicopters and planes in the Gulf . . . . The dangers and difficulties in the Persian Gulf do not need to be exacerbated by cavalier arms trading with foreign governments in this region."

The House Appropriations Committee approved an extension of the short-term Continuing Resolution (CR) until Nov. 20

and completed work on a final CR, which includes \$3 billion in all-grant aid for Israel as well as several other Israel-related measures.

The CR is a stop-gap measure to fund government programs in lieu of a regular appropriations bill.

REP. E. (KIKI) DE LA GARZA (D-Tex.) was honored recently by the Volcani Center International Scholarship and Research Fund, Israel's scientific center for agricultural research.

De La Garza, chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, received the first Lifetime Achievement Award given by the center. In addition, Wayne Stoker, a dairy farmer from Munnsville, N.Y. was awarded the first scholarship to study at the Volcani's Institute for Water and Soil Conservation.

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## PERSPECTIVE

# Japan's Yen for Diplomacy

The Japanese government, which has quietly encouraged businesses to comply with the Arab boycott of Israel, last week declined a U.S. request to support a trade embargo on Iran. Officially, Japan claimed that since the U.N. Secretary General is continuing to negotiate a peace settlement in the Iran-Iraq war, it is too early to impose punitive measures against Tehran. But observers explain that the Japanese trade with both Iran and Iraq and are locked into a position of neutrality. Tokyo believes that if it were to anger either combatant, it could risk losing oil supplies—60% of which come from the Persian Gulf.

The Japanese are pursuing their own three-point diplomatic-economic program to assist in the Gulf. They will provide navigational equipment to aid commercial transit and minesweeping, grant the U.N. Secretary General \$20 million to offset the cost of shuttle diplomacy and implementation of a peace treaty, and they already have awarded large development loans to Jordan and Oman.

A Japanese official told *NER* that the \$300 million loan to Jordan was intended as a contribution to "stability" in the Middle East. Japan has provided development assistance to Egypt and other Middle East states in the past and is planning to give Tunisia a large loan in the near future.

This new Jordanian loan is not the first

from Japan but it is the largest. The monies must be spent on projects within Jordan, and may not be used for the West Bank, according to a Japanese diplomat. "Of course," he added, "as a result of this loan, the Jordanian government may have its own resources freed for other purposes."

A former State Department official explained that Tokyo's policy in the Middle East is founded on its need for foreign oil. "As a result," he noted, "Japanese banks have funded development projects in the region and other business ventures have arisen." He said that Japan's reliance on the Arab states also explained its compliance with the Arab boycott of Israel.

In a recent *New York Times* article, journalist William Stern asserted that "virtually none of [Japan's] major trading houses nor large commercial firms will do business openly with Israel."

Stern alleged that "the government discourages Japanese firms from trading with Israel" and that "a striking feature of Japan's policy has been the forthright explanations of why the Japanese say they cannot trade with Israel."

Indeed, Japanese officials in Washington adamantly denied that their government encourages compliance with the boycott. "The Japanese government does not restrict the business behavior of private companies. We have not suggested that they

honor that kind of thing," said one diplomat.

These officials would not confirm that Japanese companies honor the embargo. But one admitted that since Japanese businesses deal both with Israel and the Arab world "the business community would certainly make sure going ahead with certain things would not jeopardize others."

Japanese officials are eager to point out that Japan and Israel have exchanged high-level visits in the last several years, and that an Israeli trade delegation is currently in Japan. A reciprocal group will visit Israel within the next few weeks. And last year Mitsubishi announced that it would sell cars directly to Israel, "a breakthrough," according to an official of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Japanese officials note that in 1986 bilateral trade with Israel increased 55% over the previous year, and by 43.2% in the first three quarters of 1987. But the ADL official said that the majority of this gain was in polished diamonds, a commodity with little value added, and was also due to an increase in the value of the yen.

"It is hard to tell how much is symbolic and how much is real," he said. "It is still too early to say whether they have made a clean break with the past."

J.R. □

## BACKGROUNDER

### PLO U.N. Mission a "Courtesy"

A State Department report has concluded that the PLO's New York Observer Mission to the United Nations operates as a courtesy, not as a right. The unreleased 25-page brief, written in April, was obtained by *NER* last week.

A 1962 U.N. memorandum cited by the report determined that unless non-governmental observers to the U.N. are accredited to the United States as diplomats, "whatever facilities they may be given . . . are merely gestures of courtesy."

But the report also concludes that permanent observer missions have become accepted at the U.N. and it may be impractical to close the PLO office: "As a matter of principle, the U.S. government, as a host country, can argue that it should not be obligated to accord observer missions privileges and immunities. . . . [But] as a practical matter it is too late to challenge the institution of permanent observer missions, or the extension of that institution to non-governmental organizations like the PLO."

The State Department document cites a classified FBI study which states: "Investigation has clearly shown that Chairman

Arafat directs the activities of the PLOIO [PLO Information Office] and has given his personal approval and guidance over its activities since it opened in 1977."

The Senate and the House have attached

amendments to the State Department Authorization Bill which would close both the Washington and New York offices of the PLO.

□

### Japan's Snub

The World Conference of Historic Cities, to be held Nov. 18–21 in Kyoto, Japan, will not have the participation of Boston, the only American city invited. Boston has declined due to the exclusion of Jerusalem from the conference.

A Japanese diplomatic source explained that the conference is sponsored by Kyoto with no input from the Japanese government. The diplomat stated that Kyoto had not invited Jerusalem due to the "political controversy" surrounding the city as a result of Israel's annexation of east Jerusalem in 1980. The source went on to say that the conference would discuss restoration of cultural property and the planning and development of historical cities.

Boston's Mayor Raymond Flynn, upon learning that Jerusalem had not received an invitation to the conference, wrote to Mayor Teddy Kollek of Jerusalem offering to share the space reserved for Boston with the capital of Israel. Mayor Kollek declined the offer but personally expressed his gratitude to Mayor Flynn for the gesture during his visit to Boston on Oct. 20.

Boston was invited to the conference because of its sister-city relationship with Kyoto established 28 years ago. The remaining 35 cities invited qualified by being at least 1,200 years old and having a minimum population of 500,000.

Tracy Makow

*Makow is an NER intern and a law student at George Washington University.*

**I**t began with the hijacking of Egged bus No. 300 in 1984. A news photo, supposedly censored, nevertheless was published. The picture showed two captured terrorists—officially reported to have died in the assault which ended the bus seizure—being led away alive.

It became irreversible after the High Court of Justice last summer overturned the conviction of Izat Nafsu. Nafsu, a Druze, was in the eighth year of an 18-year sentence for conspiring with terrorists while serving in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). Israel's Supreme Court ruled that he had been convicted on the basis of a coerced confession.

Events were prying at the lid of secrecy clamped tight over Israel's General Security Services, better known as the Shin Bet. The lid came off last week, in the form of the Landau Commission report. What the commission said was both painful and encouraging.

The panel was composed of former Supreme Court Justice Moshe Landau, former Mossad chief and head of the IDF's Northern Command, Yitzhak Hofi, and State Comptroller Yaakov Maltz. They found that since 1971 the Shin Bet routinely used "harsh interrogation methods" and then committed perjury about the practice to assure court acceptance of confessions by terrorist suspects.

Those findings made headlines, and rightly so. But, according to lengthy coverage in the Nov. 1 *Jerusalem Post*, and shorter stories in *Ha'aretz* and *Davar* the same day, the commissioners concluded that:

- The tactics were “not meant to convict innocent persons”;
- The “~~political, judicial and military~~ authorities did not know of the Shin Bet’s practice of perjury and therefore are not to be held responsible for it”;
- Commissioners agreed “that limited and clearly delineated psychological and physical pressures may legitimately be exerted in the interrogation of those suspected of terrorism and has proposed precise guidelines for the Shin Bet to adopt.” They rejected the service’s argument in favor of allowing perjured testimony.
- The commission recommended that the Attorney General and military courts permit retrials in response to “all justified requests submitted in the wake of the report.”

Investigating the investigators was necessary. After the Bus No. 300 and Nafsu cases, the Shin Bet faced "a grave crisis of public confidence" and "extreme embarrassment that seemed to threaten a loss of direction within the service itself," the *Post* noted.

Before the 1967 Six-Day War there were comparatively few interrogations of terrorists. They followed Supreme Court rulings and did not use physical pressure. But by 1971, with Israel in control of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip, the number of cases rose and defense lawyers started putting the interrogators themselves on the stand.

Shin Bet operatives believed that without physical pressure, terrorist suspects trained—unlike regular accused criminals—to obstruct and mislead interrogators, would not confess. And court testimony would compromise their methods, allowing terrorist trainers to devise new means of parrying them. Meanwhile, Shin Bet was enjoying “great success” in thwarting terrorism, uncovering the perpetrators and saving innocent lives.

But war against terrorism must be legal. The commissioners stressed that "this is essential for the moral resilience of Israeli society and of the [Shin Bet] as a part thereof. . . ." They said such a stance was feasible:

“Pressure should principally take the form of non-violent psychological pressure via a vigorous and lengthy interrogation, with the use of stratagems, including acts of deception. However, when these do not attain their purpose, the exertion of a moderate measure of physical pressure is not to be avoided.”

If agents observe the proposed restraints "the efficacy of the investigation will be preserved and at the same time will involve neither bodily nor mental torture. The person undergoing interrogation will suffer no harassment, and his human dignity will be honored."

It is an excruciating balancing act. And an unavoidable one. E.R. ☐

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# NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

VOL. XXXI, NO. 44 NOVEMBER 2, 1987

## EDITORIAL

### Taking the Sting Out

Early last month the Reagan Administration and Congressional opponents of a proposed major arms sale to Saudi Arabia reached a compromise: the White House dropped the latest model Maverick air-to-ground missiles from the deal, which also included a dozen F-15 fighter-bombers, and Capitol Hill critics dropped their opposition. Also to be omitted—or so Congress thought—was a proposal to sell 70 Stinger surface-to-air missiles and 14 launchers to Bahrain, a tiny Persian Gulf oil sheikdom.

Yet last week the Administration was reconsidering: it would provide Stingers to Bahrain. What some on Capitol Hill took to be a cancellation, the White House apparently interpreted as a postponement—one so short Bahrain would never notice.

There is a problem with the Stingers: They are so good everyone wants them. Stingers are portable, fired from the shoulder by individual soldiers. They are accurate against low-level aircraft, credited with helping the Afghan *mujahedin* to neutralize Soviet air power.

In fact, Afghan guerrillas charged that Iranian troops confiscated some Stingers from a guerrilla group which had detoured into Iran. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger has confirmed that the Khomeini regime now does possess the missile.

