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NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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EDITORIAL

Saudi Salted Peanuts

Another Reagan Administration arms sale to Saudi Arabia—latest link in a chain stretching back to the 1981 \$8.5 billion AWACS deal—appeared ready to leave the starting gate at press time. Senior Administration officials including Secretary of State George Shultz and National Security Adviser Frank Carlucci reportedly have lobbied members of Congress on its behalf. The package is expected to be similar to one withdrawn in the face of Capitol Hill opposition last June and could include \$1.4 billion worth of advanced U.S. weaponry.

On Sept. 29 State Department Spokeswoman Phyllis Oakley asserted that no final decision had been made. But, “the sales we are considering” would support U.S. interests, be consistent with Middle East policy followed by previous administrations, and would “not affect the Arab-Israeli military balance in any meaningful way.” Oakley added that the Administration “remains committed to maintaining Israel’s qualitative edge.”

Nevertheless, 64 Senators—only three short of the number needed to override a Presidential veto of a potential resolution of disapproval on the sale—have written to President Reagan. They urged him to drop the idea. More than half of the House of Representatives signed a similar letter. (See story inside.)

After so many previous battles over such weapons deals, it is almost a cliché to note that Saudi Arabia has in the past and continues to support financially radical regimes like Syria, to back terrorist organizations like the PLO, to manip-

ulate oil prices, to obstruct the Arab-Israeli peace process, to participate in Arab-Israeli wars and, when its pan-Arab credentials need burnishing, to engage in anti-American rhetoric. Saudi cooperation with U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf has come late and is still too little. The very size of the American armada is indirect testimony to the niggardliness of Riyadh’s assistance.

Meanwhile, the State Department claim that the latest sale would not have a “meaningful” effect on the Arab-Israeli military balance is itself meaningless. Israel’s qualitative edge can be eroded through a series of relatively small moves as well as through one giant stroke. And an Israel which determined—under U.S. pressure—that it could not afford to build its own next-generation fighter-bomber, the Lavi, should not be forced—by U.S. weapons sales—to cope with ever-increasing Arab air forces, including the Saudis’.

When the Kingdom got its first F-15’s in 1978—before the Iran-Iraq war—and when the AWACS deal went forward three years later, Congress was told that Riyadh would assist in the Middle East peace process. Capitol Hill understood that to mean the Arab-Israeli peace process. What happened? Egyptian Foreign Minister Abdel Esmat Meguid said last week that “we haven’t seen yet an active Saudi participation in the peace process.” The Administration tacitly agrees—and to certify Riyadh’s eligibility for AWACS deliveries, has redefined the peace process to mean the one supposed to end the Iraq-Iran war.

American sales of advanced weapons to Saudi Arabia long ago became the military-industrial equivalent of eating salted peanuts: It is time to stop the binge. □

VIEWING THE NEWS

Saudi Denial

Saudi Arabia has denied a *Washington Post* report on the involvement of Saudi intelligence in three covert operations allegedly planned by former CIA Director William Casey (Radio Free Lebanon, Sept. 28). Reporting on a book published by the *Post*’s Bob Woodward, the article said one of the operations consisted of an assassination attempt on Hezbollah leader Sheik Muhammad Hussein Fadlallah in west Beirut in 1985.

An official Saudi spokesman asserted that the accusation—published in the book and reported by the *Post*—is completely unfounded. Fadlallah described them, according to the radio station, as “cheap allegations made by intelligence services” to distort his positions. He denied any con-

nection between his group and terrorist attacks carried out against American and other Western targets but stated such actions were a cause of pride for his group and were appreciated.

Shomron’s View

Syria is still trying to achieve strategic parity with Israel, according to Israeli Chief of Staff Lieut. Gen. Dan Shomron, but he believes that to the Syrians this means the ability to maintain their strength after they have initiated a military action (IDF Radio, Sept. 25). Shomron stated that Syria’s process of military buildup is ongoing and dynamic and, while he “did not see anything special in it,” he did say that Israel must “run very fast” in order to maintain its qualitative edge.

Commenting on the effect of recent budget cuts on the military, Shomron stated that quality must come first and that the most difficult aspect of the cuts was the need to dismiss a large number of career army personnel (*Ma’ariv*, Sept. 23).

Fundamentalist Tried

The Tunisian State Security Court sentenced seven members of the fundamentalist Islamic Tendency Movement (MTI) to death after they were convicted of conspiring to overthrow the regime (Kuwait News Agency, Sept. 27). The seven were accused of involvement in the explosions in Tunisian hotels last month that injured 10 British and Italian tourists.

In Lebanon, Islamic Jihad threatened to
(Continued on page 162)

HEARD IN WASHINGTON

"Peace is Here to Stay"

Egyptian Foreign Minister Esmat Abdel Meguid is convinced that peace with Israel "is here to stay." In an address to Washington's Brookings Institution, Meguid defended his country's "separate peace" with confidence, asserting "many Arab states now regret—and I stress regret—their attitude toward Egypt of a few years ago. We are not running after any country to restore diplomatic relations with Egypt. . . . We are not in a hurry to return to the Arab League."

He called the League "a dead point," adding, "since Egypt left we have seen no action from the Arab League." [Egypt was ejected from the League following the signing of the Camp David Accords.]

Meguid encouraged Saudi Arabia and other Arab states to join Egypt in working for peace. He lamented, "We haven't seen yet an active Saudi participation in the peace process. They have a keen eye for stability in the area. But a particular stand taken by Saudi Arabia, we haven't had the occasion to see."

Last July, Meguid became the first senior Egyptian official to visit Israel since the onset of the "cold peace" between the two nations in 1982. Meguid said that contacts with Israel have improved since the decision to resolve the Tabah dispute through binding arbitration, and since the summit meeting between Egyptian President Hosni

Mubarak and then-Prime Minister Shimon Peres in September 1986. Nevertheless, he admitted that problems remain.

"Relations between Egypt and Israel are good. But in any relationship there are bound to be differences of opinion. . . . We never had in mind a privileged relationship with Israel or any other country. We condemn Israel's practices on the West Bank and Gaza. Which is why we believe we should put an end to the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza."

'No Way Out'

"Those of us who have suffered war know what war is," he said. "Peace is something we cherish, something we should not spare any effort to achieve. . . . This peace is here to stay, there is no way out. But it is not enough. It must be complete, comprehensive."

He called the Palestinian Arab problem "the most crucial problem" in the area. "Without a solution to this problem we cannot have comprehensive peace or stability," Meguid said. "Those who believe the status quo is O.K. are making a very serious mistake. Those who are opposed to the peace process are not just speaking for now, but for the next 10 to 15 years."

The Foreign Minister remains committed to an international conference on the Middle East. He said that such a conference must include the Soviet Union and a

joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. "The PLO is the only organization who can nominate individuals to be on the [Palestinian Arab] negotiating team," he remarked.

During his visit to Israel last summer, Meguid met with 12 pro-PLO residents of the West Bank and Gaza. "We had very frank and direct talks," he said. "We are in favor of them accepting [U.N. Security Council Resolutions] 242 and 338. Maybe that is not to the liking of our Palestinian brothers. But we are not trying to please, just to say what is right."

Admitting that Egypt "has its differences with the PLO," Meguid nonetheless asserted, "The PLO is the true representative of the Palestinian movement, whether we like it or not."

The Egyptian called on the United States to renew its active involvement in the peace process. "The U.S. must devote all its efforts to solving the Palestinian problem, Israeli occupation of Arab land, Lebanon, the Golan Heights."

Meguid expressed fear that movement toward a peace conference could become bogged down during the 1988 U.S. election unless action was taken immediately. He said he is "cautiously optimistic" that a conference could convene before the end of the Reagan Administration.

J.R. □

OP-ED

Needed: A 'Glasnost' Soaking

Signers of the Helsinki accords returned to Vienna recently for the concluding session of their review conference, where the West's central concern is certain to be Moscow's conduct with respect to human rights. A striking feature of the ten-month old conference has been how little Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of *glasnost* is reflected in the actual proposals and speeches of the Kremlin delegation.

The West has advanced a number of new proposals aimed at sharply clarifying and extending the language of the Helsinki accords' humanitarian provisions. The Soviet response, however, has been either negative or a reiteration of stale formulas, hardly characteristic of "new thinking." No wonder then that a British diplomat, before

the July 31 adjournment, advised the Soviet delegation to "soak yourselves in *glasnost*."

Without meaningful human rights progress covering the free movement of people and ideas, the West's agreement on a concluding document would be inadvisable; if the document focused largely on security and trade matters—a Soviet objective—it would be imbalanced and a distortion of the Helsinki process.

The West's purpose at Vienna this fall is threefold: 1) to urge the extension of *glasnost*, which is perceived as having significantly slowed; 2) to recommend the institutionalization of the recent positive changes lest they be reversed; and 3) to create a permanent Helsinki mechanism

aimed at facilitating compliance with the accords' provisions.

Progress in the area of emigration is deemed urgent. While Soviet officials keep referring to the new rules of Jan. 1 as liberalizing travel, U.S. Ambassador Warren Zimmermann has noted that the increase in exit visas for Soviet Jews remains, disappointingly, at much less than one-half the average annual rate of the 1970's. Moscow's restrictions on emigration are seen by the bulk of the Helsinki members as anachronistic, and several leading neutral countries have called for the solution of all exit visa problem cases within a month after the end of the Vienna meeting.

What is particularly dismaying is
(Continued on page 161)

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BACKGROUND

Shultz to Visit Region

In an effort to inject life into the peace process, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz will visit the leaders of Israel, Egypt and Jordan later this month before traveling on to Moscow. The Secretary's sudden decision to visit the region follows consultations with Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and Jordanian Crown Prince Hassan at the United Nations General Assembly in New York. Shultz told Hassan that "the U.S. would not let up on its efforts to find a way to move the peace process forward."

The Secretary also conferred with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and Jordan's King Hussein before announcing the trip. As one State Department insider put it: "It wasn't so much that they told him to come, as that they didn't tell him not to come."

Peres greeted the Shultz trip enthusiastically. "There are so many factors moving in the direction of peace," Peres said in Los Angeles. "We are facing a real prospect for peace and we must be careful not to miss the boat. If nothing shall happen in the next three or four months, we shall face a long interruption. . . . If we should miss the boat this time, God knows when we shall get another opportunity."

Prime Minister Shamir welcomed the visit but cautioned that he would not moderate his opposition to an international conference on the Middle East. "Shultz knows my position on a Middle East conference

and all that. He's not coming here to argue. I am prepared to listen to any opinion, but the position I have taken on the conference question is not a temporary one."

The latest round in the peace process has essentially been frozen since last summer when Israeli Cabinet members were divided over the advisability of convening an international conference on the Middle East. Peres has supported such a conference, while Shamir has favored direct talks between Israel and its neighbors. Until now Shultz has avoided a trip to Israel so as not to become embroiled in this domestic dispute. A State Department official said that while the Secretary is aware of this problem "he cannot run away from it."

Direct Talks

The State Department's position on the peace process is careful to leave room for the Peres and Shamir attitudes toward negotiations: "We have made clear our view that the only practical path to comprehensive peace lies in direct negotiations. We have also made known our willingness to explore all avenues that might lead to face-to-face negotiations."

Although State Department officials have insisted in recent weeks that the peace process is not dead, neither the U.S. nor the Soviet delegation raised the Arab-Israeli issue during talks between Shultz and his counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze. A U.S. source involved in the talks said that

the Iran-Iraq war and Afghanistan crowded out other regional issues. "But," he added, "since the peace process has not progressed since July, perhaps the Secretary thought there would be no point in taking up the issue at this time."

In discussions with Peres in New York, Shevardnadze reportedly offered new positions on the peace conference. Although Peres was unwilling to disclose the content of his meeting, he did say that the Soviets no longer would demand that the PLO attend such a conference. This was later denied by a Soviet official.

Peres complained that the Soviets are using an improvement in bilateral relations as a "reward" for convening an international conference. A Soviet official told *NER* that while an international conference is not necessarily a precondition for normalized relations, the Israeli government must make "hard decisions" regarding the international conference.

The Soviets also continue to insist that U.N. Security Council members participating in an international conference should have the power to approve or veto decisions reached in bilateral discussions. Peres envisions a conference which would provide an opening for substantive direct negotiations, and would not impose its will on bilateral talks.

J.R. □

'Glasnost' . . . Continued

Moscow's rejection of applicants for exit visas on arbitrary grounds of allegedly knowing "state secrets." Even though Gorbachev himself, in October 1985, had suggested a 5-10 year limit on its applicability, the capricious use of this device has resulted in innumerable exit visa refusals. Of nearly 800 Jewish scientists who have sought to emigrate, only 65 have been allowed to leave. Ambassador Zimmermann called for an end to "this shameful charade of toying with people's lives for bogus reasons of security." A Western proposal has been introduced that would place severe time limits on the use of "state secrets" for emigration refusals.

Of concern, too, is possible backtracking. If numerous political prisoners have been released (although hundreds still remain in the *gulag*), what is to prevent their re-incarceration? Western spokesmen have wondered as to why the legal devices for political repression—Articles 70 and 190-1 of the Russian criminal code—have not been removed. Preventing recurrences of

earlier massive abuses is seen as requiring institutional changes.

Machinery to cope with future human rights violations is a particular priority. A novel proposal formulated jointly by France, Denmark and the Netherlands would require bilateral talks between any Helsinki state and the alleged offender. This would be followed by a "special meeting" of the Helsinki signatories to "resolve specific situations or cases." Human rights violators would find themselves publicly targeted, thereby enhancing the proposal's deterrent value.

None of these measures have won a favorable response. Rather, the Soviets have attempted to trivialize some of the issues in replying to Western challenges about political prisoners whose dissenting views had landed them in the *gulag*. Soviet Ambassador Yuri Kashlev read a *Pravda*-published list of some 20 Americans who he claimed were "political prisoners." A careful check revealed that in most instances the individuals had either been charged

with or sentenced for crimes of violence.

Soviet officials were not embarrassed to raise once again the idea of a human rights conference in Moscow, despite insistence in the West that hosts of the proposed conference must have an exemplary human rights record. When the United States spelled out 10 standard Helsinki conditions with which hosts were expected to comply, Soviet officials simply charged that it "smacked of an ultimatum."

Moscow is anxious for a concluding document that would finalize the decisions on security and confidence-building measures reached in Stockholm in September 1986 and that would move toward further arms control measures. But determined resistance to Helsinki human rights progress can hardly be expected to lead in this direction.

William Korey □

Korey, an authority on Soviet Jewry, is Director of International Policy Research for B'nai B'rith International.

THE ISRAELI ECONOMY

Bruno Scans Economic Horizon

Michael Bruno, Governor of the Bank of Israel, expects Israel's 1987 inflation rate to average 17% to 18%, down from 20% in 1986. Before the national unity government instituted its economic reform program in mid-1985, Israeli inflation had been running at 440% annually.

Nevertheless, "there is still a long way to go" to get to lower, single-digit inflation like that in the United States, Bruno said. Speaking to a group of Congressional staff members last week, he explained that the \$1.5 billion in supplemental U.S. economic aid did not cause the recovery. But the money, provided in 1985 and 1986 in two equal installments, gave Israel a "safety cushion without which we never would have embarked on this risky program."

With inflation down and a foreign exchange crisis ended, Bruno rated the 1985 economic program a "fair success." Now attention has shifted to spurring growth—low or stagnant since 1973. Israel's gross national product (GNP) started rising in 1986 and should show a 5.5% increase in real terms this year, but "it is still too early to say if this can be sustained into the future," the head of the central bank said.

Taking note of contract talks under way throughout the Israeli economy, Bruno said that "keeping wages from rising faster than productivity" will be one key to encouraging economic expansion. Exports—crucial for a small economy like Israel's—show a 9% increase in real terms this year, but need to grow at 10% a year or better.

Private sector investment finally has started to rise, he added.

Budget cuts contributed to reduced government borrowing, he noted. This, in turn, helped free the capital markets to support private investment. Gradual deregulation of banks and other financial institutions also should help. Much-discussed privatization—selling of state-owned businesses—"depends on the ability of the government to stay out of the capital markets."

Spending Cuts

Bruno took notice of reduced marginal tax rates, but said "the real issue of taxes in Israel is that average rates are much too high." However, "when government expenditures run at 50% to 55% of GNP, high average tax rates are necessary."

Welcome as reductions in defense and social welfare spending have been, Bruno said more defense cuts will be needed. Difficult legislative changes are required to lower social spending and, with the growth of those segments of the population most likely to receive benefits, "keeping the social welfare budget relatively constant is an achievement in itself." He said the Israeli government carries out "enormous" income redistribution, and transfer payments must be reduced to stimulate growth.

Some particularly hard-hit areas of the economy, including large segments of agriculture, construction and some defense industries, "need major restructuring," Bruno acknowledged. The success of the

past two years does not mean that fundamental economic problems have been solved, he cautioned.

Bruno said halting the Lavi fighter program was as important as starting the 1985 recovery program itself. "It signals that the government is just not going to continue with programs that are not economically profitable."

The major economic issues will be "keeping the government budget in balance" and "keeping wages restrained," Bruno said. If the Lavi decision and a pending agreement on public sector wages are indicators, "there is hope that in 1988, even though it is an election year, we will be able to focus on continued recovery." □

Keyes Leaves

A Ian Keyes, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, and a foe of anti-Zionism, has resigned his post over differences with Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead on U.N. funding and what Keyes termed "rude" personal treatment.

Keyes, regarded as a protege of former U.N. Ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, consistently denounced U.N. Resolution 3379 equating Zionism with racism and had pledged to "find a way to assure the reversal not only of the concept that Zionism equates with racism, but of the insidious political strategy it represents."

The Department's highest-ranking black, he had stressed that in condemning Zionism, "the target is not just Israel and all Jews who support Israel, but all people who support Israel and our common liberal Western democratic heritage." He was a leader in the Department's effort to close the PLO's Washington office. And in 1985 Keyes informed the United Nations Decade for Women Conference in Nairobi that the United States "reject(s) the obscene notion that Zionism is a form of racism."

[President Reagan asserted in his Sept. 21 U.N. address: "We must protect the Universal Declaration of Human Rights from being debased as it was through the infamous 'Zionism-is-Racism' resolution."]

Keyes also strongly supported United Nations reform and was instrumental in gaining approval of a resolution which he stated would give the United States and other nations the ability to exercise greater influence over U.N. budgeting.

VIEWING . . . Continued

launch an assassination campaign against the Tunisian government if it carried out the death sentence (*Agence France Presse*, Sept. 27). The warning came hours after the sentences were handed down at the end of a month-long trial in Tunis, in which 90 members of MTI were accused of plotting to establish an Islamic state with help from Iran. The court dismissed the case against 14 defendants; the remaining defendants received two to 20 years imprisonment at hard labor.

Likud-PLO Contact

Moshe Amirav—a member of the Herut Central Committee who reportedly conducted contacts with PLO supporters—disclosed that a joint Likud-PLO document had been drafted, but did not elaborate. (*Al Hamishmar*, Sept. 22). According to commentator Pinhas Inbari, the drafting of such a document by a member of the Likud could not have taken place without the tacit approval of Likud's leader, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir.

Inbari wrote that such an agreement would not only come at Jordan's expense, but would spawn a tough internal dispute in the Likud between those advocating a Palestinian option and those in favor of a Jordanian option.

Hussein Sees Assad

King Hussein has returned from a brief visit to Syria where he and President Hafez Assad discussed Arab and international developments, issues of common interest and ways to achieve Arab solidarity (*Amman Television*, Sept. 24). Radio Monte Carlo linked their talks with the inter-Arab dispute over the agenda for an upcoming Arab summit conference, disclosing that Syria has threatened to boycott the summit unless the agenda is amended.

Jordan restored diplomatic relations with Libya this month in an attempt to further improve Arab relations before the Arab summit is convened in Amman on Nov. 8 (*Qatar News Agency*, Sept. 25). □

HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

Majorities Oppose Saudi Sale

Nearly two-thirds of the Senate and more than one-half of the House signed letters to the President expressing their opposition to a planned Saudi arms sale and urging the Administration to reconsider its proposal.

Sens. ALAN CRANSTON (D-Calif.), BOB PACKWOOD (R-Oreg.), DENNIS DECONCINI (D-Ariz.), ALFONSE D'AMATO (R-N.Y.) and FRANK LAUTENBERG (D-N.J.) circulated the letter in the Senate, and Reps. LARRY SMITH (D-Fla.), VIN WEBER (R-Minn.), DANTE FASCELL (D-Fla.), MEL LEVINE (D-Calif.), WILLIAM BROOMFIELD (R-Mich.) and MICKEY EDWARDS (R-Okl.) gathered signatures to a similar letter in the House.

Both letters criticize the Saudis for supporting PLO terrorism, refusing to grant U.S. military forces protecting the Persian Gulf landing rights, and failing to assist the Middle East peace process. The Senate letter states, "We do not believe it wise to reward Saudi behavior, which has so frequently harmed U.S. national security interests, with another sale of sophisticated arms." The House letter claims "that arms sales to Saudi Arabia have proven to be an ineffective carrot and a precarious foundation on which to base a bilateral relationship."

The anticipated \$1.4 billion Saudi arms package reportedly contains 12 F-15 fighter planes, upgraded equipment for nearly 60 Saudi F-15's, 1,600 Maverick-D air-to-ground missiles, improvements for tanks, and new artillery ammunition loaders.

Sixty-four Senators signed the Cranston-Packwood letter as of press time: SENS. BROCK ADAMS (D-Wash.), MAX BAUCUS (D-Mont.), JOSEPH BIDEN (D-Del.), JEFF BINGAMAN (D-N.M.), CHRISTOPHER "KIT" BOND (R-Mo.), RUDY BOSCHWITZ (R-Minn.), BILL BRADLEY (D-N.J.), JOHN BREAUX (D-La.), DALE BUMPERS (D-Ark.), QUENTIN BURDICK (D-N.D.), LAWTON CHILES (D-Fla.), WILLIAM COHEN (R-Maine), KENT CONRAD (D-N.D.), ALAN CRANSTON

(D-Calif.), ALFONSE D'AMATO (R-N.Y.), JOHN DANFORTH (R-Mo.), TOM DASCHLE (D-S.D.), DENNIS DECONCINI (D-Ariz.), ALAN DIXON (D-Ill.), CHRIS DODD (D-Conn.), DAVID DURENBERGER (R-Minn.),

Also, J. JAMES EXON (D-Neb.), WENDELL FORD (D-Ky.), WYCHE FOWLER (D-Ga.), ALBERT GORE (D-Tenn.), BOB GRAHAM (D-Fla.), CHARLES GRASSLEY (R-Iowa), TOM HARKIN (D-Iowa), CHIC HECHT (R-Nev.), HOWELL HEFLIN (D-Ala.), JOHN HEINZ (R-Pa.), ERNEST HOLLINGS (D-S.C.), DANIEL INOUE (D-Hawaii), J. BENNETT JOHNSTON (D-La.), DAVID KARNES (R-Neb.), ROBERT KASTEN (R-Wis.), EDWARD KENNEDY (D-Mass.), JOHN KERRY (D-Mass.), FRANK LAUTENBERG (D-N.J.), PAT LEAHY (D-Vt.), CARL LEVIN (D-Mich.), SPARK MATSUNAGA (D-Hawaii), JOHN MELCHER (D-Mont.), HOWARD METZENBAUM (D-Ohio), BARBARA MIKULSKI (D-Md.), GEORGE MITCHELL (D-Maine), DANIEL MOYNIHAN (D-N.Y.),

AND, BOB PACKWOOD (R-Ore.), CLAIBORNE PELL (D-R.I.), LARRY PRESSLER (R-S.D.), WILLIAM PROXMIER (D-Wis.), HARRY REID (D-Nev.), DON RIEGLE (D-Mich.), JOHN (JAY) ROCKEFELLER (D-W.Va.), WILLIAM ROTH (R-Del.), TERRY SANFORD (D-N.C.), PAUL SARBANES (D-Md.), JAMES SASSER (D-Tenn.), RICHARD SHELBY (D-Ala.), PAUL SIMON (D-Ill.), ARLEN SPECTER (R-Pa.), LOWELL WEICKER (R-Conn.), PETE WILSON (R-Calif.), TIM WIRTH (D-Colo.)

House signers included: Reps. GARY ACKERMAN (D-N.Y.), MICHAEL ANDREWS (D-Tex.), FRANK ANNUNZIO (D-Ill.), DOUGLAS APPLEGATE (D-Ohio), CHESTER ATKINS (D-Mass.), LES AU COIN (D-Ore.), CASS BALLENGER (R-N.C.), ANTHONY BEILENSON (D-Calif.), HOWARD BERMAN (D-Calif.), MARIO BIAGGI (D-N.Y.), JAMES BILBRAY (D-Nev.), MICHAEL BILIRAKIS (R-Fla.), SHERWOOD BOEHLERT (R-N.Y.), LINDY BOGGS (D-La.), ROBERT BORSKI (D-Pa.), BEAU BOULTER (R-Tex.), BARBARA BOXER (D-Calif.), WILLIAM BROOMFIELD (R-Mich.), TERRY L. BRUCE (D-Ill.), JOHN BRYANT (D-Tex.), JACK BUECHNER (R-Mo.), JIM BUNNING (R-Ky.), ALBERT G. BUSTAMANTE (D-Tex.), SONNY CALLAHAN (R-Ala.), BEN NIGHTHORSE CAMPBELL (D-Colo.), BENJAMIN CARDIN (D-Md.), TOM CARPER (D-Del.), BOB CARR (D-Mich.), ROD CHANDLER (R-Wash.), JAMES CLARKE (D-N.C.), WILLIAM CLAY (D-Mo.), DAN COATS (R-Ind.), HOWARD COBLE (R-N.C.), TONY COELHO (D-Calif.), E. THOMAS COLEMAN (R-Mo.), CARLISS COLLINS (D-Ill.), SILVIO CONTE (R-Mass.), LAWRENCE COUGHLIN (R-Pa.), JIM COURTER (R-N.J.), WILLIAM COYNE (D-Pa.).

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(ADDITIONAL NAMES TO APPEAR NEXT WEEK.)

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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete
Eric Rozenman, Editor

BACK PAGE

What It Really Means

"We are one." That message of Jewish solidarity, of Jewish peoplehood, is invoked at countless banquets, in lectures and sermons. It supports United Jewish Appeal solicitations, underlies work for Soviet and other oppressed Jewries and promotes travel to Israel.

And periodically, headlines remind us of the human cost demanded to turn slogans into facts, to make dreams reality. Last month's headline in the *Jerusalem Post* read "So others may live." The story, from southern Lebanon:

"Three members of a small and inexperienced Givati [Brigade] force, out on a terrorist-search mission, ambushed in the Mt. Hermon area . . . by a Syrian-sponsored Lebanese terrorist gang apparently on its way into Galilee: Ronen Weissman, the company commander, who was the first to be hit, Alexander Singer, the platoon commander, who was killed trying to aid Weissman, and Private Oren Kamil, who was felled attempting to pull the two officers to safety."

Singer, who died on his 25th birthday, exemplified the ideal behind the slogans. According to stories in the *Washington Jewish Week* and the *Washington Post*, the 1980 graduate of Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School in suburban Washington "formed a deep attachment to Israel" while living there with his family from 1973 to 1977.

A Cornell University honors graduate who spent his junior year at the London School of Economics, Singer traveled to Europe and the Middle East. Wanting to see an Arab country as well as Israel, he went to Jordan. In the Soviet Union, he met with Jewish refuseniks, and "the trip intensified his feelings of being a Jew," according to the *Jewish Week* account.

Singer reported on his travels in letters addressed to "Dear Everyone." Shulamith Elster, headmaster of the Jewish day school which one of Singer's brothers attended, said these were "not just a travel monologue, he related his individual experience. This was a young man in search of something."

What he found was his place with the Jewish people, in Israel. He lived in Kibbutz Ein Tsurim and then in Jerusalem. Impelled by what a college friend described as his desire "to be doing something, having a challenge"—he decided as a draftee to become a paratrooper and an officer.

A family friend added to the portrait, calling Singer "a happy man, an optimistic person, very curious, very interested. He believed in *tikkun olam*, both the perfectability of the world and the need to work for it, and he acted on his belief."

In a letter written early this year, Lt. Singer described duty in south Lebanon, including watching the bursts from a night fight between Lebanese factions north of his position:

"I think about staying warm, about getting home, about not falling asleep on patrol and about how fast I can get onto our APC's [armored personnel carriers] when we're 'jumped' to investigate . . . signs of freedom fighters trying to break through the fence . . . to liberate the children's houses of one of the kibbutzim which glare so much more sharply than the Arab villages do. They don't need floodlit fences."

Blocking a group of those "freedom fighters" seeking to "liberate" some small part of the Jewish state, Alexander Singer died. His death, and those of Capt. Weissman and Private Kamil, were part of the cost of maintaining Jewish solidarity and protecting the Jewish state.

Seven years ago, when Abbie Hoffman, the electronic radical, surfaced after years of hiding from drug charges, he described himself as an existential Jewish hero—and then said that label was a contradiction in terms. For himself, perhaps. But not for Alexander Singer and his comrades-in-arms.

The story cannot stop with them. Singer's father Max is president of the Potomac Organization, a public policy consulting firm. His mother, Suzanne, is executive editor of *Moment* magazine and managing editor of *Biblical Archeology Review*. Two of Alexander's three brothers have made *aliyah*. One already is a paratrooper in the Israeli army, a second plans to enlist.

Without such individuals, without such families, "we are one" would remain only a slogan.

E.R. □

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NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST VOL. XXXI, NO. 38 SEPTEMBER 21, 1987

EDITORIAL

That Late Summer Rerun

It happened again. PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat signed something, or said something, indicating that he accepted, or might accept, U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, together the *sine qua non* of Arab-Israeli peacemaking. And this time he did it in the presence of Israelis, members of the Knesset no less. For an instant on Sept. 7 it seemed as if a breakthrough had been made.

At a meeting in Geneva the PLO leader hugged and kissed Communist Knesset members Charlie Biton and Tawfik Zayyad, and Gen. Matti Peled (Ret.) and Muhammad Miari of the far-left but non-Communist Progressive List for Peace. According to one Israeli press report, Arafat called for a U.N.-sponsored conference on the Middle East "on the basis of international legality as well as the international resolutions approved by the U.N. relevant to the Palestinian cause and the Middle East crisis, including Resolutions 242 and 338."

But when the PLO says *all* relevant U.N. resolutions, it means more than 242 and 338. Such comprehensiveness opens the door to General Assembly resolutions which virtually negate the two Security Council resolutions, to measures which call for U.N. members to sever ties with Israel, to measures which brand Zionism itself an outlaw ideology. When the PLO cites "international legality," does it begin with its own charter, which sees the creation of Israel as "fundamentally null and void, whatever time has elapsed . . . ?"

There were other problems as well. As Foreign Minister Shimon Peres put it, "I have not heard Yasir Arafat's announcement. I only heard what Charlie Biton said was Yasir Arafat's announcement, and the two are not necessarily the same . . . Arafat loves to play word games occasionally, especially when he sees some Israeli leftists and wants to give them something for the road."

At one point Arafat's "offer" was described as a three-point document but, at another, only as spoken remarks. The points themselves, according to Biton: an end to hostilities, mutual recognition, and a suspension of the building of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. However, since Israel already recognizes the "legitimate rights" of Palestinian Arabs (but not the legitimacy of the PLO), since it is not engaged in hostilities against Palestinian Arabs but in suppression of PLO terrorism, and since the settlements are not illegal under international law, Arafat essentially was offering nothing.

The adventure of Biton et al resembles nothing so much as that of former Rep. Paul McCloskey (R-Calif.). In 1982 McCloskey emerged from a Beirut encounter with Arafat literally waving a scrap of paper. McCloskey said that Arafat had signed a statement saying he accepted "all U.N. resolutions relevant to the Palestinian question." Then, Arafat's Beirut headquarters was under Israeli siege. Now, by meeting with Knesset members, Arafat may have hoped to stave off Administration or Congressional action to close PLO offices in the United States. (See story inside.) The Israeli daily *Maariv* described the Biton affair this way: "The message is not credible, the messengers are unimportant and the sender is . . . a mass murderer."

The PLO was not ready for peace in 1982, not in 1985-1986 when Arafat's unreliability forced Jordan's King Hussein to halt a joint diplomatic initiative, and the PLO is not ready now. It will be when it accepts 242 and 338 explicitly and without qualification, when it ends terrorism, and when it recognizes Israel. Meanwhile, those sincerely interested in the peace process must search for ways to help get Israel, Palestinian Arabs and Jordan to the negotiating table despite, and without, Yasir Arafat and the PLO. □

VIEWING THE NEWS

Hungary Agrees

Israel and Hungary have signed an agreement in Switzerland to establish economic interest sections at the Swedish Embassy in Tel Aviv and the Swiss Embassy in Budapest (*Kol Yisrael*, Sept. 14). The accord marks a renewal in the political relations between the two countries after a lapse of 20 years and makes Hungary the second Soviet-bloc country (after Poland) with which Israel has established quasi-diplomatic relations in the past year. The

move indicates Israel's improving relations with the Soviet Union and its Eastern European allies.

Air Strike

The Chief of Israel's General Staff, Lt. Gen. Dan Shomron, has denied reports that civilians were killed in Israel's Sept. 5 air strike against terrorist targets in south Lebanon (*Kol Yisrael*, Sept. 8). Shomron's aide, Maj. Gen. Moshe Bar-Kochba, had said that the raid had been ill-conceived because women and children had been

killed. Shomron told the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee that Bar-Kochba was misinformed and did not know the facts—that there were no civilians in the bombed area.

According to a military source, "the Air Force had sound reason to attack that objective. There were reports that terrorist squads were about to launch attacks in Israel from it. The fact that many terrorists were killed proved that the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) indeed hit the targets it set out to attack . . ." (*Al Hamishmar*, Sept. 6).

HEARD IN WASHINGTON

U.S. Closes PLO Office

Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead last week notified the Palestine Information Office (PIO), the Washington office of the Palestine Liberation Organization, that it must permanently close its doors within 30 days. But citing "special treaty obligations under the United Nations headquarters agreement," the State Department will not close the PLO's observer mission to the United Nations in New York City.

"This action is being taken to demonstrate U.S. concern over terrorism committed and supported by organizations and individuals affiliated with the PLO," said State Department Spokesman Charles Redman. He specifically noted:

- The continued membership on the PLO Executive Committee of Abu al-Abbas, linked with the Achille Lauro hijacking;

- The membership of groups "with a history of involvement with terrorism"—such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine—in the PLO;

- Contacts between "the mainline PLO" and the Abu Nidal group.

The spokesman said that although the Department of Justice has ruled that the Constitution permits closure of the PIO office as a foreign mission, "U.S. organiza-

tions and individuals that wish to promote the PLO have a right to do so under the Constitution. The U.S. government would not attempt to circumscribe this right as long as such organizations abide by U.S. laws and do not act as a foreign mission of the PLO."

While reaffirming "the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people," Redman expressed the Administration's belief that "terrorism, committed purportedly on behalf of the Palestinian people by some groups and individuals associated with the PLO, has done grievous damage to the achievement of legitimate Palestinian rights." This reflects a longstanding State Department policy which does not regard the PLO as a terrorist organization, but asserts that some groups within the PLO employ terrorist methods.

Observers stressed that the State Department move was intended to preempt pending Congressional legislation to close both U.S. PLO offices, and to prohibit U.S. citizens from receiving anything of value, except literature from the PLO. Fifty Senators sponsored legislation introduced by Sens. Charles Grassley (R-Iowa), Frank Lautenberg (D-N.J.), and Robert Dole (R-Kan.) calling for the closure of the PLO offices. Sixty-five House members sponsored similar legislation authored by Reps.

Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.) and Daniel Mica (D-Fla.).

Kemp said, "Without the strong bipartisan support—in both the House and Senate—for the closure of the Washington and New York PLO offices, and without the voiced outrage of many Americans, I do not believe we would be celebrating such a victory today."

PIO lawyers are expected to challenge the closure in court, a move which could enable the Washington office to operate for weeks or months until all legal questions are resolved.

The State Department announced the closure of the PIO office at a special briefing which also discussed the first day of meetings between Secretary of State George Shultz and his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze. Human rights and humanitarian issues—including Soviet Jewry—were the "prime" topics of discussion between the two leaders during their first three-hour private conversation.

It was later announced that a working group would concentrate on the question of human rights and that a larger "plenary" session would be devoted to the subject. By contrast, the Middle East peace process—included under the rubric of "regional issues"—received little attention in the first two days of talks. J.R. □

CAMPAIGN '88

Simon Speaks Out On Middle East

(Second in an occasional series)

Editor's note: NER is highlighting the presidential candidates' views toward U.S.-Israel relations and the Middle East. Following are views of Sen. Paul Simon (D-Ill.) taken from interviews with the Miami Jewish Tribune, The Jerusalem Post, and the Philadelphia Jewish Exponent.

Simon called Israel "a very strong ally" which should be allowed to "run her own shop" regarding the desirability of an international peace conference and on matters such as production of the Lavi. He does plan, if elected President, to involve his administration directly in the Middle East peace process. He believes the most logical step for securing peace would be for Israel and Jordan to start negotiations—and that the choice of bilateral talks or an international forum should be left to them.

He stated that it "is essential that Israel and Jordan get together . . ." and that his administration would "move aggressively"

toward accomplishing this. He did concede, however, that he has not decided "on the mechanism" to bring this about.

"We need to signal, particularly to King Hussein, that the United States is really genuine about being committed to this thing, and we will back any nation that joins the peace process. I've opposed weapons to Jordan, but I'll be in there fighting for weapons to Jordan, or whatever else Jordan needs, if Jordan joins the peace process," the candidate said. "I don't think King Hussein will stick his neck out unless he has the strong support of the United States."

Simon added that if Israel approved an international peace conference, Palestinian Arab participation would be essential—but without the PLO. He named Hanna Siniora, editor of the east Jerusalem newspaper *Al Fajr*, as an example of a Palestinian who would be acceptable to both Israel and Jordan.

He disagreed with the notion that the United States should apply greater pressure on Israel to agree to territorial concessions on the West Bank and Gaza. "I think what the United States must do is to get the parties together," Simon said. "The resolution is up to Israel and Jordan . . ." He did add that his "instinct" was to allow Palestinian residents of the territories to someday be allowed to have Palestinian passports.

Simon said he opposes direct linkage between achieving an arms control agreement with the Soviet Union and alleviating the plight of Soviet Jewry, but acknowledged an indirect link: "We must recognize that there is linkage to the extent that any kind of arms control agreement has to be buttressed by public opinion." If elected, he would let Soviet leaders know that the release of refuseniks is a U.S. priority. □

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PERSPECTIVE

New Ambassador Goes Public

Up to now there is no indication the Soviets are ready to pay the full price . . . to participate in an international Middle East peace conference," Israel's new Ambassador in Washington, Moshe Arad, told a National Press Club luncheon on Sept. 11.

Arad, previously Ambassador to Mexico, pointed out that Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, leader of the Labor alignment half of Israel's national unity government, was to meet with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze at the U.N. General Assembly opening in New York. Arad expected Peres to "state Israel's willingness for a full and open dialogue with the Soviet Union," provided it met two prerequisites:

The Kremlin "must open its gates and allow the unrestricted emigration of Soviet Jews," and "reestablish full diplomatic relations with Israel." In response to a question, he said Peres' position does not open the door to Soviet trouble-making in the region since Moscow already is active in the Middle East. A conference might determine whether the Soviets had any intention to make their presence constructive.

Arad noted that Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, head of the Likud coalition's half of the Israeli government, "believes the peace

process would better be served by avoiding the risks associated with an international conference. Instead, the Prime Minister appeals to King Hussein for direct, face-to-face negotiations within a different context"—bilateral, U.S.-sponsored, or negotiations convened as part of a regional peace conference.

The Ambassador said "there exists a window of opportunity" for Israeli-Jordanian talks "that was provided by King Hussein's indication of willingness to enter into direct negotiations, provided they are initiated under the umbrella of an international conference."

Despite the differences between Likud and Labor on an international conference, "there is no difference of opinion in our Cabinet about the necessity to move the peace process forward" and no difference "concerning the necessity of finding a proper framework to bring Jordan into face-to-face negotiations with Israel." Talks would also include "representatives of the Palestinians who are committed to peace and reject terror."

• Asked about the closing of PLO offices in Washington and New York, as proposed by legislation before Congress, Arad said "knowing Israel's position on the character and aims of the PLO" and the possibility

that its offices in the United States could be construed as encouragement or support for the organization's goals, closure would be "welcomed."

• On possible new Reagan Administration proposals for arms sales to Saudi Arabia, the Ambassador said that his country's opposition to arming Arab countries "still in a state of war" with it is well-known. He contrasted that with the lack of opposition to U.S. arms sales to Egypt, which has made peace with Israel.

While Israel might understand U.S. moves to help safeguard the security of some Arab states, Arad said such action should not increase the dangers his country faces. Apparently alluding to internal instability, the Ambassador doubted that the primary threat to Arab regimes backed by Washington could be countered by sophisticated offensive weapons.

• The Ambassador told a questioner that the development of chemical and biological warfare capabilities by Syria, Iraq and other states poses a new threat, not only for Israel but other countries in the Middle East. He said that European and other nations which are selling equipment which can be used to produce chemical and biological warfare agents should be urged to stop. □

BACKGROUND

Nissim Gets the Pledge

One week after his pivotal Cabinet vote helped scuttle production of Israel's Lavi jet fighter, Israeli Finance Minister Moshe Nissim came to Washington to pursue U.S. promises to cushion the impact of the plane's cancellation. Nissim returned home with guarantees from Secretary of State George Shultz and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger that Washington would "help Israel ameliorate the dislocations caused by the recent decision. . . ."

Specifically, the Administration promised:

• To support a continuation of Israel's current \$1.8 billion in U.S. foreign military sales (FMS) assistance for fiscal 1988 and 1989. This commitment allayed Israeli fears of a reduction in military aid due to U.S. budgetary constraints;

• To permit Israeli use of FMS to cover the costs of terminating Lavi contracts;

• A \$100 million annual increase in Israel's ability to use FMS money to purchase Israeli-built equipment in 1988 and 1989. This will raise Israel's so-called "offshore procurement" capability to \$400 million a year, a level not granted to any other nation. Normally, FMS credits must be used

to purchase American equipment;

• To allow Jerusalem to use \$150 million in FMS money for "offsets" during 1988 and 1989. This means that Jerusalem may require American firms selling to Israel to purchase Israeli goods in exchange. This latest U.S. commitment will raise the level of offsets and preserve a program which was due to expire this year.

In meetings with Shultz, Treasury Secretary James Baker and others, Nissim also discussed the restructuring of outstanding U.S. loans to Israel. Israel currently owes the United States over \$10 billion, some at interest rates of up to 20%. Israel is seeking a guarantor for a loan to consolidate its U.S. debts and repay them in bulk or over time at a lower interest rate.

Nissim gave the Secretary of State a firsthand account of how Israel reduced inflation and restored public confidence in the economy. He also outlined plans to stimulate growth, including the privatization of approximately 30 government-owned businesses.

In an address to the National Center for Export-Import Studies of Georgetown University, Nissim said that the Lavi proj-

ect jeopardized Israel's economic health. "Continuation of the development and production of the Lavi, alongside other requirements of the military, that are no less important for our security, would have meant an additional budgetary expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars a year. With all the sorrow it entails, there was no choice but to make the painful but important decision for the sake of economic recovery in Israel." Nissim was the sole Likud Cabinet member to oppose production of the Lavi.

An Israeli official in Washington said that the Administration has offered to set up a joint commission to review the effects of the Lavi's termination. In addition, he believes the Pentagon will help Israel acquire F-16 aircraft as replacements for the Lavi at a cost comparable to that paid by NATO countries. Jerusalem has also sought Defense Department assurances that Israel will be able to participate extensively in the production of the F-16's. The official also expects the Pentagon to expedite decisions on Israeli projects currently pending approval.

J.R. □

BACK PAGE

Inching Toward Jerusalem

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, director of international relations for the American Jewish Committee, was part of the Jewish delegation which went to Italy for meetings with Pope John Paul II and other Vatican leaders shortly before the pontiff's recent U.S. tour. In a *New York Times* Op-Ed piece on Sept. 10, Tanenbaum suggested that John Paul II might eventually lead the Holy See in establishing full diplomatic relations with Israel.

An Israeli official in Washington said, "I have a similar feeling but . . . [full diplomatic relations] are not around the corner. There is a slow but steady process in that direction."

Statements by Church leaders that there are no theological obstacles in the way of full relations have encouraged Israeli and American Jews. So have remarks like those of a Vatican official who noted that the ties between the Holy See and Israel are "imperfect," implying that some work to complete them can and should be done.

If theological questions were at issue progress might have been impossible. The ancient assumption that Christianity superseded Judaism and God's covenant with Abraham, coupled with centuries of "teaching contempt for the Jews," helped lay the foundation for the Holocaust.

But especially after the Second Vatican Council ended in 1965, such assumptions have been pushed aside by Catholicism's recognition of the two religions' common roots. John Paul emphasized in his Miami session with Jewish leaders "our faith in the One God, who chose Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and made with them a covenant of eternal love, which was never revoked."

If the problem is not religious but political, then by definition it should be subject to compromise and resolution. An official at the Vatican's Washington Embassy listed three "traditional" political concerns: "solicitude" for the Palestinian Arabs; concern that the borders of Israel have not finally been settled; and "preserving the international freedom of Jerusalem" for Christian and Moslem as well as Jewish worshippers.

In Miami, the Pope repeated a 1954 Church statement recognizing the Jewish people's right to a homeland in the state of Israel where they "preserve in that land such precious testimonies to their history and their faith. . . ." But he added that "what has been said about the right to a homeland also applies to the Palestinian people, so many of whom remain homeless and refugees."

Such formulations ensure that progress toward full Vatican diplomatic relations with Israel will be slow indeed. That is because:

- Israel's borders remain unsettled largely due to the fact that many Palestinian and other Arabs still refuse to recognize a Jewish state in any form;

- Those Palestinians who do remain homeless—a distinct minority of all Palestinian Arabs—and those who continue as refugees—an even smaller minority—do so largely because the PLO and Arab states reject their assimilation;

- Israel already guarantees access to Jerusalem for worshippers of all faiths.

Rev. John Pawlikowski, professor of social ethics at the Catholic Theological Union in Chicago, argues for immediate full Vatican recognition of Israel. In the current issue of *Tikkun* magazine, Pawlikowski writes that the real barriers "are the fear of retaliation by Arab countries against the tiny Christian communities in their midst and a genuine concern for Palestinian rights, coupled with a Catholic Palestinian lobby within Vatican circles which has no real pro-Israel equivalent."

John Paul's promise in Miami that the Church would continue studying and would issue a document on "the religious and historical implications of the Holocaust for Christians and Jews" could prove to be important. His failure in Italy and in Florida to comment on his meeting with Kurt Waldheim was disturbing.

As Pawlikowski wrote, "If the final barriers are to be destroyed so that Jews may enter into the dialogue with enthusiasm, Catholicism must unequivocally acknowledge one of the deepest elements of the collective Jewish soul—the attachment to Eretz Israel." And the way to do that, he added, was full diplomatic recognition of Israel. E.R. □

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SEPTEMBER 21, 1987

NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST VOL. XXXI, NO. 37 SEPTEMBER 14, 1987

EDITORIAL

Still on the Agenda

In an interview with wire service reporters, Secretary of State George Shultz mentioned human rights first in discussing the agenda for his talks this week with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. Shultz described Moscow's recent decision to allow long-time refuseniks Yosef Begun and his wife, Inna; Viktor Brailovsky and his wife, Irina; Naum Meiman; and several others to emigrate as "a welcome development. . . ."

However, according to Associated Press, the Secretary "voiced exasperation that Jews and other minorities, as well as Soviets whose spouses or fiances live outside the country, are given permission to depart only on a piecemeal basis. 'There are many other refuseniks, there are many other people who want to emigrate, who aren't being accorded that right to which the Soviets have subscribed' [in the 1975 Helsinki Accords], Shultz said."

Exactly. An official of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry (NCSJ), who was to meet with Shultz before the latter's talks with Shevardnadze, said that the good news about Begun and the others could amount to something more than billboards along the route to a Reagan-Gorbachev summit. Nevertheless, he added, the Kremlin has yet to resolve the fundamental problems affecting Soviet Jews. For example, emigration for the first eight months of 1987 totalled 4,700—up dramatically from levels of recent years but roughly equal to the monthly average in 1979, the year of record Soviet Jewish emigration.

Another observer cautioned that there are more than 300 refuseniks who have been waiting *at least 10 years* to emigrate. Progress for a Begun or a Brailovsky makes news but does not automatically mean a solution to the overall problem, he added.

At the same time Moscow has permitted increased emigration, it has invoked regulations that were not followed in the 1960's or 1970's—including the requirement that would-be emigrants have an invitation from a first-degree relative abroad. More than 5,400 ethnic Germans had been repatriated to West Germany in the first seven months of the year without such invitations. Neither Jews nor Germans possess what Moscow considers a national homeland within the Soviet Union, but both do outside it. The invitation requirement applied to Jews looks like harassment.

In addition, the Soviets continue to refuse permission to emigrate on the grounds that applicants have had access to state secrets. Yet in most cases that classified knowledge has grown obsolete or become public during the years of refusal. In other cases denial for reasons of state security was arbitrary in the first place.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union pursues a policy of increased contacts, if not improved relations, with Israel. Whether Soviet policymakers are playing primarily to U.S., Israeli or domestic audiences, this multiple offensive makes them look flexible.

Nevertheless, Moscow will continue to be judged in Washington, Jerusalem and elsewhere in the West on performance. That means that as welcome as individual cases like those of the Begun's and Brailovsky's are, the goal remains visas for the approximately 12,000 refuseniks, for the estimated 400,000 Soviet Jews who have taken the first steps toward emigration, and the others who might follow. They should all be able to echo Begun's statement: "We were waiting too long, but this is wonderful, and we feel exalted. . . . Our feelings are now directed at meeting our people soon on our land, in our country, in Jerusalem." □

VIEWING THE NEWS

Saudis: Yes, But . . .

Saudi Arabia would accept Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's invitation to participate in a regional peace conference if Israel would withdraw "from all the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967" (Saudi Press Agency, Sept. 2).

A "responsible source" said that the territories include the "Palestinian territories, east Jerusalem, the West Bank, Gaza, southern Lebanon, the Golan Heights and part of Sinai, together with enabling the Palestinian people to return to their homeland and to determine their own fate."

The source added: "It is strange for Israel to talk about regional peace proposals while it is the source of all the wars and

disorders witnessed by the Arab region for decades."

Soviet Plan

The Hebrew daily *Yediot Achronot* reports that the Soviet Union has drawn up a "special plan for the solution of the Middle East conflict" (Sept. 4). Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze is to present the plan to U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz when they meet this month.

Meanwhile, Israeli military sources revealed that several dozen Soviet-built MiG-29s already have arrived in Syria and should be operational by the spring (*Kol Yisrael*, Sept. 3). The Soviets have provided a similar number to Iraq.

Arafat Rejects 242

PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat said he is willing to participate in a U.N.-sponsored conference on the Middle East based on all relevant U.N. resolutions, but would not openly accept Security Council Resolution 242 which affirms Israel's right to exist (United Press International, Sept. 8). Arafat made the statement in a speech to a U.N. conference of non-governmental organizations in Geneva.

An aide to Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir rejected Arafat's comment, saying, "We are not paying any attention to this . . . Arafat is Arafat, the PLO is the PLO and terrorism is terrorism. Their aim is to destroy Israel" (Reuter, Sept. 8). □

HEARD IN JERUSALEM

A Likud View of Talks

When it comes to the peace process, Knesset member Uzi Landau is convinced that the Camp David Accords continue to provide a framework for Palestinian autonomy, and that regional or bilateral negotiations are the best forums for negotiating peace with Israel's neighbors.

"There is still life in the Camp David process," said Landau, who is widely regarded as a rising leader of the Herut Party. (Herut is the major component of the Likud bloc.) Calling Judea and Samaria "an integral part of our ancient homeland, a precondition for peace and security," Landau said, "In the Camp David Accords we did not give up our claim to the land nor did we explicitly state our basic claim to the territory."

"I would like to see Israeli sovereignty over Judea and Samaria but we are bound to the Camp David Accords which grant autonomy to the people, with no foreign sovereignty over the land." He regards Jordan as a foreign sovereign, not Israel.

"We perceive autonomy to be extended to populations, not to territory," he said. "This area will not have its own army or foreign policy. We will be responsible for that. . . ."

Landau explained that while some Likud members would offer Arab residents of the territories Israeli citizenship, others would allow them to hold Jordanian citizenship.

"Why can't Arab Palestinians fulfill their national aspirations in an independent state—the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan—where the vast majority of the population is already Palestinian? I don't see why they should have any greater problem than Irish living in Boston or Jews living in New York City—minorities whose national aspirations are realized in sovereign nations. This is a problem for Arabs at large who are unprepared to be a minority anywhere in the Middle East."

For Landau, Camp David also serves as a paradigm for peace negotiations. "If we would have attempted an international conference instead of the Camp David process, we would not have achieved peace. I don't think an international conference will lead to peace. It would be a disaster for us." He emphasized that Likud members firmly support Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's opposition to an international conference.

The Knesset member objected to an international conference on the grounds that it would deepen the Soviet Union's in-

volvement in the Middle East and would ultimately end in a deadlock. "Israel already rejected the Reagan Plan in 1982. Any plan proposed by the Russians at an international conference would be much worse. If there are representatives of the PLO or individuals certified by the PLO, their views would be even more extreme than the Russians'. Unless Israel is prepared to adopt any of their proposals, the conference would dissolve soon after it convened—and guess who would be blamed."

Landau also dismissed King Hussein's insistence on an international umbrella for direct negotiations. "Hussein has sat with us before on a number of occasions," he said, referring to reported meetings between the King and Israeli officials. "There must be another reason why he wants us to come to an international setting: It is the only way for them to get by political means what they can't get by military means."

"Syria, the PLO and Jordan, let alone Iraq, have not fully given up the idea of destroying the state of Israel. As long as that idea is hidden deep in their hearts, there will be no chance for peace."

—J.R. □

BACKGROUND

Arens Resigns; IDF Lebanon Raid

Protesting the Israeli Cabinet's decision to discontinue development of the Lavi aircraft, Minister Without Portfolio Moshe Arens submitted his resignation from the Cabinet to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. "I just know that the Lavi is the best airplane of its kind. It's a great success, a great technological achievement, and it's going to be a great loss to Israel when that project is cancelled," Arens said. The former Ambassador to Washington and former Defense Minister will retain his Knesset seat.

But Shamir, faced with pressure to call another vote on the project, has not abandoned the Lavi—or Arens. "It is impossible to say that the gravestone has been laid for the Lavi," Shamir said recently. "If conditions will guarantee a correction of the decision legally and practically, we will correct this distortion." Shamir, who discouraged Arens' resignation, believes the former minister will eventually return to the government.

Israel Aircraft Industry (IAI) represen-

tatives met with ministers from the Labor Party in an attempt to win their support for the Lavi. Although no one has been fired to date, IAI management has drawn up a list of workers to be laid off as a result of the Lavi's demise. IAI workers continue to demonstrate against the project's cessation.

While Arens' departure will not bring down the national unity government, it may have political ramifications. An ardent supporter of the project, the former minister has been considered a possible successor to Shamir as leader of the Herut Party. Analysts speculate that by withdrawing from the government, Arens may drop from the limelight and halt his political ascent.

• • •

Israeli warplanes raided five Palestinian terrorist bases in southern Lebanon last week in apparent response to recent terrorist attacks within Israel.

The planes struck three bases of the PLO's mainstream Fatah movement, a Pop-

ular Front for the Liberation of Palestine headquarters and an office of Abu Nidal's Fatah-Revolutionary Council. Lebanese police estimate that the raids, which occurred on the Jewish Sabbath, killed 38, the majority of whom were reported to be Palestinian terrorists.

Israeli radio said that the jets struck bases serving as departure points for attacks against Israeli targets. A day before the raids, the Israel Defense Forces captured an Arab terrorist trained by Syria for a suicide mission against Israeli troops in southern Lebanon. Force 17, a branch of Fatah, has claimed several assaults against Israeli civilian targets in the last month.

Elsewhere in Lebanon, rival factions of the National Syrian Social Party clashed in the Bekaa Valley; pro-Syrian militiamen fought one another in Tripoli over gasoline distribution; and in Nabatiyah, pro-Syrian Shi'ite Amal fighters battled Iranian-backed Hezbollah troops.

□

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OP-ED

Author Rejects Amnesty's Critique

Unfortunately, Amnesty International's Op-Ed column in its own defense (NER, Sept. 7) continues the obfuscation as far as the human rights organization's treatment of Israel is concerned.

Far from distorting the record, I sought to clarify why Israel receives such a bum rap on the Amnesty International (AI) report card. If my point of departure—support for Israel—is “partisan” it does not disqualify my findings.

AI writes that I concluded that their problem with Israel stems from their Latin American policy “after subjecting incorrect assumptions to convoluted logic.” But my observation was an almost word-for-word quotation from a discussion with a former member of Amnesty's eight-person international board, a person with extensive experience in both Israel and Latin American affairs. Are his observations also distorted and convoluted, simply because he dissents from the AI party line?

“Some detainees are imprisoned solely for the non-violent expression of their beliefs and subject to cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment,” the column alleges. But there's the rub: I disputed the charges of cruelty and torture in Israeli treatment of Palestinian prisoners as the rule, and dismissed the charge that the Palestinians being held are in trouble merely for the expression of their beliefs.

My extensive reading of the case files in the Israeli Justice Ministry and my conversations with activists have led me to the conclusion that most of those detained were caught either planning an act of armed resistance or *in flagrante delicto*. There are members of the Knesset who advocate a PLO-led state on the West Bank; as I said, their views may be currently unpopular, but they are not criminal.

AI sees no need to congratulate Israel for prosecuting law enforcement officials or armed forces members found guilty of physical or psychological abuse of Arab prisoners. But my point was not to elicit congratulations—it was that the norm in Israel is to abide by a civilized code of behavior, even under uncivilized provocations. It is true, as Amnesty says, that “all governments are responsible for prosecuting any citizen who allegedly abuses prisoners”—but the fact is that most do not. The very fact that Israel lives up to its responsibility in this regard makes the Amnesty portrait of Israel all the more unlikely. . . .