Members of Congress have called the missile “the ideal terrorist weapon.” One Stinger, held by one terrorist waiting just beyond a runway to make a “political statement” against a U.S., Israeli or other Western commercial airliner could

eclipse all terror outrages of recent memory except perhaps the 1985 bombing of an Air India jumbo jet over the North Atlantic.

No, Stingers are too good, too dangerous, to be used to “show the flag” in the Gulf. As for Bahrain, it is extremely doubtful that it faces a threat from Iranian air power which only Stingers can answer. But if it does, it should permit U.S. personnel equipped with the missile to be based on the island.

However, Bahrain—like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait—fears this kind of active anti-Iranian cooperation with the United States, and for good reason. An Arab journalist said lately that for the man or woman in the street, reflagging of Kuwaiti oil tankers by the United States is “one of the most disgraceful things in recent Arab history.” Across that cultural-strategic divide, Stingers should not go, especially since we now know that their deployment cannot be guaranteed.

Arms sales do not constitute a foreign policy. While they may be the calling cards of diplomacy, weapons deals to Arab countries still at war with Israel not only make diplomatic solutions to the Arab-Israeli conflict more difficult to reach, but also increase the threat the one Western-style state in the region, Israel, must counter.

Senators Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.) and Robert Byrd (D-W.Va.) have introduced a bill to bar for one year sales of Stingers not approved by Congress to Persian Gulf countries. Reps. Larry Smith (D-Fla.) and Mel Levine have offered similar bills in the House. It should be clear that the Administration needs to reconsider its reconsideration. □

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### PLO Shuttle

Syria and the PLO resumed contacts three weeks ago, according to a Palestinian source (Radio Monte Carlo, Oct. 19). The source stated that it was Soviet pressure which led to the first talks between Syria and the PLO since 1983 (Voice of Lebanon, Oct. 18).

Hasib Sabbagh, a Palestinian Arab businessman living in the United States, met with President Hafez Assad in Damascus. After discussions with Yasir Arafat's Fatah, Sabbagh returned to Syria accompanied by Walid Khalidi, a Harvard University professor, and Basil Agl, a Palestinian Arab businessman.

Khalil Wazir (also known as Abu Jihad), Arafat's military assistant, said that the talks did not result in a “decisive change in stands,” and that the normalization of rela-

tions between Syria and the PLO depends on the recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

### Radicals Speak

Following Secretary Shultz's visit to the Middle East, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy met with Syrian Vice President Abdel Halim Khaddam. At the same time, Iranian Prime Minister Hussein Musawi addressed a group of Islamic clerics in Syria, stating that Iran has a “joint mission with the Islamic countries . . . to destroy the U.S. base in the region . . . despotic Israel” (Damascus Radio, Oct. 20).

Syria also linked the plunge in U.S. stock markets with the American retaliation against Iranian oil platforms (Damascus

Radio, Oct. 21). The broadcast claimed that the fall in stock prices supported “the Marxist analysis that imperialism has with in it the seeds of its own destruction.”

### Refusal Criticized

The refusal of Palestinian Arab leaders on the West Bank and Gaza to meet with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz was a “missed opportunity” toward effecting a change in U.S. positions in the region. It resulted from a lack of “cognizance of the reality of international politics” (*Al-Nahar*, Oct. 19). The east Jerusalem paper said realization that “the viewpoints of Palestinians are not entirely acceptable to many foreign and friendly countries” must be reached.

“The Palestinians have suffered in the past from such a negative policy” (*Akhbar al-Ushu*, Oct. 22). □

## NEWS ANALYSIS

# Soviets Outline Middle East Views

Secretary of State George Shultz reportedly took "new ideas" from Israel with him to the Soviet Union late last month, including a proposal for Washington and Moscow alone—rather than all five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council—to convene talks between Israel and a Jordanian-Palestinian Arab delegation. Meanwhile, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, while repeating his desire for better relations with the Soviets, reiterated Jerusalem's call that Moscow must reestablish full diplomatic relations with it and permit greatly increased Soviet Jewish emigration.

Soviet officials in Washington recently outlined their views to *NER*. The point was made several times that although any Middle East conference which might take place should not veto agreements reached in bilateral talks between Israel and Arab interlocutors, it should have the power to "endorse" them.

"We have explained our position" to the State Department, a Soviet official said. "Although we speak of the Arab-Israeli conflict, it is not bilateral." There are several Arab sides, "and the question of Palestine is a highly emotional issue"; it is "the crux" of the problem, he insisted. Therefore, such matters should be approached "collectively."

"Separate deals," such as the Egyptian-Israeli peace, should be shunned, since

they "caused antagonism" for those parties not included. A Jordanian-Israeli settlement, without resolutions of the Golan Heights and Palestinian Arab issues, "is not moving one iota." Only a "just, comprehensive" solution "acceptable to all parties" could last, the official maintained.

On PLO participation in a conference, the official said, "The Arab people of Palestine are represented, as we understand, by the PLO. . . . Like it or not . . . they don't have other organizations." Nevertheless, "this issue has to be discussed." But the composition of a conference "must be acceptable to the PLO."

On relations with Israel, the official urged careful reading of Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in April at a state dinner for Syrian President Hafez Assad. The General Secretary then noted that it was abnormal for the Soviet Union not to have regular diplomatic relations with Israel. "Uncertainties about our position [in the Middle East] will fall apart" in light of Gorbachev's remarks, the official said.

In general, "what has been expressed officially by the Soviet side is quite enough" as to the nature of a conference. "Further details have to be discussed quietly. . . . We have to be careful about providing a successful conference when and if it proceeds. . . . There is no permanent scenario."

Asked whether the Soviet vote last

month to reject Israel's credentials as a U.N. member did not cast a cloud over the Kremlin's Middle East intentions, the official replied: "Israeli occupation of Arab territory is a very big question mark in our eyes. . . . I would suggest we avoid putting question marks. Confrontation is counterproductive."

He asserted that Arab countries "mostly" have adopted U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 and are ready to negotiate with Israel now, partly because of Moscow's efforts. In turn, the Soviets support the Arab claim that 242 requires complete Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights, West Bank and Gaza Strip.

[In fact, the resolution affirms the right of all states in the region to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries and calls for withdrawal of Israeli forces from territory (but not from *all* territory) gained in 1967.]

Regarding a statement by Gorbachev advocating opposition to both anti-Semitism and Zionism, the official said "in general that thrust is correct." While the two may be opposites, "both are negative."

As for the bulk of Soviet Jewry, he suggested that as the policy of *glasnost* (openness) makes life in the Soviet Union "better than before," fewer would want to leave. More would find their identity as Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality; "they are part of the Soviet people." □

## BACKGROUND

## Checking Free Trade Results

When the Joint U.S. and Israeli Committee on the Free Trade Area Agreement (FTA) met late last month to review its progress, they had cause for some satisfaction. Since the FTA went into effect in September 1985, bilateral trade has increased by several million dollars. In the first seven months of 1987, U.S. non-military exports to Israel reached \$1.7 billion, up 29% from the same period a year earlier. Meanwhile, Israeli exports to the United States reached \$1.5 billion, an increase of 8%.

The agreement stipulates that all import tariffs between the two countries will be eliminated by January 1, 1995. Duties have already been removed in several major

product categories. Israel is the only nation to enjoy such agreements with both the United States and the European Economic Community.

Speaking to the second annual U.S.-Israel Trade Conference in Washington, Ambassador Clayton Yeutter, U.S. Trade Representative, not only praised the FTA as a boon to U.S.-Israeli relations, but credited the agreement with helping to stimulate global trade. "In our judgment, FTA's strengthen the multilateral trading system, which we view as the primary means to achieving trade liberalization worldwide," he said. Yeutter cited the Israeli-U.S. FTA as the model for a similar agreement recently concluded with Canada.

During the discussions of the Joint FTA Committee, high-level officials from both governments reviewed the FTA's development and attempted to eliminate snags. David Litvak, Israel's trade representative to the United States, said that Washington agreed to eliminate quotas from textiles and other consumer goods. He revealed that his government is studying the details of the U.S.-Canada FTA for possible application to the Israeli agreement.

Litvak said that with the upheaval in world financial markets, Israel provides opportunities for solid investment—opportunities made all the more attractive by the FTA. □

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## HEARD IN WASHINGTON

# Sharon: Jordan is Palestine

**A**riel Sharon, Israel's Minister of Trade and Industry, advocates a Palestinian Arab state. In fact, he believes such a state already exists—in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

Explaining that Transjordan was created from two-thirds of British Mandatory Palestine in 1922, Sharon said, "This two-thirds of the Land of Israel is a Palestinian state. . . . Most of the people, most of the members of Parliament, the most known members of government, the most prominent prime ministers, are Palestinian."

"The only possible solution for peace in the Middle East . . . is a Palestinian state in Jordan and a Jewish state west of the River Jordan." He called the West Bank and Gaza "the problem in the middle."

In an address to the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, Sharon said that the Camp David Accords provide the "only way to move forward" toward a solution for the West Bank and Gaza.

The minister noted that the Camp David autonomy plan not only has the imprimatur of Egypt and the United States, but enjoys the widest consensus among Israel's political parties as well. He asserted that the country's major political groups also agree that Israel will be responsible for security in the territories "forever." "And," he continued, "I think you will find a wide con-

sensus that says we would like to interfere as little as possible in the internal life of the Arab population."

He emphatically rejected the possibility of two Palestinian Arab states: one in Jordan and one in Judea, Samaria and Gaza.

Sharon is also concerned about the status of Arabs living within Israel. "We are facing a situation that I don't believe you can have in a democracy," he said. "They don't have all the duties . . . but officially and formally they have all the rights."

The minister contended that in 1984, Israeli Arab voters determined who would precede whom as prime minister in the national-unity-government rotation, and that by the year 2000 this bloc would number one million. He proposed that in order to fulfill their obligation as citizens, Israeli Arabs be obliged to serve in the Israel Defense Forces. Those who wish to abstain would remain in Israel as permanent residents without the right to vote.

"Whether you are citizens of any country, or of a Palestinian state, you do not have to leave here, God forbid," he stressed. "You will live here. This is a free country. However, it is inconceivable that one million people should determine the political regime without sharing all the obligations."

Although Sharon condemned those who have encouraged Israeli Arabs to consider

themselves a separate entity, he commented that a Palestinian Arab state in Jordan would satisfy the national aspirations of those who insist on a separate Palestinian Arab identity.

Defense Minister under Menachem Begin, Sharon is one of the four most powerful men in the Herut Party and a possible successor to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. In a recent interview, Sharon pledged, "If Shamir does not run, I will definitely run. If Shamir does run, I will not, unless there are special developments in the political or security spheres which will lead to a change in positions."

While Israel must become more "attractive" to entice immigrants from abroad, Sharon said he remains upbeat about Israel's future: "Looking back at the achievements in the Land of Israel, the optimists have been proven right." He also believes firmly in the prospects for peace. "When you look at the trends, there will be peace. But you have to talk about the process, and the process will take a very long time . . ."

The burden for reconciliation rests on the Arab states, however. "If one wants to promote the peace process the time has come to explain to the Arabs that peace is as important to them as it is to the Jews."

J.R. □

## HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

## New Step Toward PLO Closure

**T**he House of Representatives has backed legislation calling for closure of the PLO offices in Washington and New York. Action came on a motion by Rep. DAN BURTON (R-Ind.) to instruct conferees on the fiscal 1988-1989 State Department Authorization bill (H.R. 1777) to accept a Senate amendment by Sen. CHARLES GRASSLEY (R-Iowa) to that effect.

Burton, whose measure was adopted by voice vote without debate, stressed that the "PLO is the world's premier terrorist organization. Its terror is not only directed against our ally, Israel, but directly against American citizens." He also disputed claims that the bill is a violation of the First Amendment: "The bill prohibits paid agents of the PLO from operating an official office on U.S. soil. It does not prohibit Americans from advocating, or even actively promoting, whatever causes they wish within U.S. law."

Grassley led the Senate effort to close the PLO offices and successfully offered the Anti-Terrorism Act of 1987 as an amendment to the State Department authorization bill (NER, Oct. 19).

The Reagan Administration ordered the closing of the organization's Washington Palestine Information Office (PIO) by Oct. 15, but extended the deadline to Dec. 1. The extension accommodated a request by the PIO.

The Senate passed by voice vote a resolution by Sen. DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN (D-N.Y.) denouncing the 1975 U.N. General Assembly Resolution 3379 which equated Zionism with racism. New York Republicans BENJAMIN GILMAN and HAMILTON FISH are sponsoring a similar resolution in the House.

"The initial U.N. action comparing Zionism to racism was an abomination, and it's long overdue that we join in an effort to overturn the U.N. slur on a member nation," Gilman commented.

Moynehan praised Herzog—who was Israel's Ambassador to the U.N. at the time 3379 was passed—for speaking "with the utmost brilliance in denunciation of the act, calling attention to the fact that that date, November 10, was the very same date of 'Kristallnacht' in Nazi Germany, the occasion when. . . anti-Semitism broke out into

the streets in the form of sanctioned public violence."

Sen. ALFONSE D'AMATO (R-N.Y.) commented that "ironically, the resolution actually promotes the very racism it purports to preclude." D'Amato introduced a joint resolution in 1985, which was signed into law, condemning U.N. General Assembly Resolution 3379 and urging parliaments of all countries to reject it as well.

Twenty-five members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee signed a letter by colleagues Reps. WAYNE OWENS (D-Utah) and MICHAEL DEWINE (R-Ohio) to Secretary of State George Shultz, expressing "strong feelings" about "deeply distressing" reports that the Abu Nidal terrorist group has based its financial headquarters in Poland, as reported recently by the *Wall Street Journal*.

The signatories asked Shultz to inform the Polish government "of the strong feelings of the U.S. Congress that support for international terrorism cannot be ignored."

□

BACK PAGE

# A Real Revolution

**A**lmost unnoticed by outsiders, the Middle East has become a free trade area in ideas, according to one of Israel's leading journalists. Border-obliterating television and radio broadcasts, plus more widely circulated and republished print media, are undermining official propaganda. The process curtails the ability of politicians to define the Arab-Israeli conflict in their own terms, says Ehud Ya'ari, Middle East correspondent of Israel Television.

"But being better informed does not automatically mean less animosity," he cautioned. In most cases "reporting is still colored by old attitudes, but 'rivals gradually are gaining their own [true] faces.'"

Ya'ari spoke at a recent symposium sponsored by the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. Also on the panel were Rami Khouri, a columnist and former editor of the *Jordan Times*, and David Ignatius, previously a Middle East reporter for the *Wall Street Journal* and now assistant managing editor of the *Washington Post*.

Widespread literary piracy also contributes to the transfer of more realistic information, Yaa'ri said. He termed the case of his own book on Egyptian-Israeli peace typical: An unauthorized but correct Arabic version was printed in Egypt by the opposition Communist Party. In Cairo, Ya'ari tried to get some free copies—royalties being out of the question. A party official refused, saying "we have a boycott of contacts with Israelis."

So "they are still burning the Israeli flag, but not the books. And the material [from Israel] is being incorporated into the internal debate in Egypt." Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak may be freezing the cultural exchange called for in the peace accords between his country and Israel, "but one is going on anyway."

Meanwhile, the Hebrew press, like its Arab counterparts, has found that a sure way to increase readership is to print more news about the adversary.

As for literary piracy, "the freedom to steal restricts the freedom to lie." It is no longer possible for the Arab press to describe the differences between the Likud and Labor parties in Israel "as a coordinated deception." And in Israel "the demonization of the enemy is no longer acceptable to a large section of our population."

Ya'ari noted that Syrian President Hafez Assad, a staunch foe of Israel, used only one example to explain Syria's austerity program—Israel's; that Jordanian television has more Israeli [than Jordanian] watchers; that an Egyptian soap opera has become fashionable in Israel and that Israeli news is viewed in Arab countries. As for the propaganda programs, "no one is

interested on either side."

But while the Israeli press enjoys liberty and the Arab media do not, the most important development for the latter in the past decade has been the growth of an expatriate press, based primarily in London and Cyprus. It comprises 20 newspapers and magazines, backed by different Arab states "but adopting European production techniques and professional standards.

"They still conduct propaganda campaigns [for their sponsoring governments] and are quite hostile to Israel . . . but they are less anti-Semitic than the Egyptian press of today," Ya'ari asserted.

Does cross-border contact via news media improve chances for Arab-Israeli compromise and a political settlement? Ya'ari explained that the "limited dialogue" makes the enemy "less threatening . . . more of a neighbor."

A recent poll of Arabs showed the majority "still against a long-term settlement with Israel" but willing to consider a temporary arrangement. And, he said, what begins as temporary eventually could become permanent.

Khouri agreed that "there is a change," but added that "the Arab media don't see that their job is to promote peace. . . ." Instead, they largely reflect "a certain power structure" common to the third world—a non-democratic one of elites which took power mainly by force.

He noted "an extraordinary interest in the Arab world" in Israel. It "stems from the realization we were wrong to . . . pretend our enemy didn't exist." Khouri said there is a recognition the conflict "is not going to be resolved militarily." But he explained the newer view as: "If we are going to engage the enemy in peace or war . . . we have to know the enemy." E.R. □

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# NEAR EAST REPORT

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## EDITORIALS

### From Their Own Mouths

Saudi Arabian Crown Prince Abdullah Bin Abdul Aziz, Deputy Prime Minister and commander of the National Guard, was in Washington for a three-day official visit last week. On the schedule were meetings with President Reagan, Vice President Bush and other top U.S. officials. To mark the occasion, the Saudi embassy purchased full-page ads in the *Washington Post* (standard cost, \$32,208), *Newsweek* and *Washington Times* to tout the "special friendship" between the United States and Saudi Arabia.

The ad described Saudi Arabia as "a good friend of the United States and a force for moderation in the Middle East." But another embassy production revealed the true nature of Saudi moderation:

On page one of last month's issue of *Saudi Arabia*, a glossy, color-filled official newsletter, a large map depicted the Islamic countries of North Africa and Asia and their neighbors—with one exception. Where most cartographers place Israel, the newsletter showed the blue of the Mediterranean. In the official Saudi world view, the seacoast runs south from Lebanon along the western border of Jordan, sweeping north again on the eastern side of the Sinai, now a two-headed peninsula. While all other adjacent non-Islamic states are outlined, even if left unidentified, Israel disappears completely.

The embassy's ad also asserted that "Saudi Arabia has taken its international commitments seriously." It cited financial contributions to the U.N., membership in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and other such ties.

Riyadh's international commitments notwithstanding, it is the U.S. Navy, not the Saudi military, which now protects Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the four other Persian Gulf oil sheikdoms of the GCC from Iran. On any commitment to advancing the U.S.-mediated Arab-Israeli peace process,

the ad—which also mentions U.S.-Saudi trade, the oil industry, and other matters—is silent.

No deceptive advertising here: As far as Saudi Arabia is concerned, Israel still should not exist. As for Arab-Israeli peace, don't mention it. . . .

### Louder Than Words

. . . Meanwhile, the American response to the Iranian missile attack on the U.S.-flagged Kuwaiti tanker *Sea Isle City* provided another illustration of the special friendship Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and other GCC states have with Uncle Sam.

The Reagan Administration decided to use destroyers to shell two Iranian oil platforms, rather than send planes to bomb more significant targets, partly because no U.S. aircraft are based on land in any GCC country. Planes from carriers in the Gulf of Oman would have had to fly over Oman and the United Arab Emirates, which these states have said they would not permit.

Carrier-based bombers also would have required midair refueling—using tanker planes out of Saudi Arabia. But, according to news reports, the Saudis did not want to get involved directly.

Kuwait, repeatedly a target of Iranian attacks, said it would refuse to assist the United States. When an official of the emirate was asked to comment on the U.S. reprisal, he said, "Why would there be any comment? This does not concern Kuwait in any way." The Kuwaitis reportedly "were desperately seeking Western aid" to set up a new anti-missile defense—but not desperate enough to permit Westerners, including Americans, to be stationed in Kuwait.

The friendship Washington has with the Arab states of the Gulf is more than special. It's downright peculiar. □

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### Coordination Urged

Yuli Vorontsov, the Soviet Union's Deputy Foreign Minister, urged the Arab states he recently visited to "coordinate" their stands toward an international Middle East peace conference with the PLO, according to Syrian diplomatic sources (Qatar News Agency, Oct. 18). The sources stated that the Soviet Union "wants to see a decisive and unified Arab stand" toward the peace conference in order to prevent the United States and Israel from finding a Palestinian

Arab negotiator, other than the PLO, with whom to deal.

### PLO Positions

Salah Khalaf, a member of the Fatah Central Committee, also known as Abu Iyad, lamented that "there is no clear axis in the Arab world calling for a military option [against Israel] which will yield clear and fixed political results" (*Al-Anba*, Oct. 3).

He told the Kuwaiti paper that it was

"unreasonable" to expect the PLO to follow the course set by Anwar Sadat in the Camp David Accords, but because the PLO believes Egyptian President "Mubarak differs from" Sadat, it is eager to improve relations with Egypt.