In insisting that PLO members are incarcerated merely for the expression of their beliefs, rather than for planning and/or executing violent acts, AI does in fact confuse the PLO with Latin American communists. (I fail to see why the latter are “people whom Mr. Twersky labels ‘Latin

American communists.’” I used the term to describe people, living in Latin America, who belong to communist parties. Latin American communists' professed commitment to a “dictatorship of the proletariat,” in its pre-Eurocommunist formulation, is treated by AI as unimportant rhetoric so long as they refrain from violence. And Amnesty gives PLO members the same benefit of the doubt. As I said, this was confirmed to me by a senior source in Amnesty.)

AI claims that it “excludes partisan propaganda in making [its] judgment.” But that is the issue here. Amnesty disclaimers notwithstanding, the amount of energy, space and coverage devoted to Israel, as opposed to really nasty and brutish states—some of which are Israel's neighbors—belies the claim of impartiality.

Amnesty's call for human rights to be observed is laudatory and worthy of support. But AI is not immune to methodological error or ideological bias. Surely, one has the right to challenge Amnesty's record, especially in the face of such clear evidence of distortion. Our challenge has not been met by Amnesty's response.

—David Twersky □

Twersky's articles on Israeli and Jewish affairs have been published widely.

COMMENTS

Unions Bridge Cultures, Continents

An area once known only as a “no-man's-land” between east and west Jerusalem has been designated as the site for a social and cultural center for Arabs and Jews. The facility, the Glenn E. Watts Cultural Center, is a joint project of the Communication Workers of America (CWA) union and Israel's Histadrut labor federation.

The building, named for the retired president of the CWA, is designed to transform a “symbolic place of war into a monument of peace and good will among people of different cultures, beliefs and religions.”

Projected to open in the fall, the center will have a library and a 200-seat auditorium. It will provide Hebrew and Arabic language classes, educational and social activities for youth, and office space for the Histadrut's Arab Member Department. CWA planners hope it will serve as a place where Moslem, Christian and Jewish Histadrut members can interact.

According to the Israeli Embassy, 70% of Israeli Arabs belong to the Histadrut. In

Arab towns and villages throughout Israel, the union sponsors three vocational high schools, over 60 apprentice schools, 120 medical clinics and close to 200 sports and social clubs. With Histadrut help, 230 co-operative enterprises have been established with over 30,000 members. Currently, four Israeli Arabs are on the Histadrut executive committee.

The \$1.5 million needed to construct the building is being raised by the CWA and Histadrut. The Japanese Telecommunications Union donated \$50,000 toward the project, and British and German telecommunication unions are considering donating funds, according to James Booe, Secretary-Treasurer of the CWA.

Booe said he was “impressed by the amount of cooperation” he found “between Arab and Jewish Histadrut members,” and added, “the facility will prove people of good will can get together and work out their problems.”

Ironically, the location of the center, accepted by both the CWA and Histadrut, has

caused problems for the U.S. Embassy. The State Department prevented its labor liaison in Tel Aviv from attending the center's groundbreaking ceremony because Washington does not recognize Israeli sovereignty over the eastern portion of the city; Booe has lodged a protest with Secretary of State Shultz and the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv.

Eliezar Rafaeli, the Histadrut's representative in North America, said the CWA and his union decided “in honor of former president Watts, something of substantial importance would be established in Israel . . . where both Arabs and Jews would benefit.

“The relationship between Arabs and Jews in the Histadrut means a lot to us,” Rafaeli added. “This social and cultural center will serve as an important tool for bringing closer groups that are in the most sensitive city in the world.”

—Todd Winer □

Winer, on the staff of the International Jewish Monthly, was an NER intern.

BACK PAGE

Syrians, Saudis and Uncle Sam

On Sept. 2, Ambassador William Eagleton returned to the U.S. Embassy in Syria and "business as normal," according to a spokeswoman. The Reagan Administration recalled Eagleton last fall in semi-solidarity with the United Kingdom. Margaret Thatcher's government had severed relations with Damascus after a Syrian-backed terrorist was convicted of trying to plant a bomb on an El Al plane (full of Americans) in London.

At the time, the United States, which also imposed some largely symbolic economic sanctions, said the regime of Hafez Assad needed to curtail its sponsorship of international terrorism before American-Syrian relations could be resumed at the ambassadorial level. In sending Eagleton back, Administration sources pointed to the expulsion of the Abu Nidal organization from Damascus as evidence of Assad's improved behavior.

Business as usual with Syria should be short-lived, then, if a Sept. 8 *Washington Post* story from Rome is correct. The paper reported that Italian authorities issued 45 arrest warrants for people believed to be involved in shipping arms—including naval mines—to Iran via Syria. Implicated were some prominent Italian businessmen "accused not only of having been involved in illegal arms shipments to Iran, but also of associating with suspected Mafia figures and unnamed Arab terrorists believed to be linked to the Abu Nidal group."

Italian customs officials had intercepted a Lebanese freighter carrying arms—including some of U.S. manufacture—heroin and hashish. Among 33 people arrested were the ship's Syrian captain, "his 16-member crew and a mystery Arab passenger with a false passport. . . ." Found elsewhere were documents detailing a continuing trade between the Italian businessmen and Syria, "which apparently transshipped the mines to Iran."

Except for the action against Abu Nidal, Administration sources have not mentioned any other specific move which would show Syria retreating from its use of terrorism as a foreign policy tool, helping in Lebanon or cooperating with Israeli peace process. It is not even clear whether Abu Nidal was ousted in the Syrian-controlled Bekaa Valley in Lebanon.

News of the Italian case was overshadowed by the release of Alfred Schmidt, one of two West Germans seized in Lebanon—apparently by pro-Iranian terrorists—to prevent the extradition to the United States of Mohammed Hamadei. Hamadei is a prime suspect in the 1985 TWA hijacking. According to an Israeli

source, West German thanks given to Syria and Iran after Schmidt's release "tell the whole story."

Unhelpful Saudis

On Sept. 3 the *Post* reported that the Saudis rejected an American request to base fighter planes at Dhahran to protect the U.S. armada protecting Gulf oil shipments. Lack of land bases forces American planes to fly greater distances on patrol and rely on aerial refueling, increasing the risk to planes and crews. It also pushes the planes' aircraft carrier task force closer to the mouth of the Gulf, increasing the risk to ships and sailors.

In addition, the Saudis refused to contribute their own minesweepers to help clear international waterways. That increases the pressure on minesweeping helicopters flying from the USS Guadalcanal. The *Times* reported on Sept. 3 that one helicopter made an emergency water landing and evacuated its crew the day before. By withholding their ships, the Saudis force us to commit more of ours. (On Sept. 5 a *Post* story quoted Defense Department sources as estimating that its Gulf patrol would cost an additional \$200 million.)

On Sept. 6 the *Post*, citing the *Miami Herald*, wrote that "Navy Secretary James Webb Jr. sent a scathing, top-secret memorandum to Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger in July questioning the U.S. military buildup in the Persian Gulf. . . ."

"His memo argued that U.S. forces should not be committed . . . without a clear military objective, support from the American public and strategic cooperation from allies in the region [emphasis added], according to sources who have read the memo." —E.R. □

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Greece Is Shifting Back to the West

ATHENS—During Secretary of State George Shultz's recent visit here, it became clear that U.S.-Greek relations have improved. This thaw is directly related to Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou's PASOK party's slow transformation from a socialist party that admired Moammar Gadhafi's "direct democracy" to a much more Western-oriented political entity.

This change has been forced upon Mr. Papandreou and his party by economic and geopolitical realities. The failure of his socialist four-year economic policies has made him totally dependent on the West, and his flirtations with the Eastern bloc

an agreement that will also satisfy the U.S. If true—and it seems realistic enough—Mr. Shultz's "controlled optimism" is well founded.

The U.S. is now dealing with a PASOK government whose goals are markedly different from those it previously espoused. The economic crisis has forced Mr. Papandreou to grudgingly accept that only closer ties with the West, together with greater economic freedom, can help him ride out the storm. This new mood made it possible for the governor of the Bank of Greece to recently propose a radical program for the liberalization of the Greek economy (abolition of price controls, abolition of wage indexation, freedom to hire and fire, closure of bankrupt nationalized firms, etc.). The Papandreou government, though initially distancing itself from the report, was also careful to reiterate its confidence in the bank's governor.

This new climate of greater realism in both foreign and domestic affairs has not escaped the State Department's attention. Mr. Shultz's statements that Greece is a safe place for U.S. tourists and that he has confidence in the "dynamism of the Greek economy" are the sort of public pronouncements that the Papandreou government desperately needs in its drive to attract foreign investment.

With all this in mind, Mr. Papandreou's ambivalent stand toward the U.S. appears perplexing, since he has much to gain from U.S. good will. After the U.S. bombing of Libya, the Papandreou government was careful not to make explicitly anti-American statements; the PASOK party organization's statements were both anti-American and pro-Libyan. It is within the context of this bewildering approach that two contradictory Greek policies have emerged: On the one hand, Greece signed all the Common Market communiqués implicating Libya in terrorist acts; on the other hand, Mr. Papandreou claimed in Parliament that his government had no proof of Lib-

yan involvement in state-sponsored terrorism.

The roots of Mr. Papandreou's tightrope act here can be traced back to the domestic scene. The Greek premier wants and needs improved U.S.-Greek relations. Yet he also is careful not to alienate his party's left-wing cadres, whose radicalism he himself nurtured for years. Mr. Papandreou faces municipal elections in October, and if his socialist party loses, the conservative New Democracy Party will demand early national elections. Mr. Papandreou believes his party can win if it does not lose too many votes to the left. As he can hardly abandon his austerity program, the only way to appease leftists is by maintaining some form of radical rhetoric in foreign affairs.

Though there has been a considerable recent improvement in Greek-U.S. relations, a reversal could easily occur if both sides do not demonstrate prudence and an understanding for the other's sensitivities. The Greek premier should be well aware that his ambivalence on issues of vital concern to the U.S. (e.g., state-sponsored terrorism) could lead to a sudden crisis in U.S.-Greek relations. This is a development he knows Greece can ill afford.

As for the U.S., the administration should turn a deaf ear to all those who are simplistically demanding that Mr. Papandreou be forced into total "submission" via a confrontational approach that would include disrupting the military balance of power in the Aegean in favor of Turkey. Such an option would not only endanger peace in the area but would also push Greece, probably irrevocably, away from the West. As PASOK is being gradually transformed into a Westernized social-democratic party, the U.S. can indirectly aid this development while securing its own interests in the area.

Mr. Louis is general director of the Center for Political Research and Information, a free-market think tank.

Europe

By John C. Loulis

and radical Third World regimes have offered Greece no tangible benefits.

Mr. Shultz's visit here was a success. He himself underscored that the U.S. had responded positively to Mr. Papandreou's aim for "calmer waters" in U.S.-Greek relations and that the past year has seen considerable improvement. Mr. Shultz wisely did not demand an open and formal commitment on the thorniest issue on his agenda: the U.S. military bases here.

Yet reliable information from inside PASOK indicates that the Greek leader, though not formally committing himself, implied in his meetings with Mr. Shultz that some type of formula would be found to keep the U.S. bases. Probably some bases (e.g., the Hellenicon airport base, which is of little value to the U.S.) will close down, and those vital to U.S. interests (e.g., the Souda base in Crete) will continue to operate. PASOK sources say that although Mr. Papandreou needs to placate his left-wing supporters by closing down some U.S. bases, he seems to want

NEAR EAST REPORT

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EDITORIAL

Not This Time

After the Israeli Cabinet voted 12-11, with one abstention, to halt development of the Lavi fighter-bomber, Finance Minister Moshe Nissim said, "It was simply a case of bowing to reality. To have gone on with the Lavi would have spelled an end to our economic recovery program."

Israel had spent seven years and \$1.5 billion—most of it American military aid—to put two Lavi prototypes into the air. Aviation circles around the world watched intently to see what the "next generation" ground-support warplane (a plane NATO might have used well) could do. And the Lavi was designed to do plenty, to not only survive but triumph in low-level combat, backing up infantry, in an environment saturated by sophisticated anti-aircraft missiles.

The decision not to produce the Lavi will cost approximately \$400 million in termination fees and end the jobs of at least 2,000 to 3,000 Israel Aircraft Industry (IAI) technicians, engineers and scientists. Some predict unemployment for upwards of 5,000 of Israel's "best and brightest." No wonder IAI employees blocked major highways with burning tires when the decision was announced.

Additionally, cancellation could prove to be a blow to the entire country. Many Israeli leaders agreed that the project might have been for Israel what the Apollo moon program was for the United States—a national effort which rippled technological benefits throughout the economy.

But building the Lavi would have required an estimated \$500 million a year (some U.S. tallies were closer to \$1 billion annually) for the next four to six years. For a country with a gross national product (GNP) of roughly \$26 billion and an annual defense budget which already consumes about \$6 to \$7 billion, it was too much. Earlier this summer, Bank of Israel Governor Michael Bruno argued that allotting money earmarked for Lavi production to export items could increase Israel's capital stock by 10%. (It appeared unlikely the United States would permit export of the Lavi, which

was to contain many U.S. subsystems.) And increased exports, Bruno said, would produce new sustainable jobs and hundreds of millions of dollars in increased income.

In fact, Lavi "savings" might not get directly into the export sector. Israel's military has several major and many minor acquisitions on hold because of cuts in defense spending in recent years. Pressing needs include new submarines, new missile boats, new and more combat helicopters, continuing upgrading of the armored corps, restoring funds for training, for routine procurement and military research and development funds.

So Finance Minister Nissim, displaying the political courage which has marked his term in office, broke with his Likud colleagues and voted "no" on Lavi. Labor's Minister of Health, Shoshanna Arbeli-Almoslino, a supporter of the plane, bowed to party pressure and abstained. Labor leader and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, a last-minute convert to opposition, proposed a plan to keep IAI competitive without the Lavi. Nevertheless, the stage was set for a political battle in which Labor would get blamed for killing a popular symbol of national independence.

Israel's unity government already has weathered several tough assignments. Putting the Lavi decision into proper perspective will be another. Lavi supporters and critics both can claim a large chunk of the truth: Israel needed the plane, but Israel could not afford the plane.

Removing the Lavi should enable Israel to increase the budget in other areas of military modernization. It also should resolve a snag in U.S.-Israeli relations, and open new opportunities. The Reagan Administration pressured Israel to drop the Lavi. Both countries should move quickly to increase cooperation in military research and development projects, the Anti-Tactical Ballistic Missile program and others.

□

VIEWING THE NEWS

Final Report

Israel recently presented the Congressional Iran-*Contra* committee with the third and final chronology detailing Jerusalem's role in the sale of U.S. arms to Iran (*Kol Yisrael*, Aug. 28). An official on the panel reportedly said the detailed account "completely satisfied the needs of the committee." Another committee staffer called the chronology "excellent. They were very detailed, factual."

Prepared by a high-level Israeli commit-

tee, the chronology covers the period from January to November 1986. The report will be kept confidential by mutual agreement of the panel and the Israeli government.

Palestinian Attacks

As the Fatah Central Committee met in Tunis under PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat, Palestinian Arab groups claimed responsibility for five terrorist strikes against Israel (*Voice of Palestine*, Aug. 29). The Palestinian Revolutionary Forces General Command attacked two Israeli vehicles on the

West Bank and bombed a Tel Aviv bus. Meanwhile, "Palestinian fedayeen" mounted two rocket attacks against the northern Israeli town of Metulla.

The leader of the breakaway Fatah Revolutionary Council, Abu Musa, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine General Command head Ahmed Jibril and Isam al-Qadi of the Syrian-controlled Al Saiqa recently met the commander-in-chief of the Libyan armed forces in Tripoli, according to the Libyan news agency (JANA, Aug. 26).

□

OP-ED

Amnesty Replies to Criticism

The abuse of fundamental human rights by any government is a problem which must concern us all. For over 25 years Amnesty International has worked worldwide to protect these rights in a clear and impartial manner.

Because we call on individual governments to uphold internationally recognized rights, those who engage in partisan politics sometimes distort our information. Such distortion appears in David Twersky's series in *Near East Report* (Mar. 16, 23 and 30). Mr. Twersky does a grave disservice to prisoners of conscience, Amnesty International, and the *Near East Report* readership.

"Amnesty International's Israel problem stems from Latin American politics," Mr. Twersky concludes after subjecting incorrect assumptions to convoluted logic. The facts are straightforward: Amnesty addresses human rights problems in Israel because people are physically restricted or administratively detained there without charge or trial. Some detainees are imprisoned solely for the non-violent expression of their beliefs and subjected to cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment.

Amnesty International works on these people's cases not because, as Mr. Twersky claims, the organization cannot distinguish between democratic and dictatorial regimes. Amnesty works on such cases in whatever country human rights abuses occur.

Cruel treatment clearly violates international human rights law. It should not be a matter for congratulations that a government prosecutes and convicts its own agents for violating prohibitions on brutality. All governments are responsible for prosecuting any citizen who allegedly abuses prisoners. Moreover, governments are responsible for eliminating all mistreatment of individuals in their custody. No government is exempt from these responsibilities, and Amnesty works to ensure that authorities of all political persuasions, in all regions of the world, uphold their responsibilities.

Mr. Twersky should also recognize that Amnesty International regards imprisoned conscientious objectors to military service as prisoners of conscience, unless they have been offered an alternative form of non-military service. Wherever such individuals are jailed—whether it be in Greece, Israel, Rwanda, or the Soviet Union—Amnesty calls on government authorities for their release. Amnesty does not take a political position on military questions, but the organization does take a human rights position: the incarceration of any person for the peaceful expression of his or her conscientiously held beliefs violates the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Finally, Amnesty International does not somehow confuse Palestinian Arabs accused of PLO involvement with people whom Mr. Twersky labels "Latin American

communists." Amnesty considers all people as people—that is, individuals with a claim to fundamental human rights. All people have the right to know a government's charges against them, the right to a prompt and fair trial, the right to physical safety while in custody, and the right not to be imprisoned for peacefully expressing their beliefs.

Amnesty International calls for the release only of prisoners of conscience, and one of the criteria for prisoner of conscience status is absence of evidence that the individual has used or advocated violence. Amnesty evaluates all available evidence and does not accept at face value assertions made by government officials or anyone else.

On behalf of thousands of prisoners held throughout the world, Amnesty asks that basic human rights be observed. The organization also asks that a responsible understanding of its humanitarian mission and the precise judgments on which this mission rests precede any criticism of its work. We exclude partisan propaganda in making our judgments, and we hope that Mr. Twersky can do likewise in evaluating our work.

—John G. Healey □

Healey is Executive Director of Amnesty International.

(Next week: Twersky responds.)

BACKGROUND

Israeli AIDS Research Advances

Two drugs recently produced in Israel, AL721 and AS101, may help lead the way in acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) treatment.

AL721, a substance made from egg yolks, was originally developed by Professors Meir Shinitsky and David Samuel of the Weizmann Institute of Science as a treatment for infections suffered by geriatric and cystic fibrosis patients, and drug and alcohol addicts.

The Ethigen Corporation, in California, has the exclusive production rights for AL721. Ethigen officials point out that the drug serves two purposes: as an anti-viral agent which "removes the cholesterol from the virus' membrane so it becomes inac-

tive" and prevents the virus from affecting other cells, acting as a rehabilitator of the body's immune system.

There has been limited testing in Israel and France, and in the United States, where the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) approved investigational testing of the drug, an Ethigen spokesman said. The National Institutes of Health (NIH) will also assist in its development.

Eight patients who tested AIDS positive in New York's Roosevelt Hospital were the first to take the drug; seven showed a marked reduction in symptoms. According to Ethigen, 28 AIDS and AIDS-related-complex patients in Israel also displayed "spectacular" results.

AS101, which also has FDA investigational approval and assistance from NIH, has been tested on 25 people in Mexico where, according to Albeck, substantial improvements were seen in approximately 80% of the patients.

In France, researchers are testing AS101 in cancer-diagnosed patients, Albeck added. Cancer-related research, Sredni explained, was the original focus of AS101.

When asked if they were generating any other AIDS-related drugs, Albeck said, "No, no, this is my personal one and hopefully it will be enough." —Hillary Mann □

Mann, a Brandeis University student, was an NER intern.

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HEARD IN JERUSALEM

Israel Back to Africa

Within the next several years, at least ten African countries will reestablish relations with Israel, according to Benad Avital, the Israeli Foreign Ministry official responsible for Israel's ties to black Africa. "The only thing that is inevitable is that African nations will restore relations with Israel," he said. "There is no reason why 20 or more African nations should not. . . ."

Between 1982 and 1985 Avital served as the head of the Israel interest section in the Ivory Coast and was "active" in seven or eight African nations. During that period he personally helped pave the way for the renewal of relations with Zaire, Liberia and the Ivory Coast.

Avital explained that after the 1973 Yom Kippur War, 30 black African countries succumbed to "threats and blandishments" from Arab nations and broke relations with Israel. The Organization of African Unity also passed a resolution that year condemning Israel for crossing the Suez Canal into Egypt, an African nation. The official added that African leaders regarded the Sinai as African territory and were offended at Israel's presence on the peninsula.

But with the signing of the Camp David Accords in 1979, the failure of Arab nations to deliver promised largess and the collapse of oil prices, an atmosphere was created for rapprochement between Israel and black Africa, Avital said. Starting in 1982, Zaire, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Cameroon and Togo have resumed relations with Israel.

African leaders see three concrete benefits in renewing relations with the Jewish state. First, they believe they can gain influence with the United States through Israel. Second, "they have this unshakable belief that Israel will do whatever it wants, wherever it wants, whenever it wants to protect its national security," Avital said. "By restoring ties with Jerusalem they are gaining a powerful friend. In effect, they are taking out an insurance policy."

Finally, African nations have come to identify Israel with the golden, hopeful decade following their independence from European countries, when Israeli advisers helped these new nations in agriculture, health care, industry and management. Now that the United States and the Soviet Union have reduced such programs on the continent, these African countries are seeking additional sources of assistance.

The official said that African nations rarely raised the issue of Israel's ties with South Africa. He contended that these countries are primarily concerned with domestic affairs, not apartheid. "They don't like apartheid," he said, "but they have their own problems to deal with."

Of the 30 African nations which broke with Israel, only five have renewed ties with the Jewish state. Avital attributes this slow pace to the fact that African leaders do not want to appear to be "camp followers" rushing one after another to reestablish ties. He also said that by delaying, they hope to gain additional concessions from Jerusalem.

Until recently, African leaders feared that Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi would assassinate any head of state who renewed ties with Israel. Qaddafi's rout by Chad in March demonstrated his military weakness and heartened African leaders.

Avital quipped that the slow pace has its benefits. "We would have real problems if 12 countries would simultaneously renew relations. Where would we find the money to pay for all the embassies?"

—J.R. □

FILE FOR THE RECORD

Saudis Would March on Jerusalem

Saudi Interior Minister Prince Nayef Abdul Aziz recently said that if Iran were to march on Israel, his country would join the campaign.

In a news conference to present the Saudi version of the Mecca clash in which 402 people were killed including 275 Iranian demonstrators, Prince Nayef said, "If Iran wants to do something against Israel, why does it not move its agents in Lebanon . . . against Israel . . . Let them tell us that they are moving on Israel so that we can be among the first to walk behind them."

While the Ayatollah Khomeini accused Israel of complicity with the Saudis in the Mecca confrontation (*NER*, Aug. 10), the Saudi official charged that Israel planned the incident with the Iranians.

Prince Nayef concluded, "He who wants . . . to liberate Mecca . . . should, before coming to Mecca where there is a Muslim people ruled according to the Koran . . . go and liberate Jerusalem . . . He should go there and raise the banner and fight Israel instead of seeking Israel's assistance in fighting a Muslim people, the people of Iraq."

The official also discounted claims of Saudi military inferiority regarding Iran,

saying, the Kingdom "possesses defensive forces that have been created in order to

repel any aggression whether from Iran or anyone else." □

Bayard Rustin

Bayard Rustin, civil rights activist and longtime friend of Israel, died Aug. 24 in New York, at the age of 75. Outspoken on many issues, Rustin did not hesitate to voice his support for Israel and Jews.

"I request the understanding, the cooperation and the aid of Jews," he once said, addressing a conference of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. "I do so knowing that there is Negro anti-Semitism and knowing how Jews must feel when they hear some Negro extremists talk." He urged his audience to "remember that the issue never can be simply a problem of Jew and gentile or black and white. The problem is man's inhumanity to man."

His enthusiasm for Israel was just as strong. "Since Israel is a democratic state surrounded by essentially undemocratic states which have sworn her destruction," he once declared, "those interested in democracy everywhere must support Israel's existence."

In 1975 Rustin became the director of the Black Americans Supporting Israel Committee (BASIC). While BASIC advocated self-determination for all people—including Palestinian Arabs—it opposed their self-determination if it was to come "at the expense of the rights of Jews to independence and statehood, and at the command of economic blackmailers or terrorists."

In November 1975, when the U.N. General Assembly passed the resolution likening Zionism to racism, Rustin warned that the resolution not only "obscures the roots and nature of racism but would sacrifice the struggle against racism upon the altar of political advantage." He added that the move would "undeniably encourage and justify anti-Semitism and disgrace the memory and downgrade the suffering and struggle of generations of blacks who struggled against racism."

BACK PAGE

A Little-Known Success

Prof. Abraham Gagín's fourth-floor office in a building on a Jerusalem high-point lets him watch the clouds move in from the west—and dissipate along Israel's geographic divide to the north. So occupied, Gagín is not daydreaming. He and his Hebrew University associates are among the world's few successful rainmakers.

Repetition long ago made the Zionist truism about draining swamps and making green the deserts of old Palestine sound like clichés. Nevertheless, it is time to add a third to those man-made miracles—the longest, most statistically significant program to increase rainfall.

From 1961 to 1967, a team headed by Gagín, Yehuda Neumann and Ruben Gabriel conducted an experiment in seeding wintertime clouds in the Galilee. "Days with clouds allocated to treatment were chosen at random," Gagín recalled, with "only 50% of the rain days treated." This was done to help ensure a scientific comparison between natural and artificially induced rain.

Planes flying north-south routes over the Mediterranean Sea off the Israeli coast seeded clouds with silver iodine particles. Rainfall 30 to 50 kilometers inland—around Nazareth—rose 15%.

"We repeated the experiment from 1969 through 1975. . . . We reconfirmed the same results," Gagín said, "but with some important additions."

By rerouting the planes to fly just east of the Carmel Mountain range, the team demonstrated that it could aim the artificially produced precipitation. This time the 15% increase fell into the Lake Kinneret (Sea of Galilee) catchment, important because for the past 20 years the Kinneret has served as Israel's national reservoir.

"An economist in the Ministry of Agriculture found that [15% boost in rainfall] means saving 40 million cubic meters of irrigation water," the professor said, or a contribution of up to \$22 million annually to the national farm economy. The experimenting stopped after 1975 and the team "moved to operational seeding," which it has been conducting ever since.

"When we began, Israel was using 95% of its water potential as defined prior to our operations. . . . The 15% increase in rainfall bought us time to find further water sources to exploit without slowing the growth of the country," Gagín said.

Now Israel overdrafts, consuming more than 100% of its annual potential and thereby depleting reserves. Meanwhile, some new ground water sources, like the proposed deep wells near Bethlehem, come wrapped in Israeli-Palestinian political controversy.

So the rainmaking team is not finished. Unlike American summertime rainmakers or Australian experimenters dealing with excessively icy clouds, the Israelis benefit from cold Balkan and Russian winter air which surges over the relatively warm waters of the Mediterranean. Clouds then form with particularly high rainmaking potential. Even so, nature's inefficiency still leaves 60% to 70% of the clouds' water as vapor in the atmosphere.

Gagín, who noted that "I grew up with the project and am now growing old with it," said the researchers have looked for but not found adverse environmental effects. There has been an unanticipated positive result:

"These [chemical] particles don't need passports. Some cross the River Jordan. . . . An American colleague at Colorado State University found that our seeding had a positive effect in Jordan, less than [in Israel] but positive."

Because Syria plans to divert the Yarmuk River, cutting the flow to Jordan's important Ghor irrigation canal, Israel's rainmaking techniques take on greater potential worth. "If peaceful conditions existed, Jordanians would be able to fly over Israel" to seed eastern-bound clouds, Gagín suggested.

Meanwhile, he has been called on to provide technical expertise to three black African countries and has enjoyed "high cooperation" with the U.S. National Atmospheric and Oceanic Administration.

"People always have prayed for rain in this part of the world," Gagín noted. "We've really worked hard scientifically . . . and shown that rainmaking is not for hustlers, or only an act of God, but a physical process [and] man can intervene."

—E.R. □

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NEAR EAST REPORT

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EDITORIAL

The Gap Gets Bigger

Pity the Reagan Administration spokesmen who must convince a skeptical Congress of Saudi Arabian assistance for the burgeoning U.S. naval effort to protect Persian Gulf shipping. To help pave the way on Capitol Hill for possible new Saudi arms sales requests (*NER*, Aug. 24), they hint that the Kingdom recently has tossed a few crumbs of cooperation our way.

For example, on NBC TV's "Meet the Press" recently, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy said that Washington was "very satisfied with the support that is coming from the Gulf states." However, he added that he hoped no one in Washington or the Gulf would discuss specifics.