A meeting reportedly is being arranged according to Palestinian sources, between Syrian President Assad and PLO Chairman Arafat at the Arab League summit in Jordan next month after a four-year split (*Washington Post*, Oct. 18). □

## NEWS ANALYSIS

# Shultz Trip: No Breakthrough

**A**fter five days of talks with the leaders of Israel, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Jordan, Secretary of State George Shultz concluded, "We are looking for ways that will meet everyone's objections to get to direct negotiations. But so far we haven't found that answer."

After a five-day, whirlwind visit to the Middle East and England, Shultz's visit ended as many had predicted—with no breakthrough on the Arab-Israeli peace process. A spark of hope remained, however, as Shultz sent his top Middle East adviser, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy, back to the region. State Department officials refused to disclose whether Murphy would meet with Syrian President Hafez Assad.

Prior to the trip, a top Western official told *NER* that the Shultz mission had a number of objectives. First, to make one final effort to push the peace process forward before the Reagan Administration leaves office. Second, to reassert U.S. involvement in the region prior to the Secretary's trip to Moscow. [Moscow concurrently sent its own Middle East expert to Cairo, Jordan and Damascus to discuss the peace process.] Third, to give a boost to bilateral relations.

Finally, the trip allowed the Secretary to receive an honorary degree from the Weizmann Institute and to award the first George Shultz Fellowship at Tel Aviv University. Shultz, a former academic, donated the first \$10,000 to the fund.

From the outset, the Secretary sought to dampen hopes of a major breakthrough, telling reporters, "I don't go there with any particular new thing, but I hope perhaps some others will have something new to say."

U.S. officials said that Shultz sought to work out a consensus position between regional leaders. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir advocates direct, bilateral negotiations between Israel and each of its neighbors.

Although he is reported to have met secretly with Israeli leaders in the past, Jordan's King Hussein insists that direct negotiations must be preceded by an international conference on the Middle East. Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres supports Hussein's approach.

In Israel, Shultz conferred separately with Peres and Shamir to discuss Soviet Jewry and the peace process. The Secretary reiterated his support for the emigration of Soviet Jews and visited with recent arrival Ida Nudel, a long-time refusenik he had met previously in Moscow.

## Boycott, Pledge

Although officials were reluctant to discuss the peace process publicly, press reports from Jerusalem indicated that "partners exist" for direct talks with Israel. Furthermore, the U.S. is willing to give the Soviets a "marginal" role in the process.

Yossi Ben Aharon, director general of the Prime Minister's office, said that "innovations . . . regarding the context and circumstances in which direct negotiations could be held" were discussed. Ben Aharon added that the United States "is interested in the creation of conditions and an atmosphere in Judea, Samaria and Gaza which would ease the process and would also enable Palestinian Arabs who are neither members nor sympathizers of the PLO to take part in the process. . . ."

Eight Palestinian Arab leaders, many of whom are PLO sympathizers, boycotted a

scheduled meeting with Shultz after the PLO ordered them not to attend. "I think it is too bad," Shultz said, "because the Palestinians keep on saying they want representation. They want to be heard. . . . I understand that some were threatened, and that only reminds us that peace has its enemies."

In his speech before the Weizmann Institute, Shultz declared his support for continued U.S. aid to Israel. "Israel will stay so strong that a military option against it cannot rationally ever be contemplated," he said.

He called upon Israel to take the initiative in the search for peace in the region. "While the challenge is not of Israel's making, Israel all the same must take a leading part in the path-breaking . . . no one helps the chances of peace by doing nothing."

Shultz interrupted his Israeli visit to travel to Saudi Arabia for talks with King Fahd. Among the topics discussed was Saudi support for Jordan in the event Hussein were to enter direct negotiations with Israel. In Washington, Administration officials pressed Saudi Crown Prince Abdallah on the Kingdom's position on Israel. A high-level U.S. official who participated in the talks with Abdallah refused to disclose the prince's position.

Shultz left Israel for brief, uneventful meetings with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in Cairo and King Hussein in London. A State Department official pointed out that regardless of the outcome of his Middle Eastern visits, the rest of the Secretary's trip was bound to be a success: "After Shultz leaves Moscow with an INF [Intermediate Nuclear Force] agreement in hand, everyone will forget about his trips to Egypt and Israel." J.R. □

## HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

### VOA-Israel Funds Advance

**U**nder the leadership of Sens. ERNEST HOLLINGS (D-S.C.), WARREN RUDMAN (R-N.H.) and ROBERT KASTEN (R-Wis.), the Senate adopted a floor amendment to provide \$34 million to begin construction of a Voice of America (VOA) transmitter in Israel. Hollings and Rudman are chairman and ranking minority member, respectively, of the Appropriations

Committee's Subcommittee on Commerce, State and Justice departments. The amendment, urged initially by committee member Sen. KASTEN, was attached to the bipartisan appropriations bill.

The entire appropriations bill (H.R. 2763) then passed by an 82-9 vote.

The Reagan Administration had previously withheld funding for the VOA proj-

ect, citing budgetary constraints on State Department programs (*NER*, Sept. 28 and Oct. 12).

Before Secretary of State George Shultz left for the Middle East, Sen. PETE WILSON (R-Calif.) secured passage of an amendment to the fiscal 1988 State Department Authorization bill opposing Soviet par-

(Continued)

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## PERSPECTIVE

# Israel Seeks to Lower Debts

**T**he nation with the largest per capita foreign debt is not Argentina or Brazil but Israel—over \$8,000 for every man, woman and child in the state. Currently, this amounts to \$24 billion.

The U.S. government holds some 41% of Israel's loans, or \$11 billion. Each year Jerusalem spends almost \$1.2 billion repaying this debt, roughly equal to Washington's annual economic assistance to Israel.

Many of these loans were taken during the high-interest years of the late 1970's and early 1980's to help pay for rebuilding Israel's military after the 1973 Yom Kippur War and restructuring after the Sinai withdrawal. Some carry rates as high as 14.5%.

Wall Street experts estimate that by refinancing \$5.4 billion of its U.S. debt, Israel could save \$1.5 billion in interest payments over the next two decades.

Earlier this year, the United States pro-

posed two plans to restructure Israel's debt. One would lower payments in the short term but would require large balloon payments after several years. A second plan would allow Israel to pay off its loans immediately without penalty. Jerusalem opted for the second alternative.

The government of Israel is now exploring the possibility of repaying the U.S. Treasury with funds borrowed from private American lenders and guaranteed by the U.S. government. Although the United States already guarantees that current government-to-government loans will be repaid to the Treasury, specific legislation is needed to transfer the guarantee in part or in full to private lenders.

The creation and sale of these new loans to Israel could raise substantial amounts of revenue for the United States. But in order for this plan to go into effect in 1988, the

government must act before Congress recesses, probably in late November.

In September, several senators assured Israeli Finance Minister Moshe Nissim that they would support legislation to refinance Israeli debts to the United States whose interest rates exceed 14%, approximately \$1 billion. Nissim emphasized to U.S. officials that Israel would use the restructuring only to reduce its foreign debt and budget deficit, not to increase domestic spending—even though defense, education, and social welfare programs have suffered heavy cuts in recent years.

Israeli officials pointed out—even before the recent stock market collapse—that the longer restructuring is delayed, the higher interest rates will be and the less Israel will be able to save.

J.R. □

## CONGRESS . . . Continued

ticipation in any regional peace conference unless the Soviets reestablished full diplomatic relations with Israel and "substantially" increased the number of exit visas granted to Jews who have applied for emigration to Israel.

The entire \$3.6-billion State Department bill passed the Senate 85-8. The authorization measure now goes to conference with the House-passed version.

Rep. BILL GREEN (R-N.Y.) wrote Shultz, asking for clarification of the State Department's position on Arab refugee funding. Green pointed out that "since the Arab states and the PLO are still asserting that all those Arab refugees should be thrust back on Israel, which obviously would destroy Israel; why does the United States continue to support the notion that territorial solutions to the West Bank, whether bilateral or multilateral, can bring peace to the Mideast and, therefore, should be the focus of the negotiations?"

State replied that the "unwillingness of the refugees themselves to accept resettlement prior to a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East is the crux of the issue because they perceive resettlement to be surrender of their claims to their lands in what was Palestine. . . . Until there is a peaceful resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict, we believe that the most appropriate assistance to the Palestinians is through UNRWA [United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East]."

[UNRWA—largely staffed by Palestinian Arabs—is the U.N. agency mandated to assist Arab refugees in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, the West Bank and Gaza Strip.]

Green also inquired about access to the U.N. War Crimes Commission (WCC) files and urged Shultz to "drop the requirement that the designated persons [allowed to see the files] be limited to [see only those] files of persons that they can name."

State responded that the "United States position that access to the WCC files

should be on a name-specific basis is consistent with the rules currently governing access to similar sensitive files. . . . We believed an accredited person should be able to request any number of individual files, but be required to specifically list those they wish to see. . . ."

□

## Terror's New Directions

**I**srael arrested about 50 suspected members of "Islamic Jihad" last week, and an Israeli general termed increasing religious fundamentalism in the territories "very disturbing." The arrests, and earlier news stories, spotlighted the growth of terrorist cells composed of religious fundamentalists under the name Islamic Jihad. Further, there appears to be tactical cooperation between Islamic Jihad and the more secular PLO.

According to an Oct. 13 article in the Israeli tabloid *Hadashot*, the Sunni Moslems operating under the name of Islamic Jihad in Gaza are inspired—but not directed—by the Shi'ite Islamic Jihad linked to Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini. The latter is outlawed in all Middle East countries except Iran, because it advocates the overthrow of existing regimes and their replacement by Khomeini-style Islamic rule.

But, the paper said, "from the Jewish point of view they are the same: Both organizations regard Jews as heathens who must be exterminated." They both stress the need to destroy Israel.

In Gaza, Islamic Jihad began circulating manifestos in 1981, calling for an armed struggle against Israel and early last year began claiming responsibility for terrorist acts. It then said it was behind a grenade attack on a group of soldiers and Jewish settlers in a market. Later attacks have developed a pattern. Military authorities said the weapons used and training received by Jihad members can be traced to Fatah, Yasir Arafat's "mainstream" PLO group.

A recent indication of such cooperation was seen in an aborted suicide car-bomb attempt on government buildings in Jerusalem. Islamic Jihad members from Judea and Samaria were to carry out the plot; the PLO provided the car and other assistance.

Islamic Jihad cells appear to have proliferated as religious fundamentalism has spread among the approximately 600,000 residents of the impoverished Gaza Strip, especially among the youth. The Islamic University in Gaza—which Israel permitted to open nine years ago—has become a center for the movement, authorities believe.