Why not? Because it terrifies Saudi Arabia and Kuwait—to name the two Gulf countries whose economies and feudal political systems the U.S. flag and Navy are doing the most to protect—to be seen as working with the United States. These oil sheikdoms have provided Arab Iraq with a reported \$37 billion to finance its war against Persian Iran. Tehran's response has included mines in Kuwaiti waters and riots by "pilgrims" in Mecca.

Yet in its hour of need, Saudi Arabia *denied* that it had agreed to let carrier-based U.S. planes refuel on Saudi soil. The *Washington Post* had reported that "sources said the Saudis, previously unwilling to extend landing rights to U.S. combat planes, will allow carrier-based jet fighters and anti-submarine planes to land for refueling and other logistical aid under what the sources called 'emergency' or 'in case of need' conditions."

Assume that the *Post* story was correct. . . . If true, it merely highlights the growing gap between what the United

States needs and what our supposed allies are willing to provide. As some observers have noted, one reason the United States has been forced to increase the number of ships in and around the Persian Gulf from the usual five to seven to 30 (and temporarily 40) in little more than a month is the lack of on-shore facilities. The size of this fleet—which costs American taxpayers an additional \$1 million-plus per day—could be greatly reduced if adequate support, including cover from land-based combat aircraft, were available. So could the potential danger to the 25,000 U.S. sailors and airmen now protecting Arab oil destined for Europe and Japan.

Sens. Bob Packwood (R-Ore.) and Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) wrote in the *New York Times* (Aug. 23): "If the Saudis are changing their tune, now is the time for public clarifications in writing from President Reagan and from the Saudi rulers about the new Saudi commitments in support of United States interests in the Gulf region and in the Middle East [Arab-Israeli] peace process. Year after year, the Congress is asked to upgrade, enhance and improve Saudi military capabilities without insisting on getting anything in return."

Exactly. Assistant Secretary Murphy's position notwithstanding, let's have the specifics, plenty of them, and in public.

And, when the Administration next stresses Saudi defense needs and Saudi moderation, Congress should keep in mind last week's statements by Interior Minister Prince Nayef, to wit: "Saudi Arabia has enough defense capabilities to repulse any Iranian aggression" and ". . . the Iranians would have done better for Islam if they had turned their anger [in Mecca] to liberating Jerusalem from the Israeli occupation."

□

VIEWING THE NEWS

Syria Thanked

State Department officials have confirmed that preparations are under way to return U.S. Ambassador William Eagleton to Syria in the near future (*Associated Press*, Aug. 20). Although Administration spokesmen said that the decision to return Eagleton was made prior to the escape of journalist Charles Glass from kidnappers in Beirut, both U.N. Ambassador Vernon Walters and Secretary of State George Shultz thanked Syria for what they called its efforts to secure his freedom.

Eagleton was recalled and high-level contacts with the Syrians suspended last fall when the United States imposed political and economic sanctions on Damascus

for its role in the attempted bombing of an El Al jet which carried hundreds of Americans. Economic sanctions remain in force and Syria is still on the State Department's list of nations which support terrorism.

Romanian Visit

After two days of "very substantial and profound" discussions, Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu agreed to continue efforts to bridge their views on the peace process (*Jerusalem Post*, Aug. 21).

While both sides reportedly came away "satisfied" with progress on bilateral issues, an Israeli official said, "I cannot say

that the Shamir-Ceausescu talks have brought Middle East peace even one centimeter closer." Ceausescu favored a broad-based international conference on the Middle East while Shamir preferred a regional conference.

The Romanian President also insists on the participation of the PLO in such a conference, an idea rejected by Israel. Ceausescu believes that the PLO has changed over the last five years and is willing to renounce terror and accept U.N. Resolution 242. But while the two leaders met, British police discovered a PLO cache of arms and explosives intended for "future terrorist attacks Europewide" (*New York Times*, Aug. 19).

□

HEARD IN JERUSALEM

Free Market View of Economy

“We now have the luxury to be able to plan ahead,” an Israeli said recently. “We know what prices will be from one day to the next and we know what our paycheck will be worth.”

Israel today is more relaxed economically, than it was before the national unity government's reform program. Gone is the 1984 scramble to turn shekels into dollars, stocks or consumer goods. Gone is the uncertainty over wages and prices. The stabilization program instituted in July 1985 succeeded in reducing inflation and in restoring Israelis' faith in their economy.

—A senior economist at the Bank of Israel said that with “victory declared” on economic stabilization, the next step is to stimulate industrial growth. He pointed out that earlier this year the shekel was devalued and taxes cut to increase wages, profitability and competitiveness. As a result, investment, export and consumption grew while unemployment declined.

He was disappointed, however, with progress on two additional initiatives to stimulate growth: capital market reform and the privatization of government-owned firms. [The Finance Ministry later announced that it has hired the First Boston

Corporation to develop plans for privatization.]

Israel's last remaining economic puzzle is inflation, said the economist. Although July's 0.2% consumer price index was lower than expected, Israel's annual double-digit inflation still exceeds Western levels.

An admitted “free-market economist,” the official asserted that the vast majority of Israel's gross national product (GNP) is in the hands of the government or the Histadrut labor federation, a fact which he believed stifles the entrepreneurial drive of capitalism. He claimed that while the volumes of economic activity in Israel and Philadelphia are roughly equal, the Pennsylvania city “produces more efficiently.”

Continuing the analogy, he explained that, like Philadelphia, Israel's population is not large enough to justify domestic production of all necessities. While the city can “import” cars from Detroit and computers from California, Israel must purchase these products from abroad at great expense. To offset the high cost of imports, Israel must find a lucrative export niche, he said.

“Long-term growth must be led by exports. Israel needs to specialize. We

shouldn't produce a computer chip, but a component within a chip. Export inroads will be made in the tiny, not in the large.” He added that only trial and error will enable Israeli manufacturers to find their position in the global economy.

To put the small scale of the Israeli economy in perspective, he noted that in 1986 General Motors' sales were almost four times greater than Israel's entire GNP, \$26 billion.

The economist saw a change taking place among young Israelis. “Young people are developing the entrepreneurial spirit. They want to work.” He said the youth view the socialist ethic of bygone days as obsolete. The official added that the government must stimulate economic growth to foster the entrepreneurial drive and to provide new opportunities for free enterprise.

“Eliminating residual inflation and preserving the spark of economic growth remain our two most important goals,” he concluded. “But with success of the stabilization program, it would take drastic mismanagement to upset the economy.”

□
—J.R.

CAMPAIGN '88

Gephardt States Middle East Views

(First of an occasional series.)

Editor's note: With campaigning for the 1988 presidential nominations well under way, NER begins highlighting candidates' views toward U.S.-Israel relations and the Middle East. Following are views of Rep. Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.), taken from an article he wrote for the Houston Post earlier this summer.

Gephardt argued that U.S. influence in the Middle East is at a low point because the Reagan Administration does not have a coherent or consistent policy for the region. This failure has created an opening the Soviet Union can exploit, as it has done with the reconciliation of radical factions within the PLO.

“Israel's right to exist is a fundamental and unyielding principle that guides our foreign policy in the Middle East. Our bond cannot and will not be broken,” Gephardt wrote, adding that the Israeli government

itself, not the United States, must decide the terms and conditions of its participation in the regional peace process.

“We must overcome Egyptian and Jordanian resistance to discussing the autonomy provisions of the Camp David Accords with Israel. Direct negotiations, under our leadership, are still the best way to peace. We must not abandon moderate Arabs to accommodate the radicals,” the candidate stressed.

Gephardt saw stronger economic ties between Israel and Jordan as one way to make war less probable. “Trade, tourism and joint ventures do not guarantee peace, but increasing investment in peace makes war less likely.”

He said it must be made clear to Palestinian Arabs that “while we are willing to support the aspirations of democratic organizations and their participation in peace talks, we will not yield to demands commu-

nicated through violence.” In general, the United States “must not capitulate to terrorism” because “. . . attempting to appease terrorists only encourages more terrorism. . . . We must deprive terrorists of their leverage by articulating a policy of not giving in to their demands, and implementing that policy strictly. No foreign terrorist group, including the PLO, [emphasis added] should be given legal sanction in the United States.”

Arms sales to countries at war with Israel, Gephardt continued, exacerbate tension in the region. “Arms sales can be a part of our efforts to assure moderate Arabs their security, but arms sales cannot substitute for sound policy.” He maintained that the United States and the Soviet Union in the long run must find a way to cool the escalation that could lead to a direct superpower confrontation.

□

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EXCLUSIVE

Absorbing Ethiopian Refugees

On a warm, clear Jerusalem evening, three Israeli soldiers—an American, a sabra and an Ethiopian—descend the steps of Yemin Moshe to attend a ceremony marking the end of a hard summer's training. Members of the elite Golani unit, the three present a picture of absorption and acceptance. But it is a misleading picture for, despite some success, Ethiopian Jews must overcome many obstacles before they are fully integrated into Israeli life.

Ethiopian Jewry is still recovering from a trauma of catastrophic proportion: Of the 13,000 Jews who set out for Israel in 1983 and 1984 during Operation Moses, 3,000 perished en route. And left behind in Ethiopia were approximately 10,000 defenseless women, children and elderly. Those who arrived in Israel, mainly young people, feel a double sense of guilt, according to Yaffa Chase, an American who worked in Ethiopian absorption centers in Israel for two years. "They feel guilty that they survived the trip and that they left so many behind."

Reunification of families is the main concern of the 16,000 Ethiopian Jews in Israel, said Tamar Eshel, former chairperson of the National Council for Ethiopian Jewry in Israel. "They have a very real fear that the community in Ethiopia will disappear. They are afraid they will not survive a long separation in Ethiopia [where] there is infiltration by non-Jews, no security, women left with babies, pressure for their land, outsiders who burn, pillage and kill, and

proselytization. Time is working against them."

Separation from loved ones and their intense devotion to family has occasionally impeded the Ethiopians' absorption into Israeli society, said Eshel. Some have resisted placement in towns away from family members. In one case, Ethiopians refused to help a fellow immigrant because she was not in their family. One young woman told an absorption volunteer that grief over losing her parents in Sudan prevented her from studying. It is no wonder that weddings and other family events have become occasions for large reunions—and absenteeism from work. One statistic is perhaps the most telling: 1,500 Ethiopian children remain in Youth Aliyah facilities in Israel awaiting their parents.

Eshel said that Ethiopians 40 and older—what she calls "the desert generation"—have found it particularly difficult to adapt to life in Israel. "They live on social security. They find it hard to learn the language. They might find work in some form of non-skilled labor but generally they have little to do and they don't want to be helped."

Children, Eshel said, are a different story: "They will be well-integrated if they are put through the right educational tracks." She took issue with educators who have sought to teach Ethiopian children unmarketable skills or who have pushed them into academic programs for which they have no background.

Adults from 20 to 40, the majority of

Ethiopian Jewry in Israel, "are sometimes too ambitious," Eshel said. "They are trying to bridge a 2,000-year cultural gap in a year or two." She describes these individuals as responsible, conscientious and motivated.

"Still, there are far too many Ethiopians in menial jobs," she added. Eshel faulted government officials for settling these Jews in development towns where economic opportunities are already sparse. Efforts to relocate Ethiopians to agricultural settlements have been opposed by the immigrants themselves who traditionally saw agriculture as a menial occupation and resorted to farm work only as a means to preserve their community and prevent assimilation.

A trickle of Ethiopian Jews still arrives in Israel every month, said Eshel, "but that is not enough." This underground railroad suffered a setback early this year when 37 operatives were arrested in Ethiopia. Although seven have since been released, Eshel called for international assistance in gaining freedom for the rest.

Israeli Prime Minister Shamir promised at a rally of Ethiopian Jews last summer that efforts would continue to bring the remaining Jews in Ethiopia to Israel. A senior Israeli Foreign Ministry official told *NER* that this could occur within the next five years. But even that is too long for Ethiopians awaiting their families in Israel.

—J.R. □

PERSPECTIVE

Quick Takes, Second Glances

Following the July 31 riots in Mecca some observers made much of the fact that whereas in 1979 Saudi Arabia reportedly had to call in French troops to end the seizure of the Grand Mosque by armed rebels, this time the Kingdom's own forces restored order unassisted. However, an article in the Aug. 14 *Baltimore Jewish Times*, based on interviews with "Israeli military sources," described the Saudi security force as "largely constituted by Pakistanis. . . ."

An Israeli source in Washington last week said that some Pakistanis serve in the Kingdom's security branch, which may also include French supervisors.

• Safeway Stores Inc., in denying Commerce Department charges that it repeatedly violated U.S. anti-boycott laws (*NER*, Aug. 10), insisted that it does business with Israel. A spokeswoman noted that Safeway's own private label, Town House canned grapefruit, is Israeli-packed and that geographic divisions within Safeway purchase their own products from Israel

including Telma mixes, Elite candy and Yehuda matzo and wine.

The firm put direct imports from Israel at more than \$500,000 annually each of the last three years and denied it owned or operated stores in the Middle East, saying it "has only technical service contracts with not more than 10 locally-owned stores in the area." Last week a Commerce Department lawyer said that an administrative law judge had extended the deadline for Safeway's response until September. The lawyer expected Safeway to request a hearing on the charges.

• Meanwhile, last week NCR Corp. (formerly National Cash Register) agreed to pay \$381,000—the largest fine to date—because nine of its foreign subsidiaries cooperated with the Arab boycott of Israel. In reaching a negotiated settlement with Commerce, NCR neither admitted nor denied the alleged violations.

• In a promotional letter addressed "Dear American Muslim" and mailed earlier this year, *The Washington Report on*

Middle East Affairs explained: "We are trying to tell all Americans what U.S.-Arab relations were before the establishment of the state of Israel, and what we all have lost since then." The *Report* is published by the American Educational Trust, "founded by retired U.S. foreign service officers who have served in many Islamic countries." Their goal is "recapturing U.S. Middle East policy-making from Israel. . . ."

• In a *Jerusalem Post* review of Robert Gordis' new book, *Jewish Ethics for a Lawless World*, reviewer Theodore Friedman quoted Gordis as asserting that "the democratic idea, the concept of the innate dignity of all human beings and the inalienable right of all individuals and nations to life has been under challenge three times in the 20th century; first, by Nazi bestiality, second by Communist tyranny and third by Arab piracy. All three enemies of democracy have encountered a common symbol of resistance upon which to vent their hatred—the Jewish people." □

BACK PAGE

What Did Glass Know?

"I know a lot of people in Beirut. And I will be okay there," former ABC News correspondent Charles Glass reportedly told friends before heading for the Lebanese capital last May. A month later someone kidnapped him.

Glass' companion, Ali Osseiran—the son of Lebanon's Defense Minister, a Shi'ite Moslem—and Osseiran's driver/bodyguard also were taken hostage, but soon released. Glass remained captive until Aug. 18 when he escaped, or was allowed to escape. Afterward he said that going to south Beirut, the stronghold of the pro-Iranian Shi'ite Hezbollah (Party of God) was "probably the stupidest mistake I made in my life."

But the American was no newcomer to Lebanon; he started his career as a journalist in Beirut in 1972 and won an Overseas Press Club award there in 1976. He became familiar to U.S. viewers for his Beirut-based coverage of the TWA flight 847 hijacking in 1985. On leave from ABC, he went back this spring to write a book on Lebanon.

Glass' personal ordeal, and his professional response to it, raises a serious question—one reporters routinely ask of newsmakers: What did he know and when did he know it?

To begin with, relying on the establishment Osseiran clan for protection from Shi'ite co-religionists in Hezbollah in 1987 was, as one old Beirut hand has said, like counting on Amos and Andy to protect one from the Black Panthers in Harlem in 1968. But if Glass so misread the situation this summer, what of his judgment two years ago—judgment that considered interviews with hostages not media manipulation but professional coups?

ABC's 1985 coverage—much of it by Glass—differed markedly from reports his colleagues filed on his own kidnapping. Two years ago ABC gave 68% of "World News Tonight" shows to the hijacking during its 16-day run. The largest block of that—37%—went to hostage interviews.

Rarely did ABC inform viewers that the hostages they were seeing had been selected by the kidnappers themselves, or that the interviews were tainted, produced under terrorist control.

Least newsworthy for ABC then were freed hostages, who got a mere 4% of the coverage.

With one of their own, things were different. On Aug. 18 ABC not only led with the story of Glass' release (CBS opened with a follow on the Northwest Airlines crash in Detroit), but budgeted a large portion of the show for this particular freed hostage. He headlined later on "Nightline."

Glass took pains to make clear that the

video tape released while he was captive—in which he said he was a CIA agent involved in "Zionist schemes"—was made at the point of a gun. When the tape was aired last month, ABC News President Roone Arledge himself issued the disclaimer that Glass was forced to make false statements under duress.

It was ironic that the terrorists holding Glass forced him to describe himself as a U.S. agent working with Israel. As Fred Barnes of *The New Republic* observed, "Look at his reporting. It certainly doesn't follow American policy because, if anything, he's pro-Arab and tilted away from Israel."

In the September 1985 issue of the *Washington Journalism Review*, Glass contrasted the intense coverage given the TWA hijacking with Israel's transfer of Lebanese terrorist suspects to prison in Israel. He labored to connect the two stories, although the terrorists' basic demand—which still underlies much of the kidnapping of foreigners in Lebanon—was freedom for colleagues jailed in Kuwait.

Instead of concluding that reporting on the hijacking was too intense, given the terrorists' demand for and dependence on the media megaphone, Glass determined that the spotlight on Israel was not bright enough. He assigned the same status to Israel's Lebanese prisoners—suspected or known terrorists—as he did to the TWA passengers and crew.

Freed from his own captivity, Glass reportedly pronounced his solidarity with all prisoners *including those in Israel*. Again the propagandistic analogy between those justly and unjustly held.

Glass, it should be clear, is not so much a reporter as a partisan—and as an unidentified partisan, guilty of media malpractice.

—E.R. □

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NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

VOL. XXXI, NO. 34 AUGUST 24, 1987

EDITORIAL

Time to Reconsider

The *Washington Post* reported last week that the Reagan Administration would notify Capitol Hill of plans for a major arms sale to Saudi Arabia soon after Congress returns from recess on September 9. Although sources contacted by *NER* differed as to the contents and timing of the proposal, all anticipated that some weapons—most likely new armored vehicles, upgrades for U.S.-supplied tanks and a replacement squadron of 12 F-15 fighter planes—would be included. These arms have been part of previous sales proposals or rumored deals.

The Administration—deferring to Congressional opposition—withdrew in June an offer to sell the Saudis 1,600 Maverick-D anti-tank missiles worth \$360 million. It required a Presidential veto, sustained by just 34 votes in the Senate, to push through the 1986 sale of Sidewinder air-to-air and Harpoon anti-ship missiles after large majorities in both chambers voted to disapprove the deal. Now Administration officials once more are said to be citing tension in the Persian Gulf as justification for resubmitting Saudi arms sales.

That argument was not persuasive before the reflagging of Kuwaiti tankers and subsequent U.S. naval buildup in the Gulf, or before the riots in Mecca, and it is not now. Since 1973 the United States has sold Saudi Arabia at least \$50 billion in weaponry, military construction and related services. But it turns out that even with this incredible buildup, the Saudis are unable or unwilling to safeguard their own shipping and that of their Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) allies from Iranian threats. If they were, the proliferation of U.S. ships in and near the Gulf would not be necessary.

On the other hand, Saudi Arabia put down the *haji* pilgrimage riot in Mecca—several hundred of Ayatollah Kho-

meini's religious guerrillas died in the process—without Maverick missiles, F-15's or upgraded tanks. The subsequent seizure of the Saudi embassy in Tehran, the mysterious explosion and fire at a Saudi natural gas processing plant and the sinking of a Gulf supply ship after it hit a mine make it clear that GCC countries have reason to worry about their radical Shi'ite neighbor.

But that does not translate into justification for more big-ticket U.S. arms deals. Sources have hinted that there has been behind-the-scenes Saudi cooperation with the United States, including minesweeping beyond Riyadh's territorial waters and the granting of American access to Saudi facilities. If so, the very fact that such cooperation cannot be openly acknowledged suggests we not ask the Saudis to increase their vulnerability by *doing too much*. And it demonstrates that we not overburden their military and political establishments by *selling them too much*, as we did with the Shah.

Meanwhile, Saudi failure to assist with the Arab-Israeli peace process—the Carter and Reagan administrations, respectively, won approval for the original F-15 and AWACS sales partly by pledging such assistance—resembles third world debt. It is so great that no one any longer expects the Saudis to pay off.

With a Supreme Court nomination, a Central American peace plan, the Persian Gulf confrontation and other items on its agenda, the Administration does not need another fight with Congress over a Saudi arms sale. Consultation with Capitol Hill—this time *before* the fact—and White House willingness to reconsider would better serve all parties—including Saudi Arabia. □

VIEWING THE NEWS

No Lavi Decision

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's office denied receiving any message from Secretary of State George Shultz urging cancellation of the Lavi fighter-bomber, but U.S. statements urging Israel to drop the Lavi may have led the Cabinet to postpone a vote on the future of the plane (*Kol Yisrael*, Aug. 12).

Finance Minister Moshe Nissim, a principal opponent of the Lavi, said if the project is continued there "will be no choice" but to raise taxes substantially. Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin also opposed continuing the Lavi and supported American proposals for the sale of F-16's at reduced [NATO] rates. Prime Minister Shamir and

Foreign Minister Shimon Peres both support continuing the Lavi.

China Ties Frozen

Israeli business people are encountering difficulties in developing joint ventures with the Chinese (Israel Television, Aug. 9). At least four groups of Israelis who had invested large sums of money in joint agricultural projects have had their initiatives frozen by the Chinese.

China's move does not mean a complete severance of economic ties with Israelis. Various Israeli companies such as the Dead Sea Works still export their products indirectly. According to foreign reports, indirect trade between Israel and China is likely to continue on an "occasional deal" basis due to China's refusal to trade openly with Israel.

Soviet 'Channel'

A top aide to Israel's Foreign Minister Peres, Nimrod Novick, and Soviet Middle East expert Vladimir Tarasov agreed to establish a "direct channel of communication." Israeli hopes were raised last month by the arrival of a Soviet consular delegation, the first official Soviet group to visit Israel since 1967 (Associated Press, Aug. 18).

Members of the consular delegation have not sought to engage in political contacts with Israeli leaders. However, Novick said the most important part of his long meeting with Tarasov in West Germany was the Soviet understanding that a proposed international conference on the Middle East would serve only as an opening to direct talks between the parties to the conflict.

HEARD IN WASHINGTON

Ledeen on Iran Affair

Former National Security Consultant Michael Ledeen, the only American to meet early on with Iranians purported to be interested in dialogue with the United States, said recently that he "did not meet any Iranian moderates . . . the people I met were Iranian fanatics who believed very strongly in Khomeini's vision of the universe." In a talk at the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank, Ledeen said a moderate was an Iranian "temporarily out of ammunition."

He stressed that "of all the myths floating around . . . there is no greater myth than somehow this was an American . . . or an Israeli policy initiative." Ledeen said the cooperation between the United States and Israel regarding Iran, which started in May 1985, stemmed from a common search for information and understanding.

He was sent to Israel that May at the request of National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane. Then-Prime Minister Shimon Peres informed Ledeen that he was considering a request to send artillery shells to Iran but said he would not do so without U.S. permission.

"This [arms deal] was an Iranian initiative. . . . The notion that Iranians could conjure up a foreign policy initiative with some degree of sophistication doesn't occur to most people. . . . It is impossible to look at the evidence without coming to this conclusion, but nobody believes it," Ledeen said.

deed said.

The initiative "began when Manucher Ghorbanifar established contacts first with the Israelis, thanks to his friend Adnan Kashoggi, and then with the United States via Israel. It was his ideas and his proposals that got this thing moving," Ledeen explained.

Ghorbanifar had direct contacts with powerful people in Iran and served as a channel to pass information back and forth. Claims that Ghorbanifar was an Israeli agent were discounted by Ledeen. The Mossad—Israel's intelligence agency—was opposed to the operation and expressed dissatisfaction that Ghorbanifar was working with the Israeli government in any way, Ledeen said.

Addressing what he called the "endless rumors that Israel was somehow masterminding all this," Ledeen commented that the Israeli government was every bit as divided as the American government on the issue. He described as "silly" the assertion that Israel had any influence over the United States. "Israel served initially as the conduit for this Iranian initiative and brought it to the attention of the government of the United States, and the . . . United States made a series of decisions. . . .

"The basic decisions here were made by us, the mistakes ours. Israel had no leverage over the United States in this matter,"

Ledeen said. "Iran is a serious geopolitical issue for us . . . with or without Israel."

The Iranians he met with realized that their country could not survive if it remained a pariah state. In the winter of 1984–1985 they decided that they "were not going to make it if they continued to be driven into isolation with regard to the Western world." Furthermore, they were in urgent need of weapons, Ledeen stated.

With an air force and army almost entirely dependent on American equipment, his contacts were desperate to get spare parts, replacement weapons and expertise, Ledeen said. That was why Iran reached out to the West—not as a result of a policy crafted by "moderates." But by dealing with them, Ledeen said, we hoped an improvement in U.S.-Iranian relations and a change in some aspects of Tehran's policy might be achieved.

He said the first shipment by Israel of U.S. weapons to Iran, in late summer 1985, was a way to test Ghorbanifar's reliability and whether the Iranians could do what they claimed, including the end of terrorist attacks against American targets and the release of U.S. hostages.

Unfortunately, only one hostage was released, Rev. Benjamin Weir. Ledeen said Weir became a "spokesman for our enemies" upon his release. □

—Hillary Mann and Todd Winer. Mann and Winer are NER interns.

HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

Senators Criticize Reported Arms Sale

A White House spokesman said last week that a number of Saudi Arabian weapons deals are under consideration but it had not been decided when they would be submitted.

Sen. CLAIBORNE PELL (D-R.I.), Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said he had heard that, "contrary to [press] reports, the Administration has no plans to submit an arms sale package for Saudi Arabia when the Congress reconvenes in September." Pell said that information pleased him since an arms sale "would make a bad situation worse in the tense Persian Gulf area."

Pell referred to a letter he wrote to President Reagan last month, "urging him to place a moratorium on proposals for further major arms sales to Saudi Arabia until the Administration has reevaluated plans

and programs with that nation in close consultation with Congress." The Foreign Relations Committee chairman said the reevaluation should take place "in an atmosphere free of confrontation over new arms sales proposals."

Sen. BOB PACKWOOD (R-Ore.), a leader in opposing previous Saudi arms sales, told NBC-TV "Nightly News" last Monday that the United States wants peace in the Middle East. Peace will not come until Arab countries deal with Israel. "Until they [the Saudis] bargain with Israel we shouldn't be giving them sophisticated weapons." He cited the Saudis' continued funding of the PLO as one indicator that the Kingdom is not ready to promote Arab-Israeli peace.

Packwood's office said the Senator recognized that Saudi Arabia faced threats to

its security but, as the recent Iranian-inspired riot in Mecca demonstrated, the regime is able to protect itself without more sophisticated U.S. weaponry. Packwood believes such threats should not be used as justification for more arms sales, a staffer added.

In an unrelated matter, 46 Democrats and 14 Republicans in the House last month joined Reps. MEL LEVINE and ROBERT MATSUI, both California Democrats, in signing a letter to Japan's Ambassador to the United States protesting Jerusalem's exclusion from a World Conference of Historical Cities in Kyoto.

Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek's office said that Boston—Kyoto's U.S. "sister" and the only American city invited—has decided not to attend the conference in protest over the exclusion of Israel's capital. □

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PERSPECTIVE

The Middle East Arms Bazaar

If military expenditure is an indication of military might, Saudi Arabia is the dominant power in the Middle East, according to a recent study by the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA). In the 1986 edition of the *World Military Expenditure and Arms Transfers*, the ACDA reveals that in 1984 Saudi Arabia spent more than \$22 billion dollars on arms, making it—on the basis of expenditures—the world's seventh-ranked military power.

Gulf combatants Iraq and Iran trailed Saudi Arabia, placing eighth and eleventh, respectively. With military expenditures of \$7.2 billion, Israel ranked sixteenth.

A Washington military analyst notes that the Saudis spent far more than Israel for an army half the size. He added that if U.S. imports for military construction had been included, Saudi Arabia's total expenditures would be even higher.

The Middle East described in the ACDA study is a region in which nations devote a disproportionate amount of human and financial resources to their armed forces. In 1984, the Gulf states, Syria and Jordan spent over \$64 billion in military expenditures, almost nine times Israel's outlay.

The importance of the military can be judged by the percentage of gross national product (GNP) spent on it: Middle Eastern nations comprise 11 of the top 15 nations with the highest ratio of military expenditures to GNP. Six of them also are among the top 15 nations with the largest percent-

age of population under arms.

Israel has the world's second largest proportion of citizens under arms (5%) and the third largest proportion of military expenditures to GNP (27%). But due to its small population and limited GNP, Israel ranks 31st in the world in personnel under arms and 16th in military expenditures.

Syria, a nation committed to "strategic parity" with Israel, spends less of its GNP on its military and has a lower proportion of men under arms, but maintains an army double the size of Israel's. Moreover, Syria imported \$1.5 billion in arms in 1984, more than twice the amount imported by Israel. According to a military analyst, "This is in spite of the fact that Soviet weapons, which make up virtually all of Syria's imports, cost substantially less than American systems which dominate Israeli imports."

"Israeli domestic production does little to lessen the reality that Syria outspends Israel by a considerable margin in arms imports to build up its military might."

Saudi Arabia, with its vast oil wealth, is able to outspend Israel substantially while using less of its GNP.

Iraq, locked in warfare with Iran, has the highest proportion of men under arms, spends proportionately more of its GNP, and imports more weapons than any other nation. Although Iran's military expenditures are close to Iraq's, Tehran imports less and spends less of its GNP.

Jordan, which has not been involved in

active combat since its 1970-1971 conflict with the PLO, spends a surprisingly high proportion of its GNP (18%) on the military and maintains a relatively large standing army—78,000 men out of a population of 2.5 million.

Egypt and its volatile western neighbor Libya are engaged in a neck-and-neck competition to build up their armed forces. In 1984, they each spent \$5.1 billion on their military. Egypt, with its much larger population and more developed arms industry, was able to import fewer arms and muster more soldiers.

Publicity over Israel's export of defense technology notwithstanding, the value of those exports continued to decline. Israeli defense exports dropped from \$232 million in 1984 to \$196 million in 1985. In terms of cumulative exports from 1981-1985, Israel with \$1.4 billion in military exports ranked behind Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Spain, South and North Korea, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Italy and Romania, in addition to the leaders—the Soviet Union, United States, United Kingdom, France and West Germany. Soviet exports totaled over \$50 billion from 1981 to 1985.

The United States continues to be a major provider of weaponry to Arab states that have refused to make peace with Israel. During the five years from 1981 to 1985, the United States sold over \$9 billion worth of weaponry to these regimes. □

—J.R.

FILE FOR THE RECORD

Sharon Reviews Lebanon War

Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon broke a five-year silence recently and launched a campaign to defend Israel's 1982 war in Lebanon and to clear his name. Sharon presided over the campaign as Defense Minister and gave up that post after the Kahan Inquiry Commission found top Israeli commanders indirectly responsible for the massacre of Palestinian Arabs by Christian militiamen in the Sabra and Shatilla camps.

In a three hour and twenty minute speech at Tel Aviv University, Sharon rebutted the charge that he had deceived then-Prime Minister Menachem Begin. Sharon praised Begin, leader of the Likud government, and noted that he led the Cabinet into each stage of the war.

The major objective, Sharon insisted, was "the expulsion of the PLO terrorists from Beirut . . . the destruction of the PLO terror kingdom." He also said the Lebanon war was a "war of salvation, and I am proud to have been one of its organizers, a war

against our main enemy—the Palestinian terrorism that has been fighting us for 100 years."

Sharon denied that then-Secretary of State Alexander Haig gave Israel a "green light" to invade Lebanon during his [Sharon's] May 1982 visit to Washington. The shooting of Ambassador Shlomo Argov in London on June 3 became the "excuse" for the war, Sharon said. He quoted Begin as saying "it is unthinkable that the wretches should shoot our ambassador . . . we shall see who shall beat whom."

Even with this "excuse," Sharon said, war was still avoidable—provided that the PLO not open artillery fire on northern Israel in response to Israeli retaliation bombings after the Argov assassination attempt. But the PLO did shell Galilee settlements and on June 5 the Cabinet agreed to a campaign 40 kilometers into Lebanon.

According to Sharon, Begin then pressured the ministers for a decision that night on the question of Beirut—more than 80

kilometers from the border—"lest the Americans intervene and prevent the invasion."

"Nothing of the kind," replied Foreign Minister Shimon Peres. "Not only were we never told about it [the bombing of Beirut], but we were actually told the opposite." Peres contended that Labor Party leaders were informed the war would last three or four days and penetrate no more than 40 kilometers.

Challenging Sharon's description of the war as a "success," Peres mentioned some of the results: the destruction of an already ravaged Lebanese political system, the creation of Shi'ite Hezbollah terrorists alongside the PLO, more than 600 Israeli dead and a cost of \$5.5 billion.

Begin told an Israeli daily that "the time has not come for me to say what I have to say about this war. I am still not prepared for this. When I am prepared, I will react." □

BACK PAGE

A Wall of Jerichos

Israel bought some time for itself—and the world—when it destroyed the Iraqi nuclear plant under construction at Osirak in 1981. Unfortunately, that time may be running out.

According to a story in *Hadashot*, a Hebrew-language tabloid, Israeli "political sources" view the development by Iraq of long-range missiles "as a direct strategic threat and a new stage in the armament race in the Middle East." Such missiles could be fitted with chemical weapons—which Iraq has used against Iran—and nuclear as well as conventional warheads.

A Jordanian television report on the new Iraqi weapon may have been meant for audiences in both Tehran and Jerusalem. Baghdad might have been warning Iran not to launch a new attack on Basra; and cautioning Israel, after a news story in the *International Defense Review* claimed that the Israelis had tested a Jericho II missile with a range of at least 900 miles.

The Soviet Union delivered two sticks and one carrot on the topic of the Jericho via Hebrew-language broadcasts on Moscow radio. The "sticks" alleged that the missile threatened Soviet "economic and strategic centers" such as the Baku oil fields—and that, if development continued, Israel would face "consequences it could not possibly handle."

The "carrot" noted that the Soviet Union had no intention of upsetting the balance of power by placing medium-range nuclear missiles in any Arab country; however, it reserved the right to do so if concerned Arab governments agreed. Some Israelis interpreted that as an offer to keep SS-23's out of Syria in return for a halt to the Jericho II.

Israel welcomed the Kremlin's invitation to endorse Mikhail Gorbachev's call for the elimination of medium- and short-range nuclear missiles in Europe and Asia. The government cited its readiness to enter into a dialogue with all its neighbors in order to establish a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East.

However, Israel said an arrangement would be based on the consent of both it and the Arab states not to introduce short- and medium-range missiles into the region. According to the *Jerusalem Post* that meant Israel would be prepared to halt the development of the Jericho II "in the context of a mutually agreed reduction or elimination of all such missiles, both nuclear and non-nuclear." But Israel would not stop missile development or acquisition in the absence of a Soviet-Arab quid pro quo.

In the short run, the Jericho II neither upsets the Arab-Israeli military balance nor derails the possibility of a U.S.-Soviet agreement to eliminate their own inter-

mediate range nuclear missiles. A Capitol Hill source and a Washington-based military analyst agreed that neither the Jericho nor the West German Pershings will prevent a deal between the superpowers, if Moscow really wants one. And since Israel already is believed to have air superiority over its Arab neighbors, the Jericho II may reinforce but not dramatically change that.

The Jericho II is important for other reasons. Israel has seen international guarantees evaporate more than once when its very existence was threatened. It is the object of a *de facto* arms boycott by every country in the world but one. This boycott includes even Israel's leading Western European trading partners who, like Jerusalem's one ally, also arm some of its enemies. Israel remains a small, besieged country which all but one of its neighbors refuse to recognize.

It ultimately can rely only on itself. Possession of the Jericho II, coupled with Israel's presumed nuclear weapons capability, would reinforce regional deterrence. That differentiates Israel from Pakistan, Iraq, Argentina, Iran and other countries whose efforts to go nuclear may lead to greater instability, not stability.

Critics sometimes charge that strength makes Israel intransigent. But a nuclear-capable Israel would be more likely to consider territorial concessions for a peace settlement than an Israel whose total reliance on conventional arms only increased its need for strategic depth. And if the Cabinet decides it cannot afford the Lavi fighter-bomber, domestically produced missiles acquire greater importance as well.

France may not really need its nuclear *force de frappe*. When Israel's geostrategic position is somewhat comparable to France's, it may not need a wall of Jerichos.

—E.R. □

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NEAR EAST REPORT

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EDITORIAL

Information Versus Truth

Reagan Administration briefers gave the Senate Foreign Relations Committee an odd view of the Arab-Israeli military balance at a recent closed door session. According to several sources, the briefers—who came armed with the usual graphs and slides—said that not only did Israel hold a military edge over its potential Arab enemies, but that the advantage was growing in Israel's favor. Unfortunately, what at first sounded like good news to anyone concerned about the security of an outmanned, outgunned American ally in the volatile Middle East became, on closer scrutiny, worrisome.

Problems started with the "extrapolation fallacy," to paraphrase one source. By taking bits of information—such as Israel's assumed qualitative edge in military technology—and projecting them into the future as trends, Administration analysts will find the Israel Defense Forces always on top. But at what point do changes in the field, such as Syria's acquisition first of Soviet SCUD-B missiles, then of SS-21 missiles, then chemical weapons capabilities, and now of top-of-the line MiG-29 fighter planes blunt or even cancel those trends? Extrapolation—which saw the Shah of Iran likely to retain power less than two years before his ouster—cannot tell.

Perhaps worse, intelligence data apparently were being made to serve an existing political policy, selling arms to the Arabs. A second source said that the real purpose of the briefing seemed to be to prepare Capitol Hill for weapons deals likely to be announced next month. But from the Bay of Pigs through declarations of early victory in Vietnam to the Iranian-arms-for-hostages deal, post-war examples

abound of the danger of bending intelligence information to fit preconceived policies. Israel's military position leaves it with almost no room for error. Politically-motivated "analysis-by-extrapolation"—especially by its one major ally—poses a very real threat.

In fact, to maintain the military edge presumed to exist, Israel needs a new close-air-support fighter—but agonized over finding funds for the Lavi project. It needs to replace its squadron of three aging submarines, to modernize its fleet of missile and patrol boats, to continue upgrading its armor, to put more resources into training and procurement and a dozen other areas. Israel somehow must keep pace with Arab states which have bought tens of billions of dollars worth of advanced weaponry from both the communist bloc and Western nations in recent years, years in which it was cutting defense spending to support economic reform.

As we have noted previously, at some point quantity can overwhelm quality. And Arab armies—which enjoy a great quantitative edge—have been making qualitative improvements as well. To rely, as Administration briefers purportedly did, on intangibles such as the "flexibility" of Israeli commanders and the superiority of Israeli training cannot be acceptable in Jerusalem. It should not be in Washington.

The Administration often has pledged to maintain Israel's military-technological edge over any likely combination of potential enemies. This pledge was reiterated by Secretary of State George Schultz's special envoy, Charles Hill, in Israel last week. But the recent Senate briefing raises questions as to how that pledge is understood.

□

VIEWING THE NEWS

Rabin on Security

Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin, speaking before a group of hawkish Labor Party members, said of any peace agreement with an Arab state: "Whoever thinks that Israel can sign a peace agreement that does not specify the Jordan River as its security border is a fool" (*Ma'ariv*, Aug. 4).

Rabin, who said Israel would not uproot any Jewish settlements in the heart of Samaria if a peace settlement was reached, said the residents of these settlements would be under Jordanian rule. He compared this to the situation of the residents of east Jerusalem, who live under Israeli juris-

diction but maintain extensive links to Jordan.

Hungary Disappoints

The establishment of ties between Israel and Hungary, agreed to by Hungary after Poland opened a dialogue with Israel, appears to be on a much lower level than expected. As a result, formal diplomatic relations may be delayed (*Hatzofe*, Aug. 4).

The Hungarians reduced the level of relations to a trade delegation after stories surfaced in Israel of a meeting between Hungarian and Israeli representatives in Vienna.

Israeli Protest

Israel has protested to Egypt over remarks made by Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Butrus Ghali at the Organization of African Unity conference (*Kol Yisrael*, Aug. 9). Ghali compared Israel to South Africa, saying that "Israel is racist" and the treatment of Palestinian Arabs in the West Bank is similar to the treatment of blacks in South Africa.

In a related incident, Israel "expressed dissatisfaction" over Egypt's failure to show reservations on the Algerian-sponsored anti-Israel resolution passed at the OAU conference. Both Cameroon and Zaire did express reservations.

□

EXCLUSIVE

Putting A New Face on Iraq

Nizar Hamdoon, Iraq's outgoing Ambassador to Washington, argues that Arab opposition to Israel is not caused by a desire to eliminate the Jewish state, but by a desire to resolve the Palestinian Arab problem. "I don't see the Arabs motivated by hatred. . . . I don't think they 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."

But he stopped short of accepting Israel's right to exist. "It is difficult for an Arab to address this question directly. We cannot give away our bargaining chip before the bargaining begins," he said.

Could Iraq go the way of Egypt and make a separate peace with Israel? No, according to Hamdoon. "Every Arab country is different. Egypt is not Iraq, and Iraq is not Egypt."

Hamdoon came to Washington three years ago as Iraq's first Ambassador to the United States in 17 years. His task: to represent a country long regarded as one of the most radical in the Arab world, to improve its image and strengthen its relationship with the United States. By adopting an open, high-profile approach, the 43-year-old Ambassador has done just that. And he has done so despite the sale of U.S. arms to Iran, Iraq's archenemy, despite the fact his country reportedly harbors Mohammed Abul Abbas, wanted by the United States in the Achille Lauro hijacking, and despite the attack of an Iraqi jet on the USS Stark. *NER* interviewed Hamdoon recently as he prepared to return home to serve as deputy foreign minister.

A hotbed of anti-Zionism, Iraq sent troops to fight Israel in 1948 and 1973. In 1967, Baghdad broke relations with the United States over Washington's support for Israel during the Six-Day War. Ten years later, Iraq vociferously opposed Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's opening to Israel and denounced the Arab "rejectionist front" (Syria, Libya, South Yemen, Algeria and the PLO) for being too soft on Sadat.

Hamdoon said that although Iraq does not consider itself "a confrontation state" with Israel, Baghdad has "rushed" to send troops to fight Israel "out of Arab brotherhood and Arab tradition. . . .

"We do not hope that there will be another Arab-Israeli war, especially since we have had the experience of our own bloody war for the past seven years," he observed.

With the consolidation of power by Saddam Hussein in 1979 and the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war a year later, Iraq has adopted a more pragmatic approach toward the West and its supporters in the Arab world. Egypt, formerly denounced by Baghdad for its peace treaty with Israel, now enjoys warm relations with Iraq, according to Hamdoon.

"We opposed Egypt at Camp David because of Sadat's tendency to impose something on the Palestinians. Now we respect Egypt's position more because President Mubarak is not speaking on behalf of the Palestinians. . . ." He added that the prospects for the improvement of Iraqi-Egyptian relations "will not diminish in the near future."

Iraq also will absent itself from Palestin-

ian politics. "We do not favor the sort of situation which has prevailed in the past in which every [Arab] country had its own faction within the PLO. . . ." Hamdoon said. "Generally, we believe the Arafat faction should prevail." When asked whether Baghdad will refrain from funding PLO factions, Hamdoon responded "absolutely." [Iraq has previously supported two PLO subgroups: the Arab Liberation Front and the Palestine Liberation Front.]

Iraq would be satisfied with any formula for a homeland acceptable to the Palestinian Arabs, he added.

Hamdoon reserved his strongest criticism for Syria, Iran's ally. "Syria has sought to assert power over the PLO, Lebanon, and Jordan. In the Gulf it has portrayed itself as the guarantor of leverage on Tehran, but this is an illusionary impression." He contended that Damascus has not used its contacts with both sides of the war to mediate the conflict, but to extort assistance—accepting loans and free oil from Iran while receiving subsidies from the Arab Gulf states.

"It has come to the point that everybody is suspicious about Syria," Hamdoon said. "Nobody trusts Syria. Damascus' policy is leaving the Syrian leadership in a difficult position." With its \$1-billion annual Arab League subsidy due to expire next year, Damascus must choose between continued Arab support and loyalty to Iran, he said.

He also commended the efforts of Jordan's King Hussein to mediate between Syria and Iraq.

—J.R.

HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

House Committee Approves Aid Bill

By voice vote shortly before Congress began its August recess, the House Foreign Affairs Committee approved the fiscal 1988–1989 Foreign Aid Authorization bill (H.R. 3100). The legislation contains \$3 billion in all-grant aid to Israel per year and many other favorable provisions.

The \$1.2 billion in all-grant economic aid will be delivered as an annual cash transfer, disbursed within 30 days of enactment of the legislation. Included in the yearly \$1.8 billion all-grant military aid is \$450 million for the Lavi aircraft—\$300 million to be spent in Israel and \$150 million in the United States. If Israel wishes, it can use funds "for the Lavi program or for another

advanced fighter aircraft (if agreed to by Israel and the United States) or for other advanced weapons systems." [The State Department last week criticized the Lavi project and suggested that Israel invest in other military programs instead.]

The Authorization bill also contains \$5 million annually for joint U.S.-Israeli development projects in the third world and makes U.S. contributions to the International Atomic Energy Agency available only if "Israel is not being denied its right to participate in the activities of that Agency."

Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman DANTE FASCELL (D-Fla.) plans to take the

Foreign Aid Authorization legislation to the floor by mid-September. Ranking minority member WILLIAM BROOMFIELD (R-Mich.) praised Fascell's leadership but stressed that there are still serious partisan differences [not relating to Israel] in the measure that need to be resolved before a vote by the full House.

The following day the House Appropriations Committee adopted the recommendations of its Foreign Operations Subcommittee, including \$3 billion in all-grant assistance to Israel.

Congress is to reconvene on Sept. 9.

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HEARD IN WASHINGTON

Biased U.N. Rights Agenda

Created from the ashes of the Holocaust, the U.N. Human Rights Commission (UNHRC) was to have been the voice of the world's conscience but, according to Joseph Morris, co-chairman of the U.S. delegation to the UNHRC and Director of Liaison Services for the Justice Department, the UNHRC has evolved into little more than a forum for the "most incredible, vicious Israel bashing and occasional overt Jew bashing."

Before World War II, the League of Nations, precursor to the U.N., was plagued with "limpness, ineptitude and impotence," Morris said in a recent talk at B'nai B'rith headquarters. Today, "nothing's changed." Morris observed that the "great majority of the U.N. is against the U.S.—with one conspicuous exception—Israel." Israel's voting pattern in support of the United States is considerably higher than any other nation's, including Britain and Canada.

Paralleling Morris' observations, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations, Alan Keyes, told an audience at the Hebrew University's Davis Center earlier this summer that the U.N. has been transformed from an "instrument of peace to a battleground." However, when asked whether the United States should withdraw from the U.N., Keyes cautioned that American disavowal of the U.N. would be tantamount to giving up U.S. goals for international peace and cooperation.

Keyes' speech in Jerusalem also focused

on the General Assembly resolution likening Zionism to racism. Describing the resolution and its increasing application as "the ultimate irony," Keyes said, "The concept of the 'crime against humanity'—ripped from the bowels of human suffering—was now turned against its victims." Israel and Zionism, he concluded, had been "pushed outside the pale of consideration," effectively justifying violence against Israel.

Concentrating on the UNHRC, Morris explained that the Commission's 43-nation members meet every year for six weeks to address the grossest human rights violations in the world. The first and last weeks are dedicated to introductions and summations, leaving four weeks for substantive debate of human rights issues. Week two—25% of the debate, Morris said, imitating the usual tenor of UNHRC delegates—is devoted to the "number one threat of human rights, to the number one mangler of human dignity in the world: Israel." Israel's "crushing of the inalienable rights" of the Palestinian Arabs and the "horrors of Israel's continued occupation" of the territories are the two issues which, Morris said, constitute the annual focal point of the UNHRC's agenda.

South Africa, the world's "second most" dangerous violator of human rights, according to the UNHRC, commands the third week. While the cruelty and inhumanity of apartheid should be a pivotal issue for the UNHRC, Morris said, only one aspect of South Africa is normally dis-

cussed: the Israel connection. "Hardly a speech goes by that does not equate Zionism with racism and notes the close relations between South Africa and Israel," Morris stressed. An opportunity is never missed, he added, "to point out that South Africa and Israel share the same evil imperialist sponsor—the U.S."

With half of the Commission's "real" debate—Israel and Zionist links to apartheid—completed, week four concentrates on individual grievances. Morris contends that each complaint is "white-washed" by the UNHRC except those promulgated by West Bank Arabs. Week five is the sole week left for debate on human rights violations in all other countries, ranging from Afghanistan, Cambodia, and slavery in the Arabian peninsula to religious persecution, torture and capital punishment. During the proceedings, Morris observed, the Syrians, in particular, have been not only virulently anti-Israel in the UNHRC but they also play "floor-whip for the Soviet Union."

Concluding the 1986 UNHRC meeting, Morris said, was the Soviet-backed attempt to install as 1987 UNHRC chairman a former East German Nazi who had "thrown over his Nazi youth for his Communist maturity." □

—Hillary Mann.

Mann, a student at Brandeis University, is an NER intern. Additional material from Shai Franklin in Jerusalem.

HEARD IN NEW YORK

America's Most Consistent Supporter

For the fourth consecutive year, Israel has voted with the United States more than any other country at the United Nations. According to a State Department report on voting practices at the U.N., Israel voted with the United States 89.9% of the time. Great Britain (88.2%), West Germany (87.3%) and Luxembourg (79.2%) were next. In addition, Israel was the only country out of the 158-member U.N. General Assembly which voted with the United States on all ten issues which the U.S. considered the most significant affecting American interests.

Arab states, even those the United States deems "moderate," continue their support of radicalism and rejectionism. Twenty Arab nations again introduced an annual procedural motion in an attempt to deny credentials to the Israeli delegation to the General Assembly; it was defeated by a vote of 76 to 41 with 17 abstentions.

Saudi Arabia and Kuwait voted to block

Israel from participating in the 41st General Assembly. Jordan and Syria, potential players in any peace conference, also rejected Israel's right to participate.

Another resolution claimed that the strategic cooperation agreement between Israel and the United States, as well as the continued supply of arms and economic aid, "have encouraged Israel to pursue its aggressive and expansionist policies and practices in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967. . . ." Communist, third world and 20 Arab states supported the resolution; Egypt abstained.

Jordan voted with the United States 13.3% of the time, Kuwait 12.9%, Egypt 17.3%, Saudi Arabia 16%, Iraq 8.8% and Syria 7.9%. Many of the Eastern European Communist bloc members had similar or even higher percentages: Romania 16.3%, East Germany 12.6%, Poland 12% and the Soviet Union 12%.

In the introduction to the report, U.N.

Ambassador Vernon Walters wrote: "The United States must continue to make clear that it cannot accept from a nation with which it enjoys good bilateral relations the excuse that group solidarity required it to vote in favor of resolutions critical of the United States or harmful to U.S. interests." □

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BACK PAGE

One More Try

Secretary of State George Shultz's executive assistant, Charles Hill, was in Jerusalem last week for talks with Israeli leaders. Shultz said there was "nothing mysterious" about the trip. He again declared that the Administration remains interested in an international conference on the Middle East as a way to get direct Arab-Israeli talks going—particularly between Israel and a Jordanian-Palestinian Arab delegation.

But Israel's Prime Minister, Yitzhak Shamir, reiterated his strong opposition to a conference as envisioned by both Jordan's King Hussein and Israel's Foreign Minister, Shimon Peres. While repeating his willingness to talk directly with the King, Shamir said he would never consider the creation of a second Palestinian Arab state between Israel and Jordan.

Shultz believes there are opportunities as well as problems in the Middle East. "It's important . . . you take advantage of anything that can be legitimately a way to move forward."

A top Peres adviser, Uri Savir, put the situation this way in an interview with *NER* last month: "For the first time in 39 years of conflict it's possible to engage in a process leading to direct negotiations between Israel and a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation." A paper drawn up by American diplomats last spring, and agreed to by Hussein and Peres, "clarifies the conditions for an international conference," including provisions that it would facilitate direct, bilateral talks and that the conference itself would not have veto power over agreements reached in direct talks.

Savir said changes in the region created a climate in which "part of the Arab world is willing to go to negotiations" with Israel. These include the 1985-1986 oil price plunge, which made it "more and more difficult to cope with the modern arms race"; disillusionment "in many Arab countries with the PLO or its current leadership . . . [and] an awareness that the PLO is a non-starter if you want to get to negotiations"; a rapprochement between Jordan and Egypt; and Israel finding itself right now at a relatively strong point militarily.

He also saw "a lot of disillusionment and despair within the Palestinian community. . . . A proposal which would bring some hope might get support" and prompt the involvement of non-PLO members in the negotiating process.

Savir believed this "historic opportunity" must not be missed. Otherwise, "the whole process might be postponed until 1989 [after American and Israeli elections] and who knows what will happen by then?" He noted that an Arab League summit may be held later this year, and that currently

favorable circumstances could change.

Meanwhile, active Soviet diplomacy in the region—including "ambiguous" contacts with Israel—continues. Moscow's influence with the PLO and Syria, new efforts in Egypt and the Persian Gulf, and attempts to mediate between Syria and Iraq have not been constructive. "Either you neutralize Soviet influence or channel it into constructive ways, and for that you need an active peace process," Savir said.

But a source close to Shamir has described the question as one "of creating a consensus [in Israel] for an international conference. . . . No one is sure if the proposal on the table is attractive enough to make a difference in an election campaign."

He suggested that Shamir's proposal for a Camp David-style mini-conference including Israel, Jordan, Egypt and the United States might have made some headway if the other parties did not think of the international conference as "the only game in town."

As Shultz's "alter ego," Hill was expected to provide the Secretary with a reassessment of Shamir's position and what—if anything—it would take for the Prime Minister to make changes. It also was assumed that Hill would repeat U.S. assurances that any conference would not lead to an enforced solution.

In Washington, an Israeli source doubted anything new would come from Hill's mission, adding, "I don't know what the next move after that will be." The Knesset's summer recess extends into October and "unless something changes dramatically"—from the Arab side or in reaction to intra-Arab developments—the source agreed that the spotlight would shift from the international conference proposal. □

—E.R.



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NEAR EAST REPORT

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EDITORIAL

Retailing the Safe Way

Safeway, the nation's largest supermarket chain, has been charged with 449 violations of U.S. law prohibiting cooperation with "an unsanctioned foreign boycott"—specifically, the Arab economic embargo of Israel. The Commerce Department charged that the grocery chain provided the names of approved suppliers—firms not on the Arab League's boycott list—for its licensees in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Safeway allegedly excluded companies on the list and, it is further alleged, even required a wholesale supplier to submit names of its subcontractors "for clearance."

In addition to helping the stores it managed in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait comply with the boycott, Safeway was accused by the Commerce Department of furnishing information about its business relationships "with or in a boycotted country . . . furnishing information about your and other persons' membership in, contributions to or other association with the activities of any charitable or fraternal organization which supports a boycotted country" and failing to inform the government about requests to participate in the boycott. If an administrative law judge finds the firm guilty, it could face fines of up to \$10,000 per violation, or nearly \$4.5 million.

Safeway called reports that it refused to do business with Israel "absolutely false." It termed the charges made by Commerce "preposterous" and denied them unequivocally, adding that "we have done everything possible to comply with the U.S. anti-boycott law."

William Skidmore, head of Commerce's Office of Anti-Boycott Compliance, said that administrative action was initiated after negotiations with Safeway—under way for

half a year—broke down. The case could take years to resolve, first through administrative procedures and then, perhaps, in the courts.

Even so, it is good that the government went public, and that the potential fines involved are large. This signals both Arab countries and U.S. businesses that Washington intends to enforce the 1977 anti-boycott law. The Arab League's economic boycott of Israel—now more than three decades old—represents not only an extension of the war against the Jewish state by other means, but also a particularly nasty example of anti-Semitic blackmail.

Just before the government's allegations against Safeway made headlines, the *Washington Jewish Week* reported that the British firm Cadbury Schweppes planned to join the boycott. Cadbury Schweppes purportedly will break a 20-year link with Jaf-Ora, an Israeli bottler. Sales of Schweppes' soft-drinks make up about 75% of the Israeli firm's business. Their loss could ruin Jaf-Ora, which employs approximately 400 people.

U.S. law is meant to prohibit that kind of economic appeasement. Safeway faces fines more than 10 times higher than the current record—\$323,000 imposed against Citicorp. That amount, like most anti-boycott complaints, was reached through negotiations between the company and the government. Perhaps it is too easy to "plea bargain" in the case of anti-boycott violations.

While Commerce is to be commended for pursuing the Safeway case, maybe Congress should take a look at overseas outfits like Cadbury Schweppes, certain major Japanese car builders, international hotel chains, and others conspicuous by their U.S. presence and Israeli absence. □

VIEWING THE NEWS

Romania Bound

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir is expected to pay an official visit to Romania at the invitation of President Nicolae Ceausescu (*Kol Yisrael*, July 31). The trip is viewed as significant because of Ceausescu's contacts with Arab countries and the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, the leaders of the Soviet delegation visiting Israel returned to the Soviet Union and may stay there for up to two months for "lengthy discussions" (*Davar*, July 31). Israeli officials believe the delegation has completed its work and the remaining Soviet officials will leave Israel when their 90-day visas expire. Israelis de-

cribed the contacts between the delegation and their own representatives as "too slow and too few."

"Credit" Claimed

Force-17, an arm of Yasir Arafat's Fatah, claimed responsibility for the killing of Capt. Ron Tal in an attack in the Gaza Strip (*Kol Yisrael*, Aug. 2). Tal, who for the last four months commanded the military police in Gaza, was shot at close range near the city's main square.

A PLO statement declared Tal was ambushed as a result of "decisions of the Supreme Military Council on stepping up military action. . . ."

Talks Planned

A Kuwaiti newspaper commented that a high-level meeting between Syrian officials and the PLO will be held shortly in Prague (*Al-Anba*, July 29). The talks will focus on the international peace conference proposal.