Religious students at the university, who fought with secular counterparts for years, now control the student council. But recently the two sides have begun to cooperate, according to the school's president.

## BACK PAGE

## The "New" Jackson

If foreign policy substance counted more than style in political campaigns, Rev. Jesse Jackson's interview in the November-December issue of *Tikkun* magazine could do to his presidential campaign what the Neil Kinnock videotape did to Sen. Joseph Biden's. For example:

- Syria, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Libya and Iran "already accept the state of Israel as a fact. . . . There is no evidence of them using, for example, their collective might in a contrary way, because they know that their relationship to America is in some measure conditional upon their acceptance of Israel's right to exist."

This breathtaking revision of Middle East realities resembles President Ford's 1976 claim that the Soviet Union did not control Poland.

- Jackson said that the U.S. "interest and will to protect Israel is substantial and seems unequivocal [emphasis added]. America has a special interest with Saudi Arabia, that likewise must be protected. . . ."

Of course the United States has important interests in Saudi Arabia. But equating American commitments to a friendly, Western-style democracy like Israel and an oil price-manipulating feudal monarchy like Saudi Arabia indicates, at best, a geopolitical blind spot.

Jackson also claimed that "there is an understanding between this country and the Saudis. They will not abuse our relationship to attack the state of Israel, and they have not." Where, in that view, does Saudi financing of Syria and the PLO, its long obstruction of Egypt's return to inter-Arab politics, and financial threats should Jordan make peace with Israel, fit?

- The candidate said America's most significant act "to protect Israel's right to exist in the Middle East was not a military act. It was a diplomatic act. It was Camp David. . . ."

But successful diplomacy rests on military strength. Had Israel not reversed the opening success of the Egyptian and Syrian attacks in 1973—partly with belated U.S. military resupply—Anwar Sadat might not have been convinced, at last, of the necessity of a negotiated settlement.

- Jackson dodged a question on the legitimacy of Zionism: "The Jews had a need for a homeland, and the political settlement was reached. I accept the political settlement as reality without getting into the religion of the matter." He then said the crisis still lingers because of the failure then "on getting a homeland for the Palestinians as well."

In fact, the Palestinian Arabs did not get their state in 1947-1949 because they and the Arab countries refused the U.N. parti-

tion plan. Instead, they went to war against Israel. The crisis lingers since, except for Egypt, the Arab world still refuses to make peace with Zionist Israel.

- Jackson accepted the Pope's meeting with Kurt Waldheim, but changed the topic when the interviewer asked about a hypothetical session between the pontiff and the head of South Africa.

Then, on the PLO "covenant's" demand for the elimination of Israel, the candidate said that while any call for genocide is wrong, "there's a difference between what's remotely possible and what's actual and real. The Palestinians cannot drive the Jews into the sea. The South Africans are driving blacks into the sea . . . and, unfortunately, the Israeli government has been in complicity with the South African regime."

That seems to imply that it is all right for the PLO to call for the destruction of Israel so long as the PLO cannot do it. It distorts the level of Israel's ties to South Africa and ignores much of black Africa's Arab-coerced discrimination against the Jewish state. Describing South Africa as the "Fourth Reich," Jackson attempts to confiscate the Holocaust—reality and symbol—from Jewish experience, even to identify Israel with those he says are acting like Nazis.

But, accepting Jackson's own distinction between the remotely possible and the actual, South Africa is no equal to the Third Reich; there is no "final solution" for blacks. Instead, it is a country headed, however violently, toward rule by blacks.

- Offered a chance to repudiate "black fascists" like Louis Farrakhan, Jackson cannot do it.

The "new Nixon" of 1968 turned out to be the original repackaged; so too with the "new" Jackson.

E.R. □

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# NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

VOL. XXXI, NO. 42 OCTOBER 19, 1987

## EDITORIAL

### Hussein on the Fly

In a speech to the Jordanian parliament the weekend before last, King Hussein blamed Israel's right-of-center Likud bloc, and its leader, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, for the impasse in Arab-Israeli peace efforts.

Hussein threw himself into domestic Israeli politics with uncharacteristic directness. According to the *Washington Post*, the King claimed that his efforts "at the Arab and international level have resulted in widening acceptance for an international peace conference. . . . It has become obvious to everyone in this world, including the Israeli people themselves, that peace efforts could reach a dead end because of the intransigence of the Israeli right in the government coalition . . . which rejects an Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab lands in exchange for peace."

Usually, when the King delivers himself of such sweeping statements, he has other audiences in mind. This latest pronouncement was no different.

As the *Jerusalem Post's* respected correspondent Hirsh Goodman explained a few days later, Hussein was looking beyond the Jordanian parliament to his meeting with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. The meeting was to have taken place this past weekend. In essence, Goodman explained, the King was conducting a preemptive media strike. The message to Shultz was "don't blame me" for paralysis over the international conference or the peace process in general.

Further, by blasting Shamir and the Likud, Hussein might have been trying to strengthen his inter-Arab position—vulnerable because of his dealings with Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres. The King also might have hoped to undercut Palestinian Arabs on the West Bank and Gaza who recently have been meeting with Likud Knesset members—

as well as with those from Peres' Labor Party—and even with Shamir himself.

But, if regional leaders are launching rhetorical blasts at one another, Shamir might have reason to fire away at the King. The former, for all his press notices as a hard-liner, has stressed publicly and repeatedly his interest in a face-to-face meeting with Hussein—and with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, another cog in the peace process who, until now, has refused to meet the Israeli leader. The Prime Minister has advocated a regional "mini-conference" to include Jordanian and Palestinian non-PLO Arabs, as well as Egypt, and even Saudi Arabia if it really is interested in peace.

Shamir has sent his chief aides to Washington to convince the State Department as well as any Arabs who will listen that—regardless of his opposition to Israeli withdrawal from Judea and Samaria—he is serious about implementing Camp David autonomy provisions for the territories. Arab refusal to deal with Shamir now over the "half-a-loaf" of autonomy does not improve the odds of convincing the next Israeli government—Likud or Labor—that the Arabs really are serious about "land for peace."

Shultz—like Peres—has expressed interest in an international conference *if* it can be designed to lead quickly to direct, bilateral talks between Israel and its Arab neighbors, particularly a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. Shamir opposes an all-parties conference on grounds that the Soviets, the Syrians and the PLO or its designated hitters will insist on unacceptably dangerous concessions from Israel.

If Shultz has guarantees regarding an international conference for Shamir, he will no doubt make them known. Shamir already has an invitation for King Hussein which the Secretary of State can pass along. This is an excellent time for the United States to test Jordan's interest—not in the "peace process"—but in peace. □

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### Israel Denied Role

Egypt has denied an Israeli request to participate in a project to produce and manufacture spare parts for U.S. weapons in Egyptian factories in the Hulwan region (*Al-Wafd*, Sept. 26). An Israeli military delegation could not convince Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister and Defense Minister Abdal Halim Abu Ghazalah to agree to Israel's participation in the project along with Egypt and Turkey.

Abu Ghazalah reached an agreement with U.S. companies to use some Egyptian factories in Hulwan to produce spare parts

for U.S. weapons supplied to Egypt during his visit to Washington last year.

He also denounced Israel's nuclear policy and urged the world to force Israel to declare its nuclear stand openly (MENA, Oct. 5). He described Israel's nuclear strategy as "the nuclear vagueness strategy."

### Meguid Denounced

A pro-PLO east Jerusalem newspaper, criticized statements made by Egyptian Foreign Minister Esmat Abdel Meguid in discussing U.S. involvement in an international peace conference (*Al-Fajr*, Oct. 4). The newspaper advocated an international

peace conference that would have "the authority to make binding decisions," and would not be used as a vehicle "for holding suspect 'direct negotiations.'"

### Soviets to Stay

The Soviet diplomatic delegation visiting Israel has asked permission to extend its stay for at least three months (Associated Press, Oct. 13). The eight-member delegation, the first to visit Israel in 20 years, arrived in July. Israeli officials hope the visit will lead to the renewal of diplomatic ties. □

## ANALYSIS

# Military Talks Delayed

**T**wo meetings which would have set the tone for U.S.-Israel strategic relations in the wake of the Lavi cancellation were postponed recently to allow Defense Ministry Director General David Ivri to return home for the funeral of his son Gil, who died in a military plane crash. The Joint Politico Military-Group (JPMG) and the Joint Security Assistance and Planning group (JSAP) sessions have been rescheduled for November.

The JPMG and JSAP meetings have been a crucial element of Israeli-American relations since 1983, bringing together high-level political and military officials to discuss military cooperation and U.S. security assistance to Israel. The most recent meetings would have been the first since the Aug. 30 termination of Israel's Lavi fighter plane project. The demise of the Lavi has been a serious blow to Israel's largest and most important defense contractor, Israel Aircraft Industries (IAI).

Although Washington has assured Jerusalem that current levels of military assistance will continue, it has made no commitments to preserve the jobs of IAI employees laid off due to the Lavi cancellation. Israel fears that it could lose these highly

skilled technicians to foreign firms, eroding its ability to keep pace with international defense developments.

It was hoped that projects discussed at the JPMG meeting would have enabled Israel to retain important elements of its high-tech work force. Among these is Israel's Anti-Tactical Ballistic Missile (ATBM) project.

The ATBM, designed to down short-range enemy missiles, is attractive to Israeli military planners concerned with the threat from sophisticated Soviet-built SS-21's deployed in Syria. U.S. officials see the ATBM as a potential boon to NATO defenses in Europe which face a similar threat from Soviet-built missiles.

The Pentagon already has approved in principle one Israeli ATBM, the "Arrow" missile. In a letter to Rep. Jim Courter (R-N.J.), Lt. Gen. James Abrahamson, director of the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative Organization, wrote: "The Arrow is, in fact, the missile system that should be developed to meet their [the Israelis'] current and projected threat."

Despite this initial endorsement, Pentagon officials have yet to decide how to share development costs with Israel. A

Pentagon decision to place the majority of the burden on Jerusalem could abort the project.

The ATBM recently received a vote of confidence from Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah), who called on Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger to "do everything possible to make sure that the Israeli ATBM program moves ahead full speed." In a letter to Weinberger, Hatch called the ATBM "of enormous significance to Israel" and to NATO.

The Israelis also are seeking U.S. approval to bid on maintenance and overhaul contracts for NATO aircraft and other defense equipment based in Europe.

Washington observers are optimistic that the November JPMG and JSAP sessions will finalize U.S. commitments regarding the use of its \$1.8 billion Foreign Military Sales (FMS) assistance. In July, Secretary of State George Shultz assured Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin that if Jerusalem were to discontinue the Lavi project, Israel would be able to use \$400 million of its FMS credits to purchase Israeli-made equipment in each of the next two years.

□

## HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

## Compromise on Saudi Arms Deal

**F**aced by overwhelming Congressional opposition, Administration officials last week reached a compromise on a \$1.4 billion arms package for Saudi Arabia.

With 254 Representatives and 68 Senators on record opposed to the sale, the Administration met with Senate leaders to agree on reducing the package. In return for dropping 1,600 Maverick-D missiles, Sens. HOWARD METZENBAUM (D-Ohio), ALAN CRANSTON (D-Calif.), BOB PACKWOOD (R-Ore.), and BOB DOLE (R-Kans.) pledged not to oppose the remaining items.

The Administration then informally notified Congress of the sale of 12 F-15 fighters, 93 artillery ammunition carriers, and enhancement equipment to modernize other Saudi F-15's and M-60 tanks.

Prior to the compromise, Sen. JESSE HELMS (R-N.C.) sent a letter to President Reagan expressing his concern "about Saudi financial support for the Soviet Union's Middle East proxies: the PLO and Syria." The letter was also signed by Sens. DON

NICKELS (R-Okla.) and MALCOLM WALLOP (R-Wyo.).

Last week, Sen. CHARLES GRASSLEY (R-Iowa) successfully sponsored an amendment to the State Department Authorization Act, which would restrict PLO activity in the United States.

While the State Department ordered the closure of the PLO's Washington office last month, the Anti-Terrorism Act of 1987 would go further, closing the PLO observer mission to the United Nations in New York as well.

In addition, the bill would prohibit spending PLO funds and receiving anything of value from the PLO, except informational material.

The State Department Authorization Act now goes to conference with the House, which has no similar language in its own version of the bill. The two chambers must work out a compromise bill in conference.

Sen. JEFF BINGAMAN (D-N.M.) opposed

the bill, saying, "I believe it is critical for this Senate to condemn the activities of terrorist activities like the PLO. . . . But it is quite another thing to express our outrage by restricting the constitutional rights of American citizens." Supporters of the legislation say the bill would not violate First Amendment rights because it does not limit free speech of American citizens, but only prohibits PLO-funded activity in this country.

In a recent issue of the *Jerusalem Post* international edition, Rep. GERRY SIKORSKI (D-Minn.) rebutted claims that aid to Israel is a "gift," writing, "Israel is a \$3 billion budget bargain."

Sikorski argued that Israel "provides a model for democratic developments in an area of the world that is not very familiar with the concept of democracy. It aids us in deterring Soviet-backed radicalism in the Middle East. It helps us in our continuous battle against terrorism."

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## EXCLUSIVE

# Settlers, Sons and Rivals

**M**uki Tsur lives on Kibbutz Ein Gev in the Galilee; Rabbi Eliezer Waldman in the West Bank settlement of Kiryat Arbah. Tsur, a writer, lecturer and historian, is one of the foremost ideologues of the kibbutz movement. Waldman has been a leader of the Jewish settlement movement, Gush Emunim, and a Knesset Member from the right-wing Techiyah Party. Both lay claim to the legacy of Israel's founding pioneers.

"Gush Emunim is a renaissance in the Zionist process," Waldman said. He contends that by 1967 the Jewish state was an established fact and Israelis had become complacent. "It was felt that there was no need for the pioneer spirit," he said. "Those segments which built so much of Eretz Yisrael [the land of Israel] were much dried out by the third or fourth generation.

"But then there was the victory of the Six-Day War in 1967," he continued. "As a believing Jew I have to believe it was an act of God. Suddenly we had the Biblical sites of Bethel, Shiloh, Shechem.

"It caused a deepening of roots . . . we discovered that the national spirit was still there. We found the power that unites the Jewish people: Eretz Yisrael."

Tsur admitted that in the past the kibbutz movement has fallen short of its ideals. While he lamented the departure of its kibbutz children from the settlements, he said that no society expects children to remain with their parents forever. "To do so," he said, "is surrealistic." He did not deny a

certain degree of decadence on many kibbutzim. "We accept criticism and we engage in much self-criticism," he said.

Tsur adamantly denied, however, that Gush Emunim picked up where the kibbutz movement left off. "I don't think they are continuing the kibbutz and moshav movement. Our settlements were built to create a community in dialogue with the world. The first thing a settlement would do when it became established was to learn Arabic, to try to be responsible human beings. They [Gush Emunim] create communities and don't ask themselves about human problems and their responsibilities toward the people around them. They just don't see the Arabs."

For Waldman, "Eretz Yisrael is holy. There are no territories, just homeland." He believes that "Judea and Samaria should be annexed. They should have been annexed yesterday. They should be annexed tomorrow."

What would he do about the large and expanding Arab population in Judea and Samaria? Waldman calls for an increase in the Jewish population through "internal and external aliyah"—immigration and high Jewish birthrates. The Arabs living in the annexed territories would be offered citizenship in Israel as long as they pass a security clearance, declare their allegiance to the Jewish state and are willing to perform some form of non-military national service.

What if Arabs still outnumber Jews, forc-

ing a choice between preserving democracy or the Jewish state? The Knesset member responded: "We want a Jewish state and a democratic state but democracy is a utensil for running a state. A homeland is not a utensil. *That* is the important part.

"If all the Arabs were to sign up to become citizens, we would have to find some way of dealing with it. We must have a Jewish majority. . . .

"With all our security problems we have a yearning for peace," he said. But in pursuit of peace Israel should not rush headlong to give away territory. "You must know what your rights are and what your land is," he said.

Tsur feels that while the kibbutz movement has remained true to its internationalist ideals, global politics have changed. "Today we are in a very difficult situation . . . We are now facing the problem of how to react creatively to change without collapsing."

Tsur contends that "the Arab world is more dogmatic in speech but more pragmatic in its behavior." He believes that "the hatred will not disappear immediately" but time favors peaceful coexistence. "I see what is happening now as a European process in the Middle East. It took the nations of Europe 200 years to come to terms with one another and that is what is happening in the Middle East now."

J.R. □

## HEARD AT THE U.N.

### Israel Remains in U.N.

**I**srael won its annual battle to retain its seat in the United Nations last week after the Group of Arab States attempted to expel the Jewish state.

The motion to eject Israel was defeated by the largest margin since it was first introduced in 1982.

Libya, this month's chair of the Group, introduced an amendment to accept the credentials of all U.N. member-states "except those of Israel."

Finland moved not to take any action on the amendment and the motion was accepted by a vote of 87 to 40.

There were 11 abstentions and 20 absences.

Israeli diplomats view the annual vote as a barometer of the Jewish state's acceptance in the world community. They called last week's outcome "a victory" and believe that it "sends a strong message to the

Arabs to drop this exercise from the U.N. agenda."

These diplomats were "disappointed but not surprised" by the Soviet Union's vote to oust Israel. East Germany was the only other Eastern bloc country to vote for ejection. For the first time, Czechoslovakia abandoned its call to remove Israel and led the remaining Eastern bloc countries in registering "absent."

The most significant shift this year was Jordan's deliberate absence from the vote, according to Israeli officials. In previous years, Amman called for Israel's expulsion. The only Arab nation to vote in favor of retaining Israel was Egypt.

An Israeli diplomat noted several significant improvements in the voting of African nations. Both Burundi and Rwanda changed their last year's abstentions to affirmative votes. Ethiopia's switch from its

previous abstention to a 'yes' vote was characterized as "extremely important, considering Ethiopia's sensitive, strategic importance" to Israel.

None of the black African nations which had previously voted to retain Israel reversed itself.

Another step forward was taken by Malta which has absented itself for the last three years but this year voted 'yes'. The Israeli source noted that this is quite significant since the Mediterranean island state has had a close relationship with Libya in the past.

An important vote by the 17-member United Nations War Crimes Commission was scheduled for the following day. The Commission was to decide whether to open the extensive War Crimes files to broader public inspection.

□

## BACK PAGE

## Double-Edged Sword

**S**even days ago a Palestinian Arab woman going to pick up her children was shot and killed by Israeli soldiers trying to control a stone-throwing mob in Ramallah, just north of Jerusalem.

Eight days ago a fight erupted between Moslems and Jews on the Temple Mount. The Jews had come to pray on the site of the Temple; the Moslems resisted this "foreign" presence on one of their holiest places.

The same day, Oct. 11, Yigal Shahaf, 24, died after being shot near the Damascus Gate in Jerusalem's Old City by an unidentified Arab.

On Oct. 10, Israeli troops shot and wounded a number of Palestinian Arabs in the Gaza Strip. The Arabs were protesting the deaths of four suspected terrorists in a shoot-out with Israeli security agents several days earlier. The quartet was stopped driving a car full of weapons. One Israeli security man, Victor Rajwan, also died in the battle.

Shortly before the latest trouble in Gaza, the body of an Israeli soldier, 27-year-old Hanoch Deneman—a Dutch immigrant and convert to Judaism—was found in a kibbutz field near Akko. Authorities considered terrorism one possible explanation for the murder.

Late in September a 43-year-old Army reservist and peace activist, Alexander Arad, was stabbed to death while waiting for a bus not far from his home in southern Galilee. A Palestinian Arab from a nearby village confessed to the killing. Two days before Arad's death a pair of Israeli teenagers from a Tel Aviv suburb were assaulted by a group of Arabs.

The latter two cases sparked a shouting match between Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon, a former Defense Minister, and Minister-without-Portfolio Ezer Weizman, another former Defense Minister, current Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin and others. The Labor Party Ministers hotly denied Sharon's charge that terrorist murders now evoked "apathy."

In fact, Lt. Gen. Dan Shomron, Chief of the IDF General Staff, agreed with an interviewer that "there is such a feeling" (that terrorism has increased). But, "if we are speaking about dry statistical data, there has not been any change this year. It is also better, even with the current developments, than other, harder years, such as 1985."

Shomron noted that his remarks might bring little consolation. He also said that many of the recent attacks were local in origin, not guided by outside groups.

But he praised the security services, noting that "they are the ones capable of find-

ing the needle in the haystack." He cited the "large number" of terrorist attacks which have been prevented, and called for "normal life in Israel, but with alertness, with the realistic awareness that in our situation terrorism is not something that ends in a day."

Some of the recent violence, no doubt, has been instigated by outside organizations—the PLO through its various factions. This is their "traditional" response to diplomatic activity, like Secretary of State Shultz's trip to the Middle East.