The Fatah delegation is scheduled to introduce guidelines which will ensure PLO participation "in such a way as not to encroach on the PLO's right to represent the Palestinian people." The talks also will focus on the recent success of Soviet intra-PLO mediation and Moscow's request that the organization and Syria restore relations. □

EXCLUSIVE

Pickering Denies Interference

Tel Aviv—Ambassador to Israel Thomas Pickering acknowledged that the U.S. position on an international conference on the Middle East is closer to that of Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres than Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir but denied that in publicly communicating that policy Washington was meddling in internal Israeli affairs. In an exclusive interview in his Tel Aviv office, the Ambassador also revealed that the United States and Israel had been well on the way to resolving the alleged mistreatment of some black and Arab Americans at Israel's Ben-Gurion airport when press reports "blew it out of the water."

Now entering his third year in Israel, Pickering has served during a period of expanding cooperation between the two nations. He sees additional opportunities for growth in economic cooperation, strategic relations, military research and development and promoting Middle East peace.

The Ambassador said that the pursuit of peace remains "very high on our agenda" and expressed Washington's desire "to work with the whole national unity government to find ways to further develop the process. . . ."

He said that "on economic matters we may be somewhat closer to Likud, [and] on peace process questions we may be somewhat closer to Labor," but he insisted that U.S. policy is not intended to support either political bloc but to serve American interests. The United States supports an international conference on the Middle

East, an idea accepted by the Labor Party and its leader, Peres, but rejected by Shamir and his Likud bloc.

Shamir recently said that "it was important to warn" against U.S. interference in Israeli domestic disputes to avoid the alienation of "parts of the Israeli public." The Ambassador told *NER*, "It is true that some in Israel who have been sensitive to our position have criticized us merely for articulating it, but nowhere in my diplomatic history did the doctrine of non-interference in internal domestic affairs ever impinge upon a state's right, indeed its obligation, to its own people to make its views known. . . . Where I think people have made a mistake in Israel is in asking the United States not to express its views. . . ."

Pickering said the United States has "on every occasion tried to make clear to all of our contacts that we did not wish to interfere and would not interfere in the internal political process in Israel and we were going at the same time to conduct our foreign policy by explaining clearly our position. . . ."

He said that Washington remains committed to working both with the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister "in a consultative and diplomatic way . . . in the private sphere, not in private argumentation," to move toward "peace and the direct talks we seek as a way to negotiate the peace settlement."

Asked whether the PLO could have a role in an international conference, Picker-

ing said that while Palestinian Arabs must participate in every stage of the peace process, the best context would be for "peace-minded" individuals to participate in a joint delegation with Jordan. Reiterating U.S. policy which rejects direct contact with the PLO, the Ambassador said, "We have looked very carefully at statements made by leaders of the PLO and some of those have said that they must have an independent delegation, which seems to us to be a non-starter. Others have articulated views that Palestinians could come forward who would be generally acceptable to parties such as Israel and Jordan that might . . . also be acceptable to them. Maybe within the range of that formula there is a possibility, but this is yet to be fully explored."

Pickering explained that over the past 18 months, U.S. officials have quietly approached Israeli authorities about allegations of mistreatment at Ben-Gurion. He said that the Israelis had "agreed to find ways to be helpful."

"In the meantime, unfortunately, one of the families that had been turned back went to the press in the United States and that's where the issue first broke." He said that high-level contacts were made with Israeli officials who proposed a seven-point plan to resolve the issue. "And I am happy to say that since [then] . . . we have had practically no occasion to raise this question again with the government of Israel because of the exemplary way with which they have handled the question." □

—J.R.

HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

Saudi Unhelpfulness Noted

The need for the Reagan Administration to send helicopter mine-sweepers to the Persian Gulf as a result of Kuwaiti and Saudi refusal to use their own mine-sweepers, or allow the U.S. basing rights, is another example of "unhelpfulness" by "the Saudis and the Kuwaitis and other so-called friends," Thomas Dine told the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations recently. Dine, executive director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, said that such action by Kuwait and Saudi Arabia stands in "stark contrast" to Israel's repeated demonstrations of willingness to support American efforts in the Middle East.

He pointed out that the United States is currently assisting in the Persian Gulf, but

that Arab states of the region refuse to provide America with basing rights. It was announced that the Pentagon has sent eight mine-sweeping helicopters to Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, to be put on board the helicopter carrier Guadalcanal which will then take them to the Persian Gulf.

"We have never before sent any carriers into the Gulf because they would be vulnerable to attack due to the relatively cramped operating space for their support vessels," Dine said. "But we are now forced to take these unnecessary risks" because supposed Arab allies will not permit stationing these helicopters on their soil to protect the sea lanes for their own tankers. "Nor have these countries granted aircraft landing rights, which makes the task of protecting

the reflagged tankers extremely difficult."

Meanwhile Capitol Hill sources said that the Administration's planned September Saudi arms package will include 12 F-15 electronics upgrades plus more arms to the United Arab Emirates, Pakistan, Egypt and others, in addition to weapons listed earlier (*NER*, Aug. 3).

It was incorrectly reported that the Foreign Aid Appropriations bill contained amendments barring the sale of advanced anti-tank shells to any country except NATO members and major non-NATO allies, and opposing the sale of combat aircraft and new air defense systems to Jordan. It is the Authorization bill which contains these amendments. □

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HEARD IN JERUSALEM

"Cooperation, Not Compulsion"

As the public sessions of the Congressional Iran-*Contra* hearings drew to a close, Sen. Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii), chairman of the Senate investigating committee, praised Israel for its efforts to provide detailed information and for allowing U.S. investigators to question witnesses in Israel. Last month, Jerusalem gave the panel two classified reports, including a 70-page chronology of its involvement.

However, the Israeli government reiterated its objections to the subpoenas issued by independent counsel Lawrence Walsh, who was seeking to question several Israelis.

"We haven't heard if Walsh will change his tactics. We hope he does. . . . We're not going to cooperate with anybody in a compulsory way. We worked voluntarily with Congress. We want to cooperate [with Walsh] but the subpoenas we think are wrong," a source close to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir told *NER* recently.

The government believes it "has the sole right to determine to whom and how we will give information which belongs to us." The independent counsel can have the same cooperation extended to Congress but "can't

enjoy both worlds, our own information and then *schlep* us to Washington to cope with subpoenas," the source said.

Asked if Shamir's vehement opposition to an international conference on the Middle East implied an indefinite acceptance of the status quo, the adviser said, "I personally think we should not take the status quo as good." He added that Israel wanted, "as part of its national ethos," to live in peace with its Arab neighbors. It must assert its own principles—including historical and security rights to the territories—while "acting to promote the peace process."

On the difficulty of finding non-PLO Palestinian Arabs to join talks with Israel, the source said, "I believe there is a lot of intimidation going on. . . . Fear of violence from radical elements makes business people, moderates in the middle class and others fear anything which might expose them to pressure."

He noted that after an east Jerusalem newspaper editor proposed fielding a slate of Palestinian Arab candidates for the next city council elections, his automobiles were fire-bombed. The source recalled a previous attempt to talk with residents

about autonomy under Camp David. In a short time several of Israel's Palestinian interlocutors were dead. A moderate silent majority may exist, but it is hard to tell—and hard to find.

The adviser saw little significance in the "re-radicalization" of the PLO at this year's Palestine National Council meeting. "I don't see many differences between them [various PLO factions]. . . . All, from our point of view, are the same. . . . It sounds simplistic, but strategically it's true."

He said that more than paralysis over the international conference is behind the "uneasy" continuation of the Labor and Likud blocs in the national unity government. "I sense that by and large it projects the interests of the public" on economic and security matters. "The people feel if all the [opposition] parties are together . . . they can't use too much politics and misspend . . . and getting all those [officials] together on international security matters means that they will reach a considered decision" on major questions. □

FILE FOR THE RECORD

Khomeini's Pilgrimage Incitement

"It is not surprising to see," Ayatollah Khomeini observed after clashes in Mecca between Iranian pilgrims and Saudi police in which at least 400 people died, "the contaminated hands of America and Israel emerging through the sleeves of the devious people, the ringleaders of Saudi Arabia and the traitors to the two holy shrines [Mecca and Medina]." Iran claimed that the United States initiated the July 31 "massacre" and warned both the United States and Saudi Arabia that it will avenge the deaths by killing "ten times" the number of Iranians who died. Protesters in Iran stormed the Saudi, Kuwaiti and French embassies after the riots in Mecca.

Khomeini's earlier radio address to *hajj* pilgrims may have incited the disturbances both in Saudi Arabia and Iran. Instructing pilgrims that "they must echo the crushing slogan of disavowing the pagans and apostates of world arrogance—headed by the criminal United States," the Ayatollah commanded his followers to "go from holy *hajj* to holy war."

Khomeini demanded the end of "colonialism" in Islamic countries and the rescue of Palestine from the "blood-sucking Zionist wolves." Referring to peoples and countries "coveted by the United States and Israel," the Ayatollah called for an active "Hezbollah throughout the world," to

exhort Israel to "repent for its past criminal acts and save the usurped territories." Khomeini told the pilgrims that "the prevalent, festering, and cancerous Zionist tumor in the body of Islamic countries" must be annihilated.

The clashes between revolutionary Shi'ite Iranians and their Sunni Saudi hosts came at a high point of U.S.-Iranian tension

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EXCLUSIVE

Pickering Denies Interference

Tel Aviv—Ambassador to Israel Thomas Pickering acknowledged that the U.S. position on an international conference on the Middle East is closer to that of Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres than Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir but denied that in publicly communicating that policy Washington was meddling in internal Israeli affairs. In an exclusive interview in his Tel Aviv office, the Ambassador also revealed that the United States and Israel had been well on the way to resolving the alleged mistreatment of some black and Arab Americans at Israel's Ben-Gurion airport when press reports "blew it out of the water."

Now entering his third year in Israel, Pickering has served during a period of expanding cooperation between the two nations. He sees additional opportunities for growth in economic cooperation, strategic relations, military research and development and promoting Middle East peace.

The Ambassador said that the pursuit of peace remains "very high on our agenda" and expressed Washington's desire "to work with the whole national unity government to find ways to further develop the process. . . ."

He said that "on economic matters we may be somewhat closer to Likud, [and] on peace process questions we may be somewhat closer to Labor," but he insisted that U.S. policy is not intended to support either political bloc but to serve American interests. The United States supports an international conference on the Middle

East, an idea accepted by the Labor Party and its leader, Peres, but rejected by Shamir and his Likud bloc.

Shamir recently said that "it was important to warn" against U.S. interference in Israeli domestic disputes to avoid the alienation of "parts of the Israeli public." The Ambassador told *NER*, "It is true that some in Israel who have been sensitive to our position have criticized us merely for articulating it, but nowhere in my diplomatic history did the doctrine of non-interference in internal domestic affairs ever impinge upon a state's right, indeed its obligation, to its own people to make its views known. . . . Where I think people have made a mistake in Israel is in asking the United States not to express its views. . . ."

Pickering said the United States has "on every occasion tried to make clear to all of our contacts that we did not wish to interfere and would not interfere in the internal political process in Israel and we were going at the same time to conduct our foreign policy by explaining clearly our position. . . ."

He said that Washington remains committed to working both with the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister "in a consultative and diplomatic way . . . in the private sphere, not in private argumentation," to move toward "peace and the direct talks we seek as a way to negotiate the peace settlement."

Asked whether the PLO could have a role in an international conference, Picker-

ing said that while Palestinian Arabs must participate in every stage of the peace process, the best context would be for "peace-minded" individuals to participate in a joint delegation with Jordan. Reiterating U.S. policy which rejects direct contact with the PLO, the Ambassador said, "We have looked very carefully at statements made by leaders of the PLO and some of those have said that they must have an independent delegation, which seems to us to be a non-starter. Others have articulated views that Palestinians could come forward who would be generally acceptable to parties such as Israel and Jordan that might . . . also be acceptable to them. Maybe within the range of that formula there is a possibility, but this is yet to be fully explored."

Pickering explained that over the past 18 months, U.S. officials have quietly approached Israeli authorities about allegations of mistreatment at Ben-Gurion. He said that the Israelis had "agreed to find ways to be helpful."

"In the meantime, unfortunately, one of the families that had been turned back went to the press in the United States and that's where the issue first broke." He said that high-level contacts were made with Israeli officials who proposed a seven-point plan to resolve the issue. "And I am happy to say that since [then] . . . we have had practically no occasion to raise this question again with the government of Israel because of the exemplary way with which they have handled the question." □

—J.R.

HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

Saudi Unhelpfulness Noted

The need for the Reagan Administration to send helicopter mine-sweepers to the Persian Gulf as a result of Kuwaiti and Saudi refusal to use their own mine-sweepers, or allow the U.S. basing rights, is another example of "unhelpfulness" by "the Saudis and the Kuwaitis and other so-called friends," Thomas Dine told the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations recently. Dine, executive director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, said that such action by Kuwait and Saudi Arabia stands in "stark contrast" to Israel's repeated demonstrations of willingness to support American efforts in the Middle East.

He pointed out that the United States is currently assisting in the Persian Gulf, but

that Arab states of the region refuse to provide America with basing rights. It was announced that the Pentagon has sent eight mine-sweeping helicopters to Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, to be put on board the helicopter carrier Guadalcanal which will then take them to the Persian Gulf.

"We have never before sent any carriers into the Gulf because they would be vulnerable to attack due to the relatively cramped operating space for their support vessels," Dine said. "But we are now forced to take these unnecessary risks" because supposed Arab allies will not permit stationing these helicopters on their soil to protect the sea lanes for their own tankers. "Nor have these countries granted aircraft landing rights, which makes the task of protecting

the reflagged tankers extremely difficult."

Meanwhile Capitol Hill sources said that the Administration's planned September Saudi arms package will include 12 F-15 electronics upgrades plus more arms to the United Arab Emirates, Pakistan, Egypt and others, in addition to weapons listed earlier (*NER*, Aug. 3).

It was incorrectly reported that the Foreign Aid Appropriations bill contained amendments barring the sale of advanced anti-tank shells to any country except NATO members and major non-NATO allies, and opposing the sale of combat aircraft and new air defense systems to Jordan. It is the Authorization bill which contains these amendments. □

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HEARD IN JERUSALEM

"Cooperation, Not Compulsion"

As the public sessions of the Congressional Iran-*Contra* hearings drew to a close, Sen. Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii), chairman of the Senate investigating committee, praised Israel for its efforts to provide detailed information and for allowing U.S. investigators to question witnesses in Israel. Last month, Jerusalem gave the panel two classified reports, including a 70-page chronology of its involvement.

However, the Israeli government reiterated its objections to the subpoenas issued by independent counsel Lawrence Walsh, who was seeking to question several Israelis.

"We haven't heard if Walsh will change his tactics. We hope he does. . . . We're not going to cooperate with anybody in a compulsory way. We worked voluntarily with Congress. We want to cooperate [with Walsh] but the subpoenas we think are wrong," a source close to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir told *NER* recently.

The government believes it "has the sole right to determine to whom and how we will give information which belongs to us." The independent counsel can have the same cooperation extended to Congress but "can't

enjoy both worlds, our own information and then *schlep* us to Washington to cope with subpoenas," the source said.

Asked if Shamir's vehement opposition to an international conference on the Middle East implied an indefinite acceptance of the status quo, the adviser said, "I personally think we should not take the status quo as good." He added that Israel wanted, "as part of its national ethos," to live in peace with its Arab neighbors. It must assert its own principles—including historical and security rights to the territories—while "acting to promote the peace process."

On the difficulty of finding non-PLO Palestinian Arabs to join talks with Israel, the source said, "I believe there is a lot of intimidation going on. . . . Fear of violence from radical elements makes business people, moderates in the middle class and others fear anything which might expose them to pressure."

He noted that after an east Jerusalem newspaper editor proposed fielding a slate of Palestinian Arab candidates for the next city council elections, his automobiles were fire-bombed. The source recalled a previous attempt to talk with residents

about autonomy under Camp David. In a short time several of Israel's Palestinian interlocutors were dead. A moderate silent majority may exist, but it is hard to tell—and hard to find.

The adviser saw little significance in the "re-radicalization" of the PLO at this year's Palestine National Council meeting. "I don't see many differences between them [various PLO factions]. . . . All, from our point of view, are the same. . . . It sounds simplistic, but strategically it's true."

He said that more than paralysis over the international conference is behind the "uneasy" continuation of the Labor and Likud blocs in the national unity government. "I sense that by and large it projects the interests of the public" on economic and security matters. "The people feel if all the [opposition] parties are together . . . they can't use too much politics and misspend . . . and getting all those [officials] together on international security matters means that they will reach a considered decision" on major questions. □

FILE FOR THE RECORD

Khomeini's Pilgrimage Incitement

"It is not surprising to see," Ayatollah Khomeini observed after clashes in Mecca between Iranian pilgrims and Saudi police in which at least 400 people died, "the contaminated hands of America and Israel emerging through the sleeves of the devious people, the ringleaders of Saudi Arabia and the traitors to the two holy shrines [Mecca and Medina]." Iran claimed that the United States initiated the July 31 "massacre" and warned both the United States and Saudi Arabia that it will avenge the deaths by killing "ten times" the number of Iranians who died. Protesters in Iran stormed the Saudi, Kuwaiti and French embassies after the riots in Mecca.

Khomeini's earlier radio address to *hajj* pilgrims may have incited the disturbances both in Saudi Arabia and Iran. Instructing pilgrims that "they must echo the crushing slogan of disavowing the pagans and apostates of world arrogance—headed by the criminal United States," the Ayatollah commanded his followers to "go from holy *hajj* to holy war."

Khomeini demanded the end of "colonialism" in Islamic countries and the rescue of Palestine from the "blood-sucking Zionist wolves." Referring to peoples and countries "coveted by the United States and Israel," the Ayatollah called for an active "Hezbollah throughout the world," to

exhort Israel to "repent for its past criminal acts and save the usurped territories." Khomeini told the pilgrims that "the prevalent, festering, and cancerous Zionist tumor in the body of Islamic countries" must be annihilated.

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BACK PAGE

When Wolves Cry Wolf

Even under the banner of a good cause, deceit remains deceit. Some Arab American spokesmen decry—while exaggerating—anti-Arab bigotry in the United States (*NER*, Feb. 23). But they falsely link such prejudice to U.S. support of Israel and the actions of American pro-Israel groups.

The *Detroit Free Press* accepted the premise of this smear campaign wrapped in an anti-bigotry protest in a July 5-7 series. "Arab Americans: In the Shadow of Prejudice," by reporter Tom Hundley, pointed out that some members of that community have been the victims of ethnically motivated attacks, including house burnings. But Hundley failed to demonstrate a "new surge in anti-Arab sentiment at home" which "many Arab Americans blame . . . on the Reagan Administration's policies in the Middle East."

The statistics were not conclusive: 42 incidents—including threatening telephone calls and bomb scares—recorded in 1986 by the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC). In one of the worst cases cited, the murder of an Arab American professor and his wife near Philadelphia, a Black Muslim eventually was convicted, but the *Free Press* did not mention this.

Hundley summed up the charge this way: "Arab Americans are quick to link Israel to the anti-Arab climate in the United States. They complain that Israel and its supporters actively promote a negative image of the Arab world with little regard for the impact on Arab Americans."

It is hard to imagine more transparent buck-passing. If Israel and its supporters wanted to "promote a negative image of the Arab world" all they would have to do is reprint and distribute copies of the State Department's annual country reports on human rights.

No amount of anti-Israel misrepresentation by the ADC changes the fact that in the Arab-Islamic Middle East Iraq wars with Iran, Algeria with Morocco, Libya with Chad and Sudan with itself. Syria occupies Lebanon. Due process, as understood in Detroit, is not part of the Saudi Arabian vocabulary.

Further, a number of regimes in the Arab-Islamic world use internal and external terrorism as instruments of policy. No Western-style democratic society has taken root anywhere in the Middle East except Israel. Middle East scholars—not pro-Israel publicists—have with good reason described the countries of the Arab world as uneasy with both themselves and modernity. Last weekend's deadly political-religious riots in Mecca underscore that uneasiness. But this reality was buried—as intended by the

campaign-within-a-campaign—in the *Free Press* series.

Hundley attempted to finesse the terrorism issue through the "root cause" fallacy: "Although few Arab Americans say they condone acts of terrorism, they often find themselves in the position of asking other Americans to understand the root cause of these incidents: in the case of Lebanon, the desperation bred by a generation of civil war; for the Palestinians, the frustrations of being a stateless people."

However, Lebanon's civil wars are many generations old. They have little to do with Israel—but a great deal to do with inter-Arab politics.

And the vast majority of Palestinian Arabs are not stateless; they are citizens of either Jordan or Israel. The frustration stems from the inability of Palestinian Arab nationalism to accept Palestinian Jewish nationalism as legitimate.

The series linked Leon Klinghoffer, murdered on the Achille Lauro, to ADC regional director Alex Odeh, assassinated soon after at his Los Angeles office. Klinghoffer was killed by Palestinian Arab terrorists connected to Yasir Arafat and the PLO. Odeh whitewashed Arafat as "a man of peace" and the PLO as "a political organization" in early comments on the cruise ship hijacking.

Both men were victims of terrorism. But Odeh's position on the PLO foreclosed any analogy between his death and that of a PLO victim.

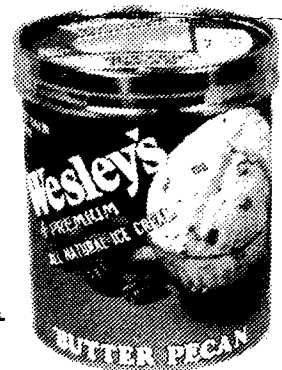
Ethnic bigotry—let alone terrorism—should have no place in America. And the assimilation of Arab Americans should not be retarded by groups which, in the guise of fighting the former, would excuse the latter out of their hatred for Israel. □

—E.R.

Wesley's! One of the very good things about Detroit.



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EDITORIAL

One Small Step Forward

A senior Reagan Administration official worries about legislation to close the PLO's offices in Washington and New York. He told Congressional aides recently that shutting the New York office—a U.N. "observer mission"—would pose international legal problems, would make "martyrs" of the PLO representatives, and probably would be overturned by the World Court. The Washington "Palestine Information Office" simply could reconstitute itself in compliance with the prospective law and begin operating with non-PLO money.

About the only thing the Administration official could find in the legislation's favor, sources said, was that it was consistent with U.S. anti-terrorism policy. He also noted that the Justice Department found no fault with the legislation on First Amendment grounds—alarums of opponents of the legislation notwithstanding.

But behind the briefing on Senate Bill 1203, sponsored by Senators Charles Grassley, Robert Dole and Frank Lautenberg, and House Resolution 2587, by Representatives Jack Kemp and Dan Mica, lies a belief that the PLO eventually should be included in what is called the Arab-Israeli peace process.

That is why the United States refuses to describe the PLO as a terrorist organization, pretending instead that it is an umbrella group: some "extremists" commit terrorist acts but the "mainstream moderates"—so we are told—prefer diplomacy and need only open U.S. recognition to make peace with Israel.

This position, of course, cannot be taken seriously. Yasir Arafat's "mainstream" Fatah competes with the "extremist" Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Democratic Front, and other PLO components in claiming credit for various anti-Israel assaults. They each suppress—often violently—real Palestinian Arab moderates.

The PLO's status in the West Bank and Gaza Strip as a much-invoked symbol has been greatly reinforced since its 1974 Arab League designation as the "sole, legitimate repre-

sentative of the Palestinian people" by non-Palestinians. In the months after the 1967 Six-Day War the PLO could not find minimal cover among these same people so it had to seek bases elsewhere, across the borders. The organization was implanted later on Palestinian Arabs not only by the Arab League but also by the Soviet Union and its allies, by the European Common Market and the U.N. General Assembly—by all those who gave Arafat a diplomatic welcome, financial support or bases.

The current "peace process" became possible only after the PLO's status had been reduced. First came Israel's ouster of the PLO from Beirut in 1982. Then Syria expelled Arafat from Tripoli in 1983. Finally there was the fall in oil prices. A more fragmented, less affluent PLO resulted. It was, therefore, a weakened Arafat who agreed with Jordan's King Hussein in 1985 to joint diplomacy, who hinted once more at acceptance of U.N. Security Council Resolution 242.

But not weak enough. Arafat failed to do more than hint, so last year Hussein froze their diplomatic accord. In April, "moderate" and "radical" PLO factions reconciled and once more pledged to continue the "armed struggle." Even the formerly estranged Abu Nidal—whom the State Department *does* consider a terrorist—and his representatives were present.

The PLO cannot pursue its goals—a West Bank and Gaza statelet in the short run, the undermining and destruction of Israel and Jordan in the long run—and play a constructive role in Arab-Israeli negotiations. It no more deserves offices in this country than do the Red Brigades, the Irish Republican Army or Hezbollah.

Senate Bill 1203 has 41 sponsors. House Resolution 2587 has 55. More are needed. As a pro-Arafat newspaper in east Jerusalem complained, the legislation to close the organization's U.S. offices gives Congress "a unique opportunity . . . to tighten the noose around the PLO from every side." Exactly. □

VIEWING THE NEWS

Mubarak, Arafat Meet

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and PLO leader Yasir Arafat met in Ethiopia recently for the first time since Egypt ordered the PLO to close its offices in Cairo in April (United Press International, July 27). Arafat called the event "more than a reconciliation."

Mubarak reportedly affirmed that the PLO is the legitimate representative of Pal-

estinian Arabs and urged Arafat to join the Middle East peace process, possibly by accepting U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

Jordanian MiG-29's

Jordan will receive MiG-29 aircraft and SAM-7 and SAM-9 anti-aircraft missiles from the Soviet Union, according to a Persian Gulf newspaper (Qatar News Agency, July 26). New payment and interest terms

were agreed upon at a secret meeting in Moscow.

Secret Meeting

Shimon Peres secretly met Yugoslav President Lazar Mojsov in Geneva recently, the first such meeting in 20 years (*Washington Post*, July 28). Last week, the Yugoslav news agency sent its Cairo correspondent to Tel Aviv to lay the groundwork for a permanent bureau in Israel.

HEARD IN JERUSALEM

Challenges for Israel's Economy

Amos Rubin, economic adviser to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, was not overly impressed by Israel's "mini-boom" from late 1985 to late 1986. Although the economy registered its best 12-month performance in a decade, "mostly . . . it was climbing out of a deep pit. The proof will be in how it [the upswing] goes on," Rubin said recently.

One indicator will be the outcome of current wage negotiations between various public employee groups and the government, Rubin told *NER*. These workers have lagged behind private sector employees in recovering from a sharp reduction in wages—part of the national unity government's economic stabilization program in 1984 and 1985. "There are still groups well below their real pay of two years ago—as much as 15% less

"I don't see that the Finance Minister [Moshe Nissim] can prevent at least a partial rectification or giving in to this," Rubin said. "I hope he limits [increases] to the lowest sector of public workers." While the negotiations are under way, "we will see all the facets of labor 'war'—strikes, slowdowns, and so on . . . to let off steam."

The Prime Minister's adviser does not believe that controlled wage increases by themselves will unleash inflationary pressures. [Under the wage and price controls of the stabilization program, Israel's annual inflation rate plunged from 440% to under 20%.] Even a larger government budget deficit "should not mean more inflation,

although it might mean a worsening balance of payments and more consumption and imports."

Israel, Rubin said, should not expect reduced private consumption to lead to economic growth. Sounding like an American supply-sider, he suggested the country look to changes elsewhere, including:

- Lower defense spending, resulting in a military establishment with fewer but more efficient troops using ever more advanced technology.

- Privatization, as government-owned industries are sold to private investors. A few sales have been made already to Israelis, and three international banks have been asked to prepare a plan for sales to both local and foreign buyers.

- Tax reform, with this year's reduction in the top marginal income tax rate of 60% to 52%, to be followed later by a drop to 48%. "This is only the first stage," Rubin explained, in efforts to broaden the tax base by curtailing many existing exemptions but expanding the tax brackets to help middle income earners. Attempts also will be made to charge user fees, above certain entitlement levels, to fund some social services.

The economist acknowledged that he sees defense spending differently from many in the military, who insist that cuts in recent years have taken muscle as well as fat. "Defense was coming down from a relative peak of the Lebanon war. . . . But there have been [additional] cuts in the last

two years that were seen, initially, as temporary" parts of the stabilization program.

He credited new general staff officers with realism in understanding that "there is a limit on the burden defense can put on the Israeli economy." Rubin placed Israel's military spending at \$6.5 billion to \$7 billion, including approximately \$1 billion worth of essentially unpaid service by draftees and \$1.8 billion in U.S. aid.

"When you see this, and deduct the money America gives as grants, we're still spending about \$5 billion out of a \$26.5 billion gross national product (GNP), or 18% of GNP, as our own defense burden." He added that virtually none of the \$1.2 billion in U.S. economic aid enters the domestic Israeli economy, going instead to repay older American military loans.

Rubin said that unskilled Palestinian Arab workers from the West Bank and Gaza Strip total about 5% to 6% of the civilian Israeli workforce, or about 97,000 out of 1.4 million. But their concentration in manual labor jobs means they contribute only 2.5% to 3% of the total economic output.