More fundamentally, the bloodshed—whether PLO-guided or carried out by "free-lance" domestic terrorists—reconfirms a flaw which has crippled Palestinian Arab politics—and regional peacemaking—for more than 40 years. As *The New Republic* editorialized Oct. 26:

"The Palestinian leadership class brought disaster on its people years ago, first by rejecting the mildest notions of Jewish legitimacy in the Holy Land, and then by rejecting an actual Palestinian state envisioned in the 1947 Partition Plan. Since then, following subsequent disasters, the Palestinians have failed to seize a series of opportunities, such as the autonomy provisions of the Camp David agreements."

Referring to the possibility of an international peace conference on the Middle East, the editorial asked who would come to the table for the Palestinian Arabs? Who, or which leadership group, would demonstrate the ability—so far hypothetical—to compromise?

One result of the latest murders has been to rekindle in Israel discussion of invoking the death penalty in cases of terrorism. And, functionally, the politics of terror may lead to a political death penalty for Palestinian Arab nationalism. E.R. □

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# NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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## EDITORIAL

### Arms Sale Contradictions

The Reagan Administration has offered a number of contradictory justifications for its latest Saudi Arabian arms sale. Although the \$1.4 billion deal might be modified, Congress was expected to receive formal notification of a major sale—including F-15 fighters and Maverick air-to-ground missiles—just after press time.

Administration briefers have told members of Congress that secret Saudi cooperation with the massive U.S. naval deployment in the Persian Gulf, and in other areas, has been significant. Therefore, the argument goes, a grateful Washington should reward Riyadh with more advanced weaponry.

In fact, as Congressional sources noted last week, Saudi Arabia has acted in its own self-interest. No reward—certainly not in addition to the \$24 billion in military goods and services the United States has sold the Kingdom since 1981—is due. Not unless the Administration believes the Saudis entertain the notion of cooperating with their enemies in Tehran.

Further, any Saudi assistance to the United States now can be made to seem impressive, given the sparseness of such help in the past.

Another argument in support of the sale stresses that Saudi Arabia must look to the future: Iraq could lose its war with Iran. Then Khomeini's legions would be right on the Saudis' border. But if the Kingdom now relies on a huge U.S. shield—35 or more ships and approximately 30,000 sailors and airmen—to protect it from a low-level Iranian threat, it most likely would require GI's and plenty of them, not more American weapons, to stave off an actual invasion.

Last week the Saudis apparently turned back Iranian gun-

boats headed for one of the Kingdom's off-shore oil fields. Following that incident a secondary argument was made, to the effect that Riyadh is defending itself vigorously and additional American arms would sustain the effort. But one can assert—as did the Saudis themselves after they put down the Iranian-inspired rioting in Mecca last summer—that these events demonstrate Saudi Arabia already has enough weapons for its own defense.

Other contradictions abound. If the threat is in the Gulf, why the absence from this current sale to Saudi Arabia of naval items? If Washington and Riyadh fear Iranian expansionism, why wait for Iraq to collapse? Why not imitate the Soviets and send military aid directly to Baghdad?

In reality, there is no *military* need for the weapons the Administration proposes to sell to Saudi Arabia. In addition to 58 of 62 F-15's remaining from previous sales, the Saudis have begun taking delivery on 72 British Tornados, planes of a similar class. The Saudis already possess many more of several types of Maverick air-to-ground missiles than any other U.S. ally, including Israel and the NATO countries, which face larger armored threats than does Saudi Arabia. And the older Saudi Mavericks do not have to be replaced with newer models; they can be rebuilt as necessary.

Backers of the sale also argue that, in the Middle East especially, diplomatic influence follows arms deals. But equally true is the fact that while Arab states armed to the teeth may feel more secure in relation to each other and Iran, they may feel even less inclined to reach a compromise peace with Israel.

In the end, overarming Saudi Arabia remains a habit this Administration does not want to break.

□

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### Iranian Exit

Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock stated that Iran has secretly permitted thousands of Jews to leave the country via Pakistan and then Austria and emigrate to the United States and Israel (*The Washington Post*, Oct. 3). Mock said that 5,100 Iranian Jews have come through Austria since 1983, and that the flow has increased sharply to 1,483 in the first eight months of this year.

Israeli officials confirmed Mock's basic information, noting that the number of Jews in Iran has dropped to 30,000 from the 80,000 living there before the 1979 Islamic revolution. The officials flatly denied re-

ports that the immigration had been linked to new shipments of Israeli arms to Tehran.

### Improving Relations

Foreign Ministry sources in Jerusalem have welcomed the call by Malta's prime minister for the restoration of ambassadorial-level relations with Israel (*Kol Yisrael*, Sept. 29). Prime Minister Edward Fenech Adami, in an interview with *Ha'aretz*, conceded that Malta, under its previous Labor administration, looked like a Libyan satellite.

In addition, Israeli Transportation Minister Haim Corfu has granted an operating license to the Yugoslavian charter airline Adria which will begin operating one or two flights a week between Belgrade and Tel

Aviv on Dec. 18 (*The Jerusalem Post*, Sept. 29). The agreement illustrates the growing ties between the countries.

### Gulf Casualties

Israeli military sources who have been following the war between Iran and Iraq estimate that the casualty toll is about one million killed, wounded, or taken prisoner in the 7-year-old conflict (*Kol Yisrael*, Sept. 30). The sources noted that the figures divide unevenly: two Iranians for every Iraqi killed, wounded, or captured.

Also, the number of Iranians taken prisoner by the Iraqis is only about 10,000, whereas the number of dead is over 250,000, the wounded nearly 500,000.

□

## HEARD AT THE U.N.

# Saudis Lead U.N. Walkout

**S**audi Arabia led the parade of nine Arab and Moslem nations which walked out of the United Nations General Assembly during Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres' recent speech. Libya, Iran, Syria, Sudan, South Yemen, Oman, Lebanon and Morocco joined the boycott.

Jordan, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Algeria and Egypt remained for the Peres speech. Fifteen Islamic states were absent from the meeting before the Foreign Minister's address.

Israeli officials believe that the walkout may be a barometer of Arab/Islamic attitudes toward the Jewish state, although they contend that the annual U.N. vote to deny Israel accreditation is a more accurate indicator. (The accreditation vote is scheduled for this week.)

The fact that Pakistan and Bangladesh remained in the hall is viewed positively by the Israelis. An official noted that these countries have had low-level contacts with Israel despite the absence of political relations. Jordan's decision to break ranks with the majority of Islamic delegations for the second year is seen as "a good, positive trend." It is unclear whether Algeria's delegation remained for the Peres speech intentionally. Turkey, which reportedly has decided to upgrade its diplomatic relations

with Israel, also stayed in the Assembly.

On the other hand, Morocco and Oman walked out for the first time in two years. A spokesman for the Moroccan embassy denied that his delegation left during the speech. Israeli officials conjecture that Morocco's action may be attributed to its delegate's inexperience in the U.N.

An Israeli official explained that the absence of 14 Arab/Islamic delegations from the hall prior to the Peres speech deprived the march to the exits of much of its usual clamor, and may be viewed positively. These countries were: United Arab Emirates, Afghanistan, Iraq, Tunisia, Somalia, Mauritania, Bahrain, Brunei, Djibouti, Kuwait, Qatar, North Yemen, Maldives and Malaysia.

Nigeria, an OPEC member with a large Moslem minority, also stayed during the speech. It was reported last week that the African nation—which already enjoys commercial and cultural relations with Israel—will exchange interest sections with the Jewish state. Although he refused to confirm or deny this report, a Nigerian official in Washington pointed out that only diplomatic relations are lacking between the two countries.

France recently blocked a decision which would have allowed greater public

access to the United Nations War Crimes Commission files. The collection contains documentation on approximately 36,000 individuals investigated by the Commission at the close of World War II.

Israel has led a campaign to open the papers to wider inspection following the discovery of documents in the collection detailing Austrian President Kurt Waldheim's wartime activities. In May, the United States called on the custodian of the files, the U.N. Secretary General, to allow individuals accredited by U.N. member states to examine the documents.

The War Crimes Commission met in late September for the first time in almost 40 years to take up this issue. In a surprise move, France demanded that governments maintain a greater degree of control over disclosure of the files, blocking agreement on a draft proposal to accept the U.S. position. An Israeli official speculated that "the Barbie trial raised the old issue of French complicity with the Nazis and they want to make sure it does not happen again. Who knows what evidence might turn up about past or present French politicians."

France, under pressure from other nations, is expected to accept the draft resolution at another meeting of the Commission this week. J.R. □

## HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

# Saudi Arms Sale Opposition Mounts

**T**he latest Saudi arms proposal underscores the need for changes in the arms transfer process, according to the author and key supporter of major reform legislation. Reps. MEL LEVINE (D-Calif.) and RAY MCGRATH (R-N.Y.) in a letter to all members of the House, said the Saudi arms sale expected in October is the fourth for the Kingdom this year and emphasizes the need for a coherent policy. They urged colleagues to co-sponsor H.R. 898, the Arms Export Control Reform Act, which would require majority Congressional approval of any arms sale.

Current law allows Congress to block an arms transfer only by passing a joint resolution of disapproval over the President's veto—which requires a two-thirds majority in both houses.

"While there has been some consultation on this pending sale, should the President choose to pursue the veto strategy, Congress would essentially be powerless to

stop him," commented Levine.

The Levine-McGrath letter emphasizes that H.R. 898 is "designed simply to restore a proper balance between the Executive and Legislative branches on foreign arms transfers. By requiring affirmative Congressional approval of transfers of sophisticated weaponry to certain countries, the bill provides the incentive presently lacking for a President to work with Congress, not against it or without it."

The Saudis this year have already received attack helicopters, Bradley Fighting Vehicles, and electronic countermeasure upgrades. Levine and McGrath claim that "the Administration, like Oliver in *Oliver Twist*, keeps coming back for more . . . Is it truly necessary to pass yet another Saudi litmus test?"

The planned \$1.4 billion Saudi sale reportedly would include 12 F-15 fighter planes, equipment to upgrade nearly 60 Saudi F-15's, 1,600 Maverick-D air-to-

ground missiles, improvements for tanks, and new artillery ammunition loaders.

Over 250 House members have signed the bipartisan letter to the President opposing an anticipated arms sale to Saudi Arabia. The House letter was sent to the President Sept. 30 on the heels of a similar letter signed by 64 Senators (see Oct. 5 *NER*).

At a recent press conference, Rep. LARRY SMITH (D-Fla.) called the arms sale a "poor substitute" for long-term strategic foreign policy. Smith, joined by Reps. VIN WEBER (R-Minn), DANTE FASCELL (D-Fla.), MEL LEVINE (D-Calif.), WILLIAM BROOMFIELD (R-Mich.) and JOHN KASICH (R-Ohio), stressed the need for cooperation and consultation between President Reagan and Congress in coming to terms over an arms package. Kasich stated the sale is not needed at this time, claiming that it is "not sensible for the United States to force an escalation of the arms race in the Middle East."