In fact, outmoded Israeli subsidy and market protection policies for some local industries "create employment opportunities for low wage earners." Meant to create jobs for Jewish arrivals in the days of mass immigration, they now might subsidize Israeli employment of Palestinian Arabs, Rubin noted. As Israel adopts more free market policies, such jobs will decrease. □

NEWS

Shamir and Shultz Differ

Squabbling among Labor and Likud party officials concerning the international peace conference has touched U.S. Administration officials, as highlighted recently by reaction to a speech given by Secretary of State George Shultz.

Speaking before the 73rd national convention of Hadassah, Shultz said "I don't have to tell you what time it is on the demographic clock in Israel." Later he stated that "those who oppose the exploration of new ideas or even revisiting old ideas, have an obligation to offer something different as an alternative to the status quo."

Commenting that "population dynamics exert themselves," Shultz said "Israel must see that increasingly it has a tremendous stake in attaining a more formalized

peace with its neighbors."

His statements were seen as a direct criticism of Likud's stance in opposing any international conference. The Israeli daily *Ha'aretz* viewed it as "a kind of warning to Israel . . . the Likud in particular," that the idea of a peace conference not be shelved.

As far as Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir is concerned, the international conference "is an idea of suicide and surrender." Addressing delegates of the Herut Central Committee, Shamir said "as long as Likud is in the government there will be no international conference."

Secretary of State Shultz sees the polarized Israeli government as an obstacle to getting peace talks started. "We observe that this peace process is beset by par-

tisanship," Shultz said at the Hadassah convention. "We know that no one—not us (the U.S.), not Israel, not the Arabs—improves the chances for peace by doing nothing at all, by just sitting around."

The Labor Party believes the international conference can be used as an umbrella in which to start direct negotiations with Jordan. Likud opposes the international conference idea, fearing an imposed settlement by the Soviet Union and Arab states on a politically isolated Israel. Instead, Likud proposes a plan for a regional conference with direct negotiations between Israel and neighboring Arab states. □

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NEWS ANALYSIS

Moscow's New Jerusalem Gambit

Soviet-Israeli relations seem to be improving amid growing diplomatic and cultural contacts. At the center of this apparent rapprochement is the visit of an eight-man Soviet consular delegation to Israel, the first such visit since the Soviets broke relations with Israel in 1967.

Since coming to power, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has sought to reinvigorate Soviet policy around the world and greater involvement in the Middle East. The Soviet lack of relations with Israel hindered this effort.

Moscow has sent Jerusalem several positive signals this year. In March, the Kremlin assured Jewish leaders that some 12,000 longstanding refuseniks would be allowed to leave. By July, 3,092 Jews had been given exit visas—less than promised, but almost ten times more than last year. Moscow has also delayed shipment of sophisticated SS-23 missiles to Syria, although it has provided Damascus with its first batch of top-of-the-line MiG-29 aircraft.

At a recent meeting in Geneva, the Soviets reportedly told U.S. officials they recognized Israel's stipulation that Moscow reestablish relations prior to participating in an international conference. But their exact intentions vis-a-vis relations with Israel were unclear, said a U.S. official.

The Soviets presented hard-line policies on a Middle East peace conference, but in a more "open" fashion. While agreeing that direct bilateral negotiations would take precedence over the conference plenary,

the Soviets reportedly contended that "the Palestinian issue" should be discussed on a multilateral basis. Western analysts have interpreted this to mean that anything having to do with Israel should be resolved by the conference at large, not in bilateral sessions between Israel and its neighbors.

According to Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, the Soviets also asked U.S. officials to tell the Israelis that the Kremlin was ready to renew a dialogue on political matters.

The Soviet consular delegation slipped into Israel under a cloak of secrecy in mid-July but has maintained a high public profile ever since. Officially, the Soviet delegation was sent to Israel for 90 days to inventory Russian church property and to attend to the consular needs of an estimated 2,500 Soviet citizens—mostly Russian Orthodox clergy and nuns—in Israel.

But the duration of the visit and the inclusion of two political officers in the delegation have led to speculation that the mission is intended to test the reaction in Israel and the Arab world toward renewed Soviet-Israeli relations. Peres said, "They can talk politics, they have a mandate for this. But they want all the time to be in a position of denying it. That's the whole game. So if the Arabs ask: What's going on? They can say: It's nothing."

Two weeks into the visit, delegation leader Yevgeny Antipov traveled to Cyprus to confer with senior officials. Upon returning to Israel, he said his delegation would be willing to meet with high-level political

and Foreign Ministry officials if invited. Meanwhile, an Israeli newspaper reported that Peres has maintained secret contacts with Soviet officials "to examine the possibility of a visit" to Moscow later this year. The Foreign Minister is planning to meet with his Soviet counterpart at the U.N. this fall; a meeting with Gorbachev in New York is also being explored.

"The Soviets' minimum goal is to be in a dialogue with everyone so as not to be excluded from the peace process," said one U.S. expert. "Maximally, they're trying to get the Israelis to eliminate some of their conditions for participation in an international conference."

But a note of discord was sounded recently when it was reported that Israel had test-fired a Jericho II rocket capable of striking Middle East capitals and parts of the U.S.S.R. After a harsh initial threat that such a missile was considered "a nuclear challenge to the Soviet Union," Moscow moderated its tone and urged Israel to support the elimination of medium-range missiles in Asia. Peres responded that Israel does not consider the U.S.S.R. its enemy and called for a Middle East nuclear-free zone.

Cultural contacts have also multiplied with a pilgrimage by a group of senior Russian church officials and the announcement that an Israeli impresario has organized an Israeli tour by the Bolshoi Ballet.

But reciprocal visits by Israeli diplomats—not to mention cultural groups—remain very much in question. □

HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

Aid Approved, Arms Sales Planned

The House Appropriations Foreign Operations Subcommittee last week approved \$3 billion in all-grant aid for Israel as well as several other pro-Israel amendments.

Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy told another House panel that the Administration plans to notify Congress in September that it will proceed with the sale of sophisticated arms to Saudi Arabia including 1,600 Maverick-D missiles. Capitol Hill sources reveal that the Saudi arms package will also include 12 F-15 fighter planes, Bradley fighting vehicles, F-15 electronics upgrades, M-60 battle-tank upgrades and artillery support equipment. Congress strongly opposed the sale of these items to the Saudis when it was proposed earlier this year.

The House foreign aid appropriations bill contains amendments prohibiting the sale of anti-tank shells containing depleted

uranium penetrator components to any country except NATO members and major non-NATO allies. Another amendment reiterates Congressional opposition to "advanced aircraft, and new air defense weapons systems" to Jordan in the absence of Jordan's direct participation in the peace process with Israel.

The subcommittee also provided full funding for the Lavi aircraft—\$450 million including \$300 million to be spent in Israel—as well as money for joint U.S.-Israeli development projects in the third world and for refugee settlement in Israel. Israel can use up to \$300 million of the Lavi funds "for the Lavi program or for an advanced fighter aircraft of United States design, if agreed to by Israel and the United States, or for other advanced weapons systems if requested by Israel."

However, at a separate hearing, Murphy stressed the Administration's concern with

the Lavi project and the effect it could have on the Israeli defense budget and the overall economy. He claimed that "we and the Government of Israel agree that the Lavi cannot be funded within the levels of our security assistance program without eliminating other important projects." In response to Rep. BENJAMIN GILMAN's (R-N.Y.) questioning, Murphy told the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East that the Administration will support Israel's decision on the future of the Lavi. However, he added that "we are looking at co-production possibilities on sales of U.S. planes."

Rep. TOM LANTOS (D-Calif.) also questioned Murphy on the Administration's position on the closure of the PLO offices in the United States. Murphy reportedly has been urging Congress privately not to close the offices, but he remained noncommittal in his public response. He said "international law and constitutional issues" might play a key role in a decision to close the offices. □

BACK PAGE

More Media Nonsense

An early media critic lamented that "of making many books, there is no end" (Ecclesiastes, 9:11). A similar observation, unfortunately, is true of news media out-rages against Israel.

The *Los Angeles Times* July 20 issue carried a front-page story headlined, "Israel: An Economic Ward of the U.S." Written by the paper's international economics correspondent, Robert Gibson, the piece gave new meaning to the old title, *Lies, Damned Lies, and Statistics*. Gibson got many—but not all—of the numbers right, yet added them up wrong.

He stated that "for the last 11 years Israel has received 25% of all the foreign aid appropriated by Congress, making Jerusalem far and away the world's leading recipient of American assistance." Yes and no.

At \$3 billion annually, \$1.8 billion in military and \$1.2 billion in economic support, Israel is the largest single receiver of U.S. foreign aid. From 1979 on it has been followed closely by Egypt, which Gibson does not mention. But *American assistance* to Western Europe, through NATO-related defense spending, outstrips aid to Israel—and foreign aid in general—by many orders of magnitude.

Of U.S. financial support for the Jewish state, Gibson wrote "no parallel exists in the history of international capital flow." Where, pray tell, was the *Times'* international economics correspondent when extortionary price increases by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) redirected the world's cash flow in truly historic proportions? Hundreds of billions of dollars were bled into OPEC coffers in the 1970's and early 1980's, setting the stage for global recession.

Lumping voluntary private donations with U.S. government aid enabled Gibson to put total American support at "at least \$4 billion," or \$1,000 a year for each Israeli rather than just under \$700.

But per capita assistance must be seen in terms of Israel's own efforts and circumstances. Even without American military aid, the defense burden on Israel's gross national product is proportionally nearly three times that carried by the United States. Gibson barely mentioned the four-decades-old Arab military, economic and diplomatic siege which has imposed this financial distortion on Israel.

Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) got two paragraphs to underline the reasons for close U.S.-Israel ties. Secretary of State George Shultz's support was noted in less than a sentence. But the reporter gave five paragraphs to former Rep. Paul (Pete) McCloskey (R-Calif.) and four to former Secretary of State Dean Rusk, critics of the bilateral relationship.

Apparently oblivious to the Eisenhower years—and to the fact that even friendly Administrations sometimes seem longer on words than deeds in crises, like the hesitant Johnson Administration in 1967—Gibson asserted that there has been "an unbroken succession of U.S. Presidents who supported Israel."

Mid-summer madness: *Time* magazine's July 27 edition ran a 13-page spread on "The Gorbachev Era" and included one sentence on human rights and Jewish emigration, one paragraph on the Soviet Union's new Middle East maneuvers. There was nothing about official anti-Semitism, anti-Zionism, Moscow's indispensable support of Syrian militarism or efforts to reconcile the PLO's Arafat, Habash and Hawatmeh factions.

Continued comeuppance: A week after NBC TV aired its July 1 hatchet job, "Six Days Plus 20 Years: A Dream Is Dying," *Boston Herald* columnist Don Feder called it "a program so desperate to broadcast its bias that its conclusion had to be stated in the title. The network presented us with assertions which have become the standard fare of Zionist-bashing, i.e.: Israel routinely violates the rights of West Bank Arabs; in this regard, the Israelis are the moral equivalents of white South Africans; Jewish settlements in Judea and Samaria are a major impediment to peace. . . . The special was a classic case of distortion via selective reporting."

Later in the month Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin denied interviews to NBC correspondents. The network had not yet responded to the government's July 7 protest to NBC President Leonard Grossman over the "violently anti-Israel" documentary.

—E.R.

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NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

VOL. XXXI, NO. 30 JULY 27, 1987

EDITORIAL

What Goes On Here?

Last week Israel announced that it will revise some passport control measures at Ben-Gurion International Airport in response to a harsh campaign of criticism—through official statements and press leaks—by some U.S. officials, apparently encouraged by at least one anti-Israel, Arab-American group.

The shrillness of the accusations obscured the facts. U.S. officials alleged that 75 blacks and Arab Americans suffered “discriminatory and arbitrary treatment” at Ben-Gurion this summer. State Department spokesman Charles Redman expressed concern that their entry was delayed upon arrival in Israel. Privately, State Department officials told reporters that unless Jerusalem took action within 30 days, a travel advisory would be issued for Israel. Although advisories are routinely circulated for anything from political unrest to shortages of hotel rooms, the suggestion of such a move—let alone the issuance of an advisory—was seen as a slap against Israel and its most important industry, tourism.

Israeli authorities pointed out that in detaining and deporting some American citizens they have asserted their right to protect Israel's borders and to determine who may live within them. They noted that the few individuals affected constitute a small fraction of the 1.5 million foreigners who visit Israel annually, 486,000 from North America alone.

Each year, thousands of Arab and black Americans visit Israel unhindered. But abuse of the country's liberal border policy has forced Israeli immigration officials to scrutinize

some individuals more closely. That may be discrimination but it is hardly arbitrary.

For example, thousands of Arab Americans have taken up residence on the West Bank without Israeli permission over the past several years. And approximately 2,000 members of the so-called Black Hebrew cult have established themselves illegally in several Negev towns. Israel's right to halt such activity and expel illegal residents is no more open to question than U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service patrols along the Rio Grande.

The truth is that Israel's border policies are quite lenient—far more so than those of the United States. Unlike this country, Israel does not require foreign nationals to obtain visas to enter the country. Nor does Israel screen out potential illegal immigrants abroad, as does the United States. Instead, it allows anyone to visit—including citizens of Arab nations technically at war with the Jewish state. With the exception of Egypt, Arab countries exclude Israelis—or Americans with Israeli stamps on their passports. [Morocco allows some visitation by Israelis and will not exclude Americans with Israeli border stamps on their passports.]

U.S. officials currently say that they are “pleased” with Israel's efforts to review its border procedures. Fine. Now they should find out who at State, or elsewhere in the Administration, whipped up a minor issue into a major diplomatic incident. And when they do, they should put him or her to work getting Arab states to end their “discriminatory and arbitrary treatment” of Americans who have Israeli stamps on their passports. □

VIEWING THE NEWS

Meguid Visits Israel

Egyptian Foreign Minister Esmat Abdel Meguid conducted three days of high-level meetings in Israel last week in an effort to galvanize support for an international conference on the Middle East. Meguid, the first senior Egyptian official to visit Israel since the 1982 invasion of Lebanon, said, “I am coming on a mission of peace. We must seize the unique opportunity presently offered to us for genuine progress on the peace process” (United Press International, July 21).

The Egyptian official delivered a letter to Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir from Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak urging his support for a conference. Meguid rejected a Shamir proposal for a regional conference in which Israel, Jor-

dan, Egypt and the United States would participate. Although Shamir previously had condemned Egypt's invitation to Austrian President Kurt Waldheim, the Israeli leader refrained from mentioning Waldheim in his meeting with Meguid.

New York Nixes PLO

The City Council of New York recently passed a resolution endorsing Congressional legislation to close PLO offices in New York and Washington, D.C. Co-authored by City Council President Andrew Stein and the Zionist Organization of America, the bill cites the PLO's acts of terrorism against Israelis and Americans and notes that Administration officials have recognized the PLO as a terrorist organization.

Inter-Arab Meetings

Jordan's King Hussein met with Morocco's King Hassan II in London recently to discuss a broad range of issues (Amman Radio, July 17).

Meanwhile, ministerial-level meetings were held between Syrian and Iraqi officials in Amman, Jordan (*Al-Qabas*, July 18). The two rivals reportedly agreed on security and economic matters, but diverged on political questions. King Hussein's efforts to arrange a summit between the leaders of both countries also have fallen through.

Egyptian Radio reports that Hussein will confer with President Hosni Mubarak early next month to review progress toward an international peace conference (Middle East News Agency, July 17).

BACKGROUND

Libya's Strange U.S. Bedfellows

To cope with diplomatic isolation, Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi continues to seek friends among disaffected groups in the United States and throughout the world. In April, Qaddafi brought together diverse leftist and radical groups from the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Australia and Ireland at a "Peace Gathering" in Libya to commemorate the first anniversary of the U.S. bombing of Tripoli.

Participants in the 200-person U.S. delegation said the meeting not only allowed them to protest the bombing and see Libya, but also afforded them an opportunity to make contacts and interact with other activists. Michael Hardy, editor of the National Alliance newspaper in New York—which supports the Nation of Islam's Louis Farrakhan—said, "In some ways I think that Qaddafi has done more for the progressive movement over these four days than we have been able to do for ourselves in a long time."

Columbia University's Lisa Anderson, an expert on Libya, said that Qaddafi "wants to export his revolution and expects that other . . . [like-minded governments] will pop up all over the world like mushrooms." Groups which purport to represent oppressed peoples or to be in rebellion against the status quo are Qaddafi favorites, she added.

Vernon Belcourt, a former leader of the White Earth tribe, is a long-time Qaddafi supporter and helped coordinate the Peace Gathering in the United States. According

to sources familiar with Indian affairs, Belcourt, the founder of the American Indian Movement and the International Indian Treaty Council, is not seen as an "establishment" leader, but nevertheless enjoys wide support among American Indians.

During a Tripoli rally, Belcourt was quoted as saying, "We denounce 500 years of state-sponsored terrorism in my country." He pledged to fight "U.S. terrorism wherever it rears its ugly head."

Ironically, Indian rights clashed with the aspirations of the radical black members of the U.S. delegation. One Indian said that she could not abide the militants' desire to set up a separate black nation within the United States. "They're just stealing Indian land," she said.

A member of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP) said that under normal circumstances the only way his group would meet with some delegation participants would be "to shoot each other." The AAPRP was founded by Kwame Toure, former Black Panther leader Stokely Carmichael.

One "progressive" group represented was the Mobilization for Survival (Mobe), an organization with over 100 national affiliate groups. Unlike many other "progressive" organizations, Mobe has a detailed platform on the Middle East. It calls for the recognition of the PLO "as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people"; mutual and simultaneous recognition between Israel, the PLO and the Arab states; and "the establishment of an independent

Palestinian state existing alongside and in peace with Israel."

Women Against Military Madness (WAMM), a 4,000-member Mobe affiliate, also sent two representatives to Tripoli. WAMM leader Denise Brinkman told *NER* that "a vast majority" of the group's members "believe that rights and responsibilities of citizenship in Israel can and should be bestowed on both Palestinians and Israelis. We are, however, unclear as to how this can be achieved."

Representatives of the 10,000-member National Lawyers Guild, "the legal arm of the progressive movement for 50 years," attended the "Peace Gathering." Members of the Soviet-backed U.S. Peace Council, and the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party were also in Tripoli.

In a statement prepared for presentation to the gathering, Nancy Ross of the Rainbow Lobby (not affiliated with the Rainbow Coalition) said: "As a progressive Jewish activist, I am honored to have the opportunity to bring back a personal report to the Jewish community . . . International Zionism, the handmaiden of U.S. imperialism, does not, I repeat, does not represent the sentiments of masses of progressive Jews."

Others on hand included Chicago Seven defendant David Dellinger; Bobby Polzine, founder of Groundswell, a group which urged resistance to farm foreclosures; and, according to some reports, two small Hispanic American organizations. □

—J.R.

PERSPECTIVE

Israel: A Cop's-Eye View

The sight of soldiers carrying automatic weapons in the streets took a little getting used to, but a delegation of seven American police chiefs who recently returned from a fact-finding mission to Israel say the working vacation heightened their awareness of the dangers facing that country and provided a deeper understanding of Jewish history.

The eight-day tour took police chiefs from San Francisco, Fort Lauderdale, St. Louis, Houston, San Diego, St. Petersburg and Boston to sites all over Israel, including the Golan Heights, West Bank, a kibbutz near the Lebanese border, police and prison facilities and the cities of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa.

The group also met with Knesset members, Police Minister Chaim Bar-Lev, Supreme Court Judge Aharon Barak, journalists from the Hebrew and Arabic press, members of Jerusalem's bomb-defusing squad and other experts in law enforcement and anti-terrorism.

Michael Lieberman, Midwest Civil Rights Director of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and one of the trip's leaders, noted that the seven chiefs represented major metropolitan areas with large Jewish constituencies.

In planning the visit, Lieberman said, the ADL had two objectives:

- To facilitate discussions between Israeli experts on fighting terrorism and

American law enforcement officials who could use the information "to deter or prevent the importation of terrorism into the United States";

- To expose the participants to Judaism and Israel and to sensitize them to Jewish constituents and their relationship with Israel.

The chiefs laid wreaths at the Yad Vashem Holocaust Memorial, toured the Jewish quarter of Jerusalem, visited the Western Wall, saw the Diaspora Museum in Tel Aviv and met with former Soviet Prisoner of Zion Zachar Zunnschein.

Fort Lauderdale Sheriff Nick Navarro said the trip was "a tremendously gratifying

(Continued)

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EXCLUSIVE

A Different Palestinian View

(Second of two related articles.)

Jerusalem—Of the four Arabic-language dailies and two weekly magazines published in east Jerusalem, *An-Nahar* is "the only independent," said its editor, Othman al-Halak. Most of the others are sympathetic to the PLO, financed by it, or both, he explained.

An-Nahar's message, he said, is one of pragmatism. The paper may appear to be "swimming against the current, but I believe the silent majority [of Palestinian Arabs] are moderate, pragmatic people who want to see an end to the present mess we're in," al-Halak told *NER* in a recent interview.

Questioned about the loyalty of West Bank and Gaza Strip Arabs to the PLO, the publisher said, "Sen. [Edward] Kennedy asked the same question. . . . We are all PLO, but define the term: The PLO as an institution that will work, struggle for the Palestinian cause, people and self-determination? Then every Palestinian will say he is PLO.

"But they don't believe in the PLO as a bunch of gods we have to worship. . . . or whose leadership is infallible like the Pope's."

Al-Halak said he opposed terrorism and supported acceptance of U.N. Security Council Resolution 242. Accepting 242, he asserted, would call "the Israeli bluff that there are no Palestinians who want peace. . . . Many people are tired and want to see an end to this long night, 20 years of occupation. . . . But the problem is intim-

idation, the threat, the pistol, so maybe they don't have the guts to tell you."

Referring to Jordan's willingness to participate in an international Middle East conference, he blamed Israel's "divided leadership. . . . which won't catch this opportunity to make peace." Al-Halak added that he "despised the scenario of the Israeli left and its American cronies" who want to give the West Bank and Gaza to the PLO, as well as the argument that "Arafat's an extremist so we can't make a deal. Therefore, we have to stay where we are. . . .

"This is not Sinai, there is no Sadat and Begin, this is Palestine [with] emotions loaded on both sides." He urged Israel to let the Palestinian Arabs "develop our identity. . . . collect our own taxes, get our own water rights, stop building settlements and stop confiscating land." If Israeli forces "must stay on the Jordan River for security, okay, but leave us alone."

A businessman even before becoming a publisher, he accused Israel of indirectly abetting terrorism by "shoving us out of our economy" and contributing to unemployment and frustration of college-educated youth. If Israel continues selling its products in the territories it should open its economy to Palestinian Arab goods, he said.

Stressing that "I want a Palestinian state just like every other Palestinian," al-Halak added, "I know this is not an alternative at present. . . . or in the future. We are weak and divided. I know that to get my Palestinian identity, I must recognize Israel.

"It is so easy to be a revolutionary, with a dream," he said. "But it is so different as a leader. . . . to be pragmatic, to be a realist, to try to sell something bitter to the people."

The PLO insists that a Palestinian entity on the West Bank and Gaza confederated with Jordan would be a separate, equal state. But al-Halak noted that 60% to 70% of Jordan's population is Palestinian, "so I can never think of making a state alienated from Amman. . . . The East Bank is my strategic depth as a Palestinian. . . .

"It's one people, you cannot divide it," he added. However, from 1948 on Palestinian Arabs have had "dual loyalty," split by the Jordan River and with "no sense of belonging to Jordan." King Hussein "can never sit alone with Israel." A voice is needed from "the Palestinian side of the triangle."

He said he wanted "the PLO leadership to change their message to moderation, to come to the negotiating table and make peace in the framework of a Palestinian-Jordanian confederation." If they don't, al-Halak said, "they will miss the train" and be replaced.

He warned that if tension between Israelis and West Bankers and Gazans increases, "you will have fundamentalists and George Habash's [head of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine] people running the streets. . . . and will bless the days of Arafat. And in 20 years you won't have people like me talking to you."

□ —E.R.

Cop's Eye View continued

learning experience. . . . which gave me an awareness I didn't have before." Now, he said, he has a better understanding of the danger that Israel faces on a daily basis. He admired the high degree of loyalty he found among Israelis, as well as their "concern and interest in humanity." Although there are many Palestinians on the West Bank not friendly toward Israel, he said, "there is a moral struggle [in Israel] going on about what is going to happen to them."

Chief Frank Jordan of San Francisco was impressed by "the sense of determination and resolve" he found in Israel. He said the trip enabled participants to establish relationships and lines of communication with Israeli and American colleagues. U.S. and Israeli officials plan to continue to exchange information on anti-terrorism methods, hostage negotiation, bomb defus-

ing techniques, community crime prevention and advanced fingerprinting systems.

Police Superintendent William Bratton of Boston said he enjoyed the trip on both personal and professional levels. "The people we were exposed to on the trip were extremely knowledgeable," he said. He also was struck by Israel's physical beauty.

Bratton said he not only knows "a lot more" about events in the Middle East, but that he now has a greater awareness of Jewish sensitivities. "I have an enhanced appreciation of the role police play in providing security and of being conscious of prejudice directed toward Jews and other minorities."

—Todd Winer

Winer, a recent graduate of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, is an NER intern. □

Israel Celebrates

A rededication to basic values will be the theme of Israel's 40th anniversary celebrations in Israel and abroad, according to Asher Naim, Minister of Information of the Israeli Embassy. Festivities will begin in September and culminate on Apr. 21, *Yom Ha'atzmaut*, Israel's Independence Day.

"We have had our difficulties in the past year, but now we must concentrate on our sense of destiny and purpose," said Naim.

In Israel, schools, universities and the media will focus on the principles of liberty, justice and peace as embodied in the state's Declaration of Independence. A national ceremony will be held on Independence Day in which citizens will sign a symbolic Declaration of Independence.

Throughout the United States, anniversary committees are planning theatrical events, marches, festivals and concerts. According to Naim, three themes will dominate: the meaning of Israel, Israeli-U.S. ties and Israel-diaspora relations. □

BACK PAGE

Under A Microscope

The Knesset's narrow defeat of the recent "who-is-a-Jew" legislation and the continuing quarrel between the Likud and Labor partners in the national unity government over an international Middle East conference reflect underlying public divisions. With "slight changes," the polarization seen in the 1981 and 1984 elections "remains a constant factor," said pollster Hanoch Smith.

Political polarization seems more severe among Israelis of European background, the Ashkenazim, he noted. "The European portion of the population is going more and more to Labor." Israeli Jews of North African and Middle Eastern origin, the Sephardim, while "more tolerant of Labor—at least they say nice things about them—vote overwhelmingly Likud."

[A Labor Party official said recently that 80% of the Ashkenazim vote for his party while 80% of the Sephardim choose Likud.]

Smith, in an interview with *NER* late last month, said he has seen only marginal changes in the basic ethnic pattern of Israeli politics. This is so even though the "social gap" between the comparatively better educated, more prosperous Ashkenazim and the Sephardim continues to shrink.

"If you ask, 'Is the social gap a serious problem?' the answer is no. But if you go to the key question, 'Which party is better for dealing with the social gap?' the Sephardim answer overwhelmingly for Likud," Smith explained.

A mid-May poll of 1,200 Israelis gave some indications of what this means for politicians and their parties. Likud gained a little over earlier surveys but still seemed far behind Labor. However, Smith cautioned that the strength of such leads before an election is uncertain.

Those who thought Foreign Minister Shimon Peres was doing a good job totaled 58%, down from 62% in April. Peres' popularity peaked in the high 70% range just before he rotated jobs with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir of Likud last fall.

Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin, of Labor, dropped from 64% to 54%, and Education Minister and former President Yitzhak Navon enjoyed a 51% job approval rating.

"Most Likud people were not even in sight of 50%," the pollster commented. Shamir's job approval rating rose from 36% to 39% between April and May; Deputy Prime Minister David Levy's from 26% to 31%; and Trade and Industry Minister Ariel Sharon's from 31% to 35%. Smith called that Sharon's "normal float."

Likud's most popular figure turned out to be Finance Minister Moshe Nissim, little-known when he went from Justice to Finance in 1986. "Nissim has a steadily up-

ward trend," Smith said, and his job approval rating rose from 45% to 49%—"very high for a finance minister."

Rabbi Meir Kahane's one-seat Kach Party would have won two of the 120 Knesset places had elections been held in May, Smith said. Nearly all of Kach's support comes from Sephardi voters, Smith said; it does not attract ultra-Orthodox Ashkenazim even with Kahane's calls for religious law to supersede legislative enactments.

Secular Israelis (self-defined *hiloni'im*) feel that the influence of the religious (*dati'im*) has grown, even though the total vote for religious parties has fallen from around 14% in the 1977 elections to under 12% in 1984. Those who identify themselves as secular make up 45% to 47% of the population. The religious and ultra-Orthodox total only 15% to 16%. Traditionalists (*masorati'im*), mostly Sephardim, account for 35% to 37%; they may be personally lax on ritual but "tend to line up with the *dati'im* on many issues relating to values." It is this swing, Smith believes, which contributes to the secular Israelis' sense of being beleaguered.

On the international conference, only 13% of his May sample thought it had a high chance of success; another 45% believed it had "a very small chance" but should be tried if the alternative might be diplomatic impasse and war.