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## BACKGROUND

# Progress at General Assembly

Vice Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres made progress in advancing his proposal for an international peace conference during his visit to the U.N. last month—but on this issue the Israeli government remains sharply divided.

In addition to his talks with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, Peres met with the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union, China, South Korea, Turkey, Brazil, Great Britain, Hungary and Poland—among others—who, like him, were in New York for the opening session of the United Nations General Assembly. “We are slowly penetrating a world from which we were hitherto isolated and which formerly supported the PLO,” Peres said.

The meetings with Chinese and Turkish ministers were unprecedented and demonstrated an increase in their willingness to deal publicly with Israel. Peres was encouraged by the lack of Chinese conditions for an international conference. According to the Israeli leader, the Chinese Foreign Minister told him that whatever procedures Israel worked out with the U.N. Secretary General and the Arab participants would be acceptable to Beijing.

Peres believes that the recent missile agreement between the United States and Soviet Union improves the chances of a “flexible” Soviet posture on “regional” as well as global issues. The Israeli official discussed Moscow’s position with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze

during a meeting described by both sides as “friendly.” Peres said he felt a “sentiment of hope” for Soviet Jews and for the Middle East peace process.

Peres’ request that the Soviet Foreign Minister increase the number of Soviet exit visas and allow direct flights between the Soviet Union and Israel was not automatically rejected. “If I didn’t hear a ‘da’ I also didn’t hear a ‘nyet,’” he explained. But, according to sources close to the Israeli minister, Peres rejected a Shevardnadze offer to establish consular-level ties with Israel and continued to press for full diplomatic relations.

No less significant, according to reports, was the Soviet’s failure to insist on PLO representation in the list of participants for the peace conference. Shevardnadze substituted, instead, an agreement that Palestinian representatives be acceptable to the “Palestinian organizations.” This may have been the “one important change” in the Soviet position Peres referred to but would not elaborate on after the meeting.

Peres characterized the new Soviet position as evolving toward regional consensus in the Middle East and specifically the Jordanian stand. Observers felt that the Soviet announcement, one week later, that long-term refusenik Ida Nudel would be allowed to emigrate to Israel was a sign that Moscow saw the meeting with Peres as positive. In this regard recent “peace” moves by the PLO—offering to negotiate

“directly” with Israel, pursuing talks with a Likud activist, and Yasir Arafat’s meeting with leftist Knesset members—should be understood as reaction to the convergence of the Soviet and Jordanian positions.

The decision of the American Jewish Congress to publicly back Peres’ position on the peace conference was another new development. Although Peres told a meeting of Jewish leaders of over 100 national organizations that they should continue to emphasize “what we hold in common”—which he described as the view that negotiations be held now, that they be direct and that they center on a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation and an Israeli delegation—he welcomed the Congress’ move and invited further expressions of support.

[In a letter to Morris Abram, President of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, Shamir expressed “shock” at Peres’ “regrettable” attempt to gain public support of American Jews on a major foreign policy issue dividing Israelis.]

Peres had asserted that his Labor Party’s support of religious pluralism—on the “who-is-a-Jew” issue—cost it the chance to win a Knesset majority for an international peace conference.

David Twersky

*Twersky’s articles on Israeli and Jewish affairs have been published widely.* □

## Arms . . . Continued

Additional signers to the House letter not listed previously include: RICHARD BAKER (R-La.), JIM BATES (D-Calif.), BILL BÖNER (D-Tenn.), JOSEPH BRENNAN (D-Maine), GEORGE E. BROWN (D-Calif.), HANK BROWN (R-Colo.), DAN BURTON (R-Ind.), JIM CHAPMAN (D-Tex.), RONALD D. COLEMAN (D-Tex.), HAL DAUB (R-Neb.), JULIAN DIXON (D-Calif.), BERNARD DWYER (D-N.J.), ROY DYSON (D-Md.), BILL EMERSON (R-Mo.), RONNIE FLIPPO (D-Ala.), BILL GRANT (D-Fla.), RALPH HALL (D-Tex.), J. DENNIS HASTERT (R-Ill.), CHARLIE HAYES (D-Ill.), JOEL HEFLEY (R-Colo.), PAUL HENRY (R-Mich.), FRANK HORTON (R-N.Y.), DUNCAN HUNTER (R-Calif.), JAMES INHOFE (R-Okla.), PAUL KANJORSKI (D-Pa.), JOSEPH KENNEDY (D-Mass.), PETER KOSTMAYER (D-Pa.).

Also, MARTIN LANCASTER (D-N.C.), JIM LEACH (R-Iowa), TOM LEWIS (R-Fla.), MARILYN LLOYD (D-Tenn.), BILL LOWERY (R-Calif.), TOM LUKE (D-Ohio), LYNN MARTIN (R-Ill.), MATTHEW MARTINEZ (D-Calif.), JOSEPH MCDADE (R-Pa.), BOB MCEWEN (R-Ohio), TOM MCMILLEN (D-Md.), GEORGE MILLER (D-Calif.), GUY MOLINARI (R-N.Y.), BRUCE MORRISON (D-Conn.), MARY ROSE OAKAR (D-Ohio), DAVID PRICE (D-N.C.), CARL PURSELL (R-Mich.), JAMES QUILLEN (R-Tenn.), ARTHUR RAVENEL (R-S.C.), JOHN ROWLAND (R-Conn.), EDWARD ROYBAL (D-Calif.).

And, JAMES SCHEUER (D-N.Y.), CLAUDE SCHNEIDER (R-R.I.), PHIL SHARP (D-Ind.), CHRIS SHAYS (R-Conn.), NORMAN SISISKY (D-Va.), DAVID SKAGGS (D-Colo.), LOUISE SLAUGHTER (D-N.Y.), DENNY SMITH (R-Ore.), LAMAR SMITH (R-Tex.), ROBERT C.

SMITH (R-N.H.), STEPHEN SOLARZ (D-N.Y.), MAC SWEENEY (R-Tex.), AL SWIFT (D-Wash.), PAT SWINDALL (R-Ga.), TOM TAUKE (R-Iowa), ROBERT TORICELLI (D-N.J.), JAMES TRAFICANT (D-Ohio), BOB

TRAXLER (D-Mich.), FRED UPTON (R-Mich.), PETER VISCLOSKEY (D-Ind.), ROBERT WALKER (R-Pa.), CURT WELDON (R-Pa.), ALAN WHEAT (D-Mo.), FRANK WOLF (R-Va.), GUS YATRON (D-Pa.) □

## VOA Green Light

Construction of a new Voice of America (VOA) relay station may begin next year, thanks to a \$29-million allocation by the VOA’s parent body, the United States Information Agency (USIA).

The project was almost scuttled last month when Administration officials decided not to ask Congress for \$50 million in start-up funds for 1988. USIA Chairman Charles Wick responded by requesting the reprogramming of \$16 million from USIA and \$13 million from the Board for International Broadcasting (BIB) for the Israeli project. The Congressional Budget Office is now reviewing whether the necessary funds are available for the project. The relevant Congressional committee must then approve the reprogramming.

U.S. and Israeli officials signed an agreement to undertake the project at a White House ceremony in July. President Reagan, who presided over the event, said, “We could not be happier in this partnership with Israel because it will result in the broader dissemination of the values we have in common.”

Washington observers credit BIB Chairman Malcolm Forbes, Jr. with spearheading the effort to keep the Israeli VOA project alive.

Israeli officials were pleased with the decision to proceed, noting that the new relay station will not only deepen the friendship with the United States but also will spur development in the Negev region.

## BACK PAGE

## Hitchhiking to Moscow

**G**eorge Shultz's scheduled stops in Israel, Saudi Arabia and Egypt—and a London meeting with Jordan's King Hussein—this week probably would not be happening if the Secretary of State were not on his way to the Soviet Union. According to an official Israeli source, "the message is in the route."

A State Department spokesman conceded that the itinerary lets Washington signal Moscow that, regardless of Soviet activity in the Middle East, the United States is still involved in a region in which, until recently, it held a monopoly on super-power diplomacy.

For nearly two-and-a-half years, following a brief visit by Shultz to Jordan, Israel and Egypt, the State Department has said that the Secretary would not return unless he could give the Arab-Israeli peace process a dramatic push. But that seems unlikely, with Israel divided over an international conference as urged by Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and rejected by Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir.

In fact, Cabinet Secretary Eli Rubinstein, a Shamir associate, last week presented some of the Prime Minister's Camp David-style alternatives for direct Jordanian, Palestinian Arab and Israeli cooperation in Washington. According to a report in *Ma'ariv*, Rubenstein told an audience at a Washington think tank that Shamir is "flexible and prepared for compromises, much more than he is described by the media."

The policies the Cabinet Secretary outlined resembled the Camp David autonomy program, the newspaper reported. It added that the U.S. administration and the Israeli government showed "renewed interest" in autonomy following the August visit to Jerusalem by top Schultz aide Charles Hill. [The Prime Minister's office objected to suggestions by *Ma'ariv* that Shamir agreed to joint Israeli-Jordanian rule in Judea and Samaria on a territorial compromise.]

A Capitol Hill source, noting Shultz's past reluctance to go to the Middle East, said the Soviets have been "very active and successful, by their standards, in the region." Moscow "clearly finessed the [Persian] Gulf issue, getting the Iranians to say nice things about it while quickly responding to Kuwait [and reflagging Kuwaiti tankers]."

In response, the Secretary's trip could be seen as a high-level mission to "show the flag," the source agreed.

Another Congressional Middle East specialist offered a more prosaic explanation: "Some time ago he made a commitment to receive an honorary degree in Israel [Shultz is to be honored by both the

Weizmann Institute and Tel Aviv University] . . . and he decided this might be a good thing to do on the way to Moscow. And you don't go to Israel without going to Egypt, and you don't go to Egypt without saying hello to the King. All of a sudden it becomes a trip to the region."

Despite this "happenstance" nature, it is not a "make-work" trip, this source said, since Shultz can follow up the talks held with Shamir and Peres by Hill.

Acknowledging that "there really isn't a lot new" since the Hill mission, the State Department spokesman cautioned that "something major is not about to happen."

Nevertheless, the Administration believes that as a result of an understanding reached earlier this year between Peres and Hussein, "we have come a long way toward constructing a framework that can work." [The two leaders agreed on arrangements for an international conference which should lead to direct, bilateral talks.]

Shultz "does not want to give up on all that has been done," the spokesman added. —E.R. □

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