But only 20% to 22% of the public was willing to make even symbolic gestures to entice Jordan into negotiations, Smith noted. This reflected "cumulative disappointment with King Hussein, who always promises but never delivers." The pollster concluded, "We're now in the hands of Hussein. . . . He decides whether we have a 'political crisis' over the peace process."

—E.R.

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EDITORIALS

Waiting for Sununu . . .

The President of the United States, both houses of Congress and 49 state governors have called on the United Nations to rescind the 1975 General Assembly resolution equating Zionism with racism. This Soviet-inspired, Arab-promoted piece of *Newspeak* was a centerpiece of the campaign to delegitimize the state of Israel, oust it from the world organization and—if possible—pave the way for its eventual destruction. America's then-Ambassador to the U.N., now Senator, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, denounced the measure as obscene; Jeane Kirkpatrick, the Reagan Administration's first U.N. Ambassador, strongly supports the effort to overturn it.

Alone among the governors in refusing to issue a proclamation calling for the resolution's repeal is New Hampshire's John Sununu. Sununu is chairman of Vice President George Bush's New Hampshire Presidential campaign and Bush has disagreed with him on this issue.

The Governor has offered conflicting reasons for his stance. He has said he does not issue foreign policy-related proclamations—yet Sununu has issued them on Afghanistan, Lithuania and so on. Alternately, Sununu, of Lebanese descent and recipient of a \$1,000 fee for speaking to the pro-PLO National Association of Arab Americans last year, has claimed that rejecting the Zionism-is-racism formulation would hurt his credibility as a self-described go-between in Middle East peacemaking. In reality, subscribers to the U.N. resolution have no credibility as peacemakers. Simultaneously, the Governor of New Hampshire's role as a Middle East mediator remains one of the region's better-kept secrets.

One of Sununu's colleagues, Republican Thomas Kean of New Jersey, has noted that the Zionism-is-racism resolution "came about because of pure political intimidation coupled with a lack of courage on the part of some who should have resisted. This was an unprincipled resolution purchased

with petrodollars at the height of the energy crisis."

New Hampshire's major newspaper, Manchester's *Union Leader*, has expressed the hope that Sununu "will change his opinion and come to view the . . . resolution in its universal application—as an affront to *all* men of good will." Your move, Governor.

. . . Redefining Arafat

A group of nine Representatives—opposed to the Kemp-Mica-Torricelli bill calling for the closure of the PLO's Washington and New York offices—is circulating a "Dear Colleague" letter which terms Yasir Arafat's organization "a government-in-exile."

In support of this claim the letter points to the diplomatic recognition accorded the PLO by "over 100 countries," and the 1974 Rabat declaration by the Arab League that the group is "the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people."

Never mind that many of those 100 countries are run by non- and anti-democratic regimes whose example the Representatives would not cite in other circumstances. Never mind that the Rabat declaration helped obstruct Arab-Israeli peacemaking by freezing out Jordan while imposing—without a vote by Palestinian Arabs—one voice and one voice only on them. Never mind that the PLO has enforced its role through bribery, intimidation and assassination of the people it claims to represent.

If Reps. George Crockett, Mervyn Dymally, Augustus Hawkins, Charles Hayes, Gus Savage, Nick Joe Rahall, David Bonior, Harold Ford and John Conyers—all Democrats—really were concerned about the fate of the Palestinian Arabs, including the chance that one day they might enjoy Western-style individual freedoms and democratic government, the last thing they would do is help deliver them to such a "government-in-exile." □

VIEWING THE NEWS

Kollek's Boycott

Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek announced that he will boycott Bastille Day ceremonies at the French consulate in west Jerusalem in protest over the practice of foreign governments holding separate receptions for Arabs and Jews (Reuter, July 7). Many governments maintain separate consulates in east and west Jerusalem so as not to acknowledge the reunification of Jerusalem in 1967 or to recognize the city as

Israel's capital. In keeping with this policy, these countries host separate events for Arab and Jewish notables.

Although the United States maintains separate consulates, it has sponsored joint Arab-Israeli celebrations since 1984 to "further the peace process."

No U.S. Arms

King Hussein told an Austrian newspaper that due to U.S. reluctance to pro-

vide arms to his country, Jordan has "decided never again to make such a request to the United States" (*Neue Kronen-Zeitung*, July 1).

Asked to assess the value of an international conference in which the superpowers would have a ceremonial role, the King said: "I cannot imagine that the conference itself would have any veto power with regard to the course of the negotiations or the power to impose its own will." □

HEARD IN WASHINGTON

Rabin: A "Relaxed" Period

Israel currently is enjoying "one of the most relaxed [periods] in terms of threats from the outside," according to Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin. He explained that the Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian borders are quiet, while the situation in Lebanon is "manageable."

Rabin was in Washington recently to consult with Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and Secretary of State George Shultz on the future of Israel's new Lavi fighter plane. According to the Defense Minister, his government has arrived at "the moment of truth" and is currently debating three alternatives: continuing production of the Lavi; stopping the program and relying on U.S.-manufactured aircraft; and co-production with a U.S. defense contractor.

The Defense Ministry has expressed its opposition to the Lavi on grounds that while it would be the best aircraft of its class, the Israel Defense Forces cannot afford continued development at the expense of other programs, including modernization of Israel's submarine and missile boat fleet. Rabin reportedly sought assurances from Washington that U.S. military aid would not be reduced if the Lavi program is discontinued. He said that Administration officials expressed their "readiness within certain limitations to assist." [Upon returning to Israel, Rabin reportedly told Cabinet members that if Israel were to discontinue the Lavi, the United States had

pledged to provide \$400 million to cover termination costs and \$100 million in additional military aid, and would deliver a squadron of F-16 fighter planes by 1991, two years ahead of the Lavi's schedule.]

Addressing a Washington Institute for Near East Policy forum, the Defense Minister departed from the theme of his visit to offer his views on Israel's current strategic position. He said the Iran-Iraq war has served to isolate Syria from the Arab world due to its support for Iran. Egypt, however, has been welcomed back to the Arab fold. "Syria alone is not a military match for Israel," Rabin said.

Iraq's dependence on Jordan as an outlet to the West has given King Hussein more freedom of movement, Rabin said, and has permitted the King to proceed with the peace process. Nevertheless, Jordan has refused to participate in trilateral talks with the United States and Israel. Rabin said that these three parties currently are discussing the conditions for a possible conference and will then invite the Soviets to join.

The Defense Minister added that direct, bilateral talks between Israel and a Jordanian-Palestinian Arab delegation are "essential to peacemaking." Outside powers can "impose political solutions" on the parties, Rabin said, "but by no means can this be called peace."

Alluding to King Hussein's insistence on Arab support for negotiating with Israel, he

observed that if Anwar Sadat had insisted on obtaining King Hussein's approval to make peace, Egypt would still be at war with Israel.

Asked to comment on the Administration's "agreement in principle" to allow production of the sophisticated M1-A1 Abrams tank in Egypt, Rabin said that it is strictly a U.S. decision. But he expressed hope that U.S. officials would apply the same standard to Egypt's Abrams tank as has been applied to Israel's Lavi: whether it would be more cost-effective to purchase from the United States than to produce domestically.

Rabin forthrightly defended Israel's involvement in the Administration's arms sales to Iran. "As an Israeli, I was in support of trying to cooperate with the United States to find lines of communication with Iran and to assist in gaining the release of hostages. I have no regrets."

He pointed out that Israel does not have "a holy principle" of not negotiating with terrorists. As Prime Minister in 1976, Rabin ordered the rescue of Israeli hostages in Uganda. But eight years later as Defense Minister he traded more than 1,000 prisoners for three captured Israeli soldiers. He claimed there was no contradiction: "For us, the war with terrorists is a daily, painful, long, struggle and we do not see an end to it." Negotiating for the release of hostages can be one tactic in that war. —J.R. □

BACKGROUNDER

Leaders Termed Out of Touch

Palestinian Arab movement within Lebanon will not be hampered by Lebanon's revocation of the 1969 Cairo accord, said Rashid Khalidi, an American of Palestinian Arab origin with close connections to the PLO. Khalidi said that the accord, which guaranteed the organization freedom of operation in Lebanon, violated Lebanese sovereignty. He added that no accord can control a community of 400,000 heavily armed people. The real issue remains how the Syrians will choose to deal with Palestinian Arabs in Lebanon, he maintained.

Acting Lebanese Prime Minister Salim al-Hoss signed the Parliamentary measure annulling the Cairo accord last month.

Khalidi, who was evacuated with the PLO from Beirut in 1982, called the organization's presence in Lebanon "tenuous." He said that since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the PLO's biggest problem has been maintaining ties with the West Bank. "Operation Peace for the Galilee was successful in pushing the PLO farther from its constituency," he acknowledged.

Khalidi said that the current aging generation of PLO leaders is out of touch with the large number of Palestinians under 40 who consider themselves "at war with Israel." He claimed that while the present PLO leadership would be content with a "minimal" state on the West Bank and Gaza their successors may insist on more

radical solutions. Younger Palestinian Arabs were not represented at the Palestine National Council (PNC) meeting in Algiers, he noted.

In the two days Khalidi spent at the Algiers session, he observed that delegates feared the PLO would be excluded from an international conference, an idea which was gaining momentum at the time. They therefore endorsed a Soviet-style international conference which would give the plenary full power to impose solutions on participants and which would accord the PLO "equal footing" with other parties.

In return for Moscow's lobbying for PLO reconciliation, the organization placed a

(Continued)

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EXCLUSIVE

Assad's Policy Is Unyielding

Jerusalem—Despite Syria's closure of the Damascus office of Abu Nidal, "the use of terrorism as an arm of Syrian policy remains a consistent part of [President Hafez] Assad's beliefs," an informed Israeli analyst said. The analyst labeled the action against Abu Nidal as "eyewash" to help convince the United States and other Western countries to improve relations with Syria.

[America's U.N. Ambassador, Vernon Walters, held what were described as "warm" meetings with Assad in the Syrian capital last week. Last fall U.S. Ambassador William Eagleton was recalled in support of Britain's severing of diplomatic relations with Syria. A British court had convicted a Syrian-backed terrorist for attempting to plant a bomb aboard an El Al plane in London. The jet reportedly carried more than 200 Americans.]

"Assad still sees Syria as the leader of the confrontation states against Israel. Since that confrontation is not military—not now—terrorism is a way to show the world, especially the Arab world, that he is doing something," the source explained.

"Assad is very consistent. He's never changed his strategic policy. . . . But something happened between him and Abu Nidal. First, Abu Nidal participated with [PLO Chairman Yasir] Arafat in the camps war against Amal," the Lebanese Shi'ite group backed by Syria.

"Second, there was Abu Nidal's readiness to participate in the Algiers PNC (Palestine National Council) and try to reach a

rapprochement with Arafat," the analyst said. "I believe there have been other unpublicized incidents with Syrian security forces."

In any case, Abu Nidal himself has been out of Syria "for a long time," the source said, usually living in Libya. Nevertheless, Assad did not close the terrorist's operations in the Syrian-controlled Bekaa Valley of Lebanon.

The Syrian dictator's move "is not a strategic change. . . . As soon as he thinks the air is quiet, [after] the United States and Europe have renewed commercial and diplomatic relations, he will start fresh. Maybe not with Abu Nidal or [Damascus-based PLO dissident] Abu Musa" but with others, perhaps Kurdish or Armenian groups.

"He will be careful not to leave fingerprints," and he will try "to act directly against Israel by sea or through south Lebanon." Increased attacks by the Shi'ite Hezbollah in south Lebanon have "the blessing and support of Syria," the source said.

However, the kidnapping of U.S. journalist Charles Glass, presumably by a Hezbollah faction, "angered Syria very much." Assad wanted the pro-Iranian group to ignore his tactical moves toward Iraq, to behave in Beirut and focus instead on Israel and its South Lebanon Army allies.

Syrian troops patrol Moslem west Beirut. After Glass was seized they surrounded but did not enter the southern sub-

urbs, the source noted. There Hezbollah supporters are believed to hold most of the 26 foreign kidnap victims—partly as a trump card against intensified Syrian pressure.

Noting rumors spread by former President Jimmy Carter, Jordan's King Hussein and others that Assad has moderated his position toward Israel, the analyst said the Syrian leader continues to believe that "Israel is a Crusader state. . . . It must be destroyed—but that could be tomorrow or in the next generation."

Although the Syrian President "will maneuver tactically and tell you some things you want to hear," he remains committed to the ideal of greater Syria. This leaves "no room for Lebanon, Israel, Jordan or [another] separate Palestinian Arab state." Therefore, "Syria after Assad should be better than now. . . . He is of no value to us, Europe or the West as a partner in negotiations."

The analyst noted that Assad, whose health has been a subject for speculation since a 1983 heart attack, "dropped out of sight for the first three weeks in June." A visit by the Iranian Prime Minister was postponed on the pretext that his Syrian counterpart was ill, and in fact Prime Minister Abdel Rauf Kassem spent two days in a hospital. Then, late in June, Assad resurfaced, looking well. But "three weeks is a long time" for the head of an essentially one-man regime to be out of sight. □

Out of Touch *Continued*

representative of the Palestinian Communist Party on its executive council, pledged support for a Soviet-style international conference and gave Moscow "good propaganda mileage throughout the Arab world."

Khalidi, in his talk at the Brookings Institution in Washington, said that the PNC also resolved to develop relations with Israelis who "support the struggle of the Palestinian people against occupation and Israeli expansionism; which support the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of self-determination and the right to establish an independent state; and which recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people." He conceded that "this may not sound too terribly attractive to most of the Israelis you and I know . . ."

Khalidi said that Arafat's Fatah group had intended to include a paragraph in the final PNC resolutions rejecting violence against civilians. When he asked the drafters of the resolutions why the paragraph did not appear they replied that they had simply forgotten it.

[It should be noted that Fatah claimed responsibility for an attempted terrorist raid against northern Israel during the PNC meeting.]

In Algiers, the PLO rejected Syria, broke with Jordan, alienated Egypt and angered Morocco. It is unwelcome in Lebanon and Tunisia and has moved its headquarters to Algeria. Saudi Arabia's crown prince recently signaled his own country's weariness: "I would say with all affection and sincerity to our brother Palestinians in particular, and our brother Arabs in general, that the Palestinian issue is too great for us to involve it in Arab bargaining and international equations." □

Relationship Detailed

The importance of strong U.S.-Israeli ties as seen by official Washington is highlighted in the thirteenth installment of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee's (AIPAC) Papers on U.S.-Israel Relations. *The Reagan Administration and Israel: Key Statements*, a 228-page, indexed anthology edited by Toby Dershowitz, includes speeches, letters and articles by President Reagan, Vice President Bush, Secretary of State Shultz, Secretary of Defense Weinberger and other officials.

Also available is the most recent publication in the series, *Israel's Agricultural Achievements: Their Significance for Americans*, a 22-page, footnoted booklet by Peggy Blair and Cynthia Rosenberg.

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BACK PAGE

Waldheim, Demjanjuk and Barbie

Late last month the trial of John Demjanjuk, accused of being "Ivan the Terrible," the sadistic guard and gas chamber operator of Treblinka, resumed in Jerusalem. Early this month Klaus Barbie was convicted in a French court of crimes against humanity as the Gestapo's "Butcher of Lyons" during Nazi occupation.

In between, Kurt Waldheim—prohibited from entering the United States because of accusations that as a lieutenant in Hitler's army he participated in deportations and atrocities against Jews and others in the Balkans—was welcomed to the Vatican by Pope John Paul II and to Jordan by King Hussein.

A senior Vatican official tried to clarify the Pontiff's reasons for hosting Waldheim, former U.N. Secretary General and current President of Austria, saying, "The Pope is convinced that you either understand events at a moral level or you don't understand them at all."

Israeli President Chaim Herzog pierced that obfuscation: "None of the explanations is satisfactory. . . . The fact that there are still no diplomatic relations between the Vatican and Israel says it all." According to the *Jerusalem Post*, Herzog noted that his father, the late chief rabbi of Ireland, visited the Vatican several times during and after World War II to request intercession for persecuted Jews, but to no avail.

In a *Post* Op-Ed piece on June 29, Alexander Zvielli suggested a realpolitik explanation for the Vatican's invitation. He alluded to John Paul II's status as the first Polish Pope, and to Waldheim's scheduled meeting with his Soviet counterpart in Vienna, then asserted:

"The USSR was highly critical of Jewish attacks on Waldheim's reputation and he is still regarded as a Soviet friend and ally. The invitation to Waldheim, then, was a pragmatic step taken by the Vatican to further its East European policy by ingratiating itself with Soviet leaders." Zvielli added that behind-the-scenes negotiations have been going on to improve relations between the Warsaw government and the Church.

Political considerations may also explain King Hussein's reception for the former U.N. chief. As a *Post* editorial on July 3 noted, "Dr. Waldheim is very popular throughout the Arab and Moslem world today, precisely because he is anathema to Jews."

By helping the Pope break Waldheim's year-long diplomatic isolation, the King could signal the Arab world that—those alleged secret meetings with Israelis notwithstanding—he knew how to stick it to the other side.

Hussein went beyond the ceremonial rhetoric praising Waldheim's "patriotism, integrity and wisdom" to single out the "noble human values for which he stands." As a number of Israeli observers noted, if the King meant to convince waiverers that a Jordanian-Israeli meeting of the minds at an international peace conference is impossible, he could not have chosen his words better.

The Jordanian paper *Al-Dustur* explained Waldheim's warm welcome was "in direct response to the unwarranted slander campaign against him led by the Zionists." Egypt's *Al-Ahram* claimed that Waldheim's Jewish critics created a scandal over the trip for no reason.

What Arab editorial writers in even comparatively moderate Jordan and Egypt may be unable culturally to understand, the Pope should. The Holocaust and the rebirth of Israel were historical divides which changed the way educated Westerners apprehend reality—including politics.

Thanks in part to King Hussein and Pope John Paul II, Kurt Waldheim now reportedly has invitations to visit Iran, Iraq, Libya and even Egypt. As for the first three countries and Waldheim, they deserve each other. Egypt may be using the Austrian card, like Jordan, to score pan-Arab points.

Adolph Eichmann—put to death after a Jerusalem war crimes trial in 1962—has been described as an executive in the corporate machinery of the Holocaust, and Ivan the Terrible as a murderous but lowly assembly-line worker. If so, Kurt Waldheim quite likely was a foreman. That he too is not in the dock, charged with capital crimes, but being welcomed by certain leaders, is a grim reminder to all who insist, "Never again."

—E.R. □

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EDITORIAL

Partners for Democracy

Israel and the United States, partners in political, economic and military affairs, have now joined together to broadcast the message of democracy. U.S. and Israeli officials recently signed a multi-million-dollar agreement in which Israel will construct and maintain a transmitter for the *Voice of America*, *Radio Free Europe* and *Radio Liberty* in the Negev-Arava region.

"With this signing, our special relationship will be given a new dimension," President Reagan told participants in the ceremony initiating the agreement. "We could not be happier with this partnership with Israel because it will result in the broader dissemination of those values we have in common."

U.S. officials have sought a location for the transmitter since the early 1970's, but "virtually every country in the region"—including Egypt and Oman—refused to provide a site, according to a source involved in the negotiations. The transmitter will be used to broadcast to the Communist bloc, Asia and Africa.

According to Gad Yaacobi, Israel's newly appointed Minister of Communication, the \$300-million transmitter project will not only enhance relations between the two countries but also will bring additional jobs and development to the Negev-Arava region. Israel will lease the land to the United States for 25 years from the first transmission, which is expected to occur in five years. An Israeli firm will serve as the prime contractor for the project.

The transmitter is the latest symbol of mutually beneficial cooperation between the United States and Israel. While Israel's role as a military partner has been highlighted since its designation as a Major Non-NATO Ally last year, the two

nations have long cooperated in a number of non-military areas.

In 1977, the Binational Agricultural Research and Development Fund, or BARD, was established to focus the expertise of both nations on common agricultural problems. Funded equally by the two governments, about \$63 million has been spent on 374 projects to study plant protection, animal production, water management and a host of other subjects. Similar binational programs exist in science and industrial research and development.

A milestone in cooperation was reached in 1985 with the creation of the U.S.-Israel Free Trade Area (FTA), an agreement which eliminated trade duties between the two countries. Individually, both sides gain a foreign market unhindered by import tariffs. Cooperatively, the two nations may benefit from the technological expertise of its partner. Sens. Bob Packwood (R-Ore.) and Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.) and Reps. Bill Frenzel (R-Minn.) and Sam Gibbons (D-Fla.) recently helped preserve the FTA by introducing an exemption to a trade bill which would impose tariffs on imports. The bill—including the FTA exclusion amendment—has been passed by the House and awaits action in the Senate.

Israel is now seeking an exemption from a Federal Aviation Administration ruling which bars foreign firms from bidding on maintenance and repair contracts for American-owned airplanes operating in the United States. Israel already provides these services for U.S. aircraft used in the region and has proven it can meet FAA standards. Such an exemption would not only express the depth of U.S.-Israeli relations, but would demonstrate that in aviation—as in broadcasting, technology, trade and science—Israel has much to offer the United States. □

VIEWING THE NEWS

Mubarak to Visit

A Cairo newspaper reports that Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak will visit the United States in November to discuss Israeli-Egyptian relations, the Persian Gulf and U.S. aid to Egypt (*Al-Wafd*, June 20). Mubarak will also visit Britain, West Germany, France and Romania.

China Ties

Israel's Foreign Minister Shimon Peres has announced that the People's Republic of China (PRC) may be considering diplomatic relations with Israel (*Kol Yisrael*, June 28). Peres said that Israel's Ambassador in Paris has been told by his Chinese

counterpart that Chinese leaders are discussing recognition of Israel.

In a move toward commercial ties, the president of the Israel Diamond Exchange reported that the PRC and the Soviet Union have sought Israeli help in creating a diamond industry in their countries.

New Iran Material

The Israeli government will provide the joint Congressional committee investigating the Iran-contra affair with "significant new information," according to Sen. Daniel Inouye, chairman of the Senate committee (AP, June 25).

Inouye said the Israelis have agreed to

provide financial data and that Gen. Rafael Vardi, who is compiling a report on Israel's role in the Iran arms deal, will be available for questioning.

Israel has stipulated that any information relating to its national security remain confidential.

Syria to Divert Water

Syria is constructing an elaborate network of dams and artificial lakes to divert water from tributaries of the Yarmuk River (Israel Television, June 26). The Syrian project will reduce the amount of water available to Israel and Jordan. □

HEARD IN WASHINGTON

Eban: Peace Parley Needed

Asserting that Israel's present tranquility conceals a "volcanic" situation, Knesset Member Abba Eban advocated an international peace conference on the Middle East in an address at Washington's Brookings Institution.

One of the country's most experienced diplomats, the eloquent elder statesman was Israel's first Permanent Representative to the United Nations, served as the Israeli Ambassador to Washington from 1950 to 1959 and was the Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1966 to 1974.

Currently the chairman of the Knesset's Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, the Labor Party member argued that an international conference was the only "practical option" for peace in the region.

"Bilateral negotiations have had no success in the Middle East," Eban said, adding that a third party has always been involved in past Arab-Israeli disengagements. "If you really want to get results, a third party is needed," he said, because Arab and Israeli governments do not have sufficient confidence in each other.

Eban characterized Jordan's King Hussein as a man with "roughly the same psychology as [the late Egyptian President] Anwar Sadat in 1977." Hussein doesn't believe Israel is going to disappear and feels it would be better to reach an agreement, Eban said. "But," he added, "Hussein is not prepared to take the kind of dramatic

initiative that Sadat took."

If Hussein is to negotiate with Israel—which Eban characterized as "a daring thing to do"—he must secure legitimacy from within the Arab world. This way, Eban said, Hussein would be responding to an international, not Israeli, directive on any land-for-peace settlement.

Eban noted that his party has become more conservative; indeed, some observers have placed him on Labor's "political fringe." He emphasized that his belief in trading land for peace had little to do with lines on a map: "It is not a territorial problem, it's a people problem—what do we do with 1.3 million Palestinian Arabs? Do we incorporate them, integrate them into our political system? In that case they will run away with our state, they will become dominant . . . and we will no longer be a Jewish state." The other scenario would be to keep the status-quo, in which West Bank Arabs would continue to live under a military administration.

The permanent incorporation of the West Bank, Eban concluded, would present Israel and the Jewish people with a profound dilemma: "Either you cease being a Jewish state or a democratic state. . . . The incorporation [of the West Bank] would deny us the fulfillment of our most deeply cherished democratic principles."

The lack of consensus on the future of the

territories, Eban said, is exemplified by the deadlocked state of the national unity government. Coalition partners Labor and Likud "don't even come to the table with the same map of the country, the same image and vision of what their country is."

Within the framework of an international conference, Israel could enter into talks leading to the establishment of a Jordanian-Palestinian entity to include the populated areas of the West Bank and Gaza, Eban said. He believes that in a Jordanian-Palestinian demilitarized alliance the security of both Israel and the new federation can be secured.

~~Eban said the next two to three months~~ are crucial to obtain international support for the Labor Party peace scenario.

Regarding PLO participation in the peace conference, Eban stated that support for the PLO, even among Arab states, is beginning to weaken. "Until the PLO comes to its senses in normative terms," he said, the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation must represent Palestinian Arabs in any conference. "We don't want to be confronted with those practicing terrorism and diplomacy at the same time."

—Todd Winer

Todd Winer, a recent graduate of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, is an NER intern.

BACKGROUNDER

U.S. Raps Soviets on Rights

Despite the release and emigration of a few well-known Jewish activists, Soviet compliance with the 1975 Helsinki Accords on Human Rights remains poor, according to the latest report of the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Acknowledging that the Soviet human rights policy is in a state of flux under the Gorbachev regime, the Commission maintains that "overall Soviet implementation of the Helsinki . . . agreement has remained unsatisfactory."

Regarding the treatment of Soviet Jewry, the report states: "Over the last several years . . . those actively pursuing their own religious and cultural traditions or the right to emigrate have suffered particularly severe treatment. . . ."

The Commission mentions that in recent

months six Hebrew teachers were released from prison or labor camps ahead of schedule, two were allowed to emigrate to Israel and others have had their sentences reduced. But three Hebrew teachers remain imprisoned, including Alexi Magarik, convicted on fabricated evidence of narcotics possession.

A Soviet-Jewry activist commented that Moscow's release of a handful of well-known Jewish prisoners was a deliberate attempt to give the appearance of better relations with the Jewish population. Keenly aware of the potential for a public relations victory, he said, the Soviets cleared their jails of famous refuseniks before the visits of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

"Soviet authorities continue to use re-

pression routinely to curtail dissent," the report stated, describing the attack on protesters and Western reporters covering a demonstration for the early release of former Prisoner of Zion Josef Begun.

According to the Commission's report, emigration continues to remain difficult. New procedures enacted in January restrict exit visas to those with first-degree relatives abroad. And although emigration has increased in recent months, American Jewish organizations estimate that almost 400,000 Jews wish to leave the Soviet Union.

For this year, 2,300 Jews have been allowed to emigrate, compared to approximately 4,000 a month during the 1979 Jewish exodus. In May, 871 Jews left the Soviet Union.

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PERSPECTIVE

Israel's Strategic Outlook

Israel will remain in its self-declared "security zone" along the Lebanese border "for some time to come," according to Israel Defense Forces (IDF) deputy spokesman Lieut. Col Raanan Gissin. The officer explained that the IDF will dismantle the narrow defensive strip "only when there is one responsible force . . . which can assume effective control" in south Lebanon.

According to Gissin, three major groups currently compete in south Lebanon: the Iranian-backed Hezbollah militia, Yasir Arafat's Fatah faction of the PLO, and the pro-Syrian Shi'ite Amal militia. "If Amal grows in strength—and I hope it does—and is able to control that area, I think we can reach an understanding with Amal and there will be no need for the security zone," Gissin said. "Since that is not in the offing for the near future, we will have to maintain the security zone for some time to come."

The IDF is confident that Israel's Egyptian and Jordanian borders will remain quiet for the foreseeable future, Gissin said. But in Lebanon, the IDF is fighting "an ongoing war, day in and day out" against infiltration from Fatah and Hezbollah. He estimated that as many as 2,000 Fatah fighters are located in southern Lebanon, with up to 10,000 additional Palestinian terrorists from other factions elsewhere in the country.

The IDF has noted that Hezbollah provides Fatah terrorists with staging areas in border villages from which to launch "spectacular attacks" against Israel and the security zone. Due to an upsurge in Hezbollah attacks against the Israeli-backed South Lebanon Army (SLA), the IDF has "beefed up" its support for the SLA, Gissin said.

Israel stations "no more than 100 liaison personnel" in the Lebanese security zone, according to Gissin, with additional elite troops readied in northern Israel. "With Misgav Am and other kibbutzim right there, the boys know what they are fighting for—there is no problem with morale," he said. But this vigilance has cost the IDF 16 men in the past 18 months.

Complaining that the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) is unable to fulfill its mandate in south Lebanon, Gissin revealed that in several areas Hezbollah forces attacked and retreated through Irish UNIFIL positions. "This is puzzling to me," he said, "because they have a post which is supposed to detect armed infiltration and yet they are unable to detect 150 men walking past them."

The presence of more than 7,000 Syrian troops in Beirut has also proved destabilizing to southern Lebanon. Gissin contends that Hezbollah has left the Beirut area to the Syrians in exchange for freedom of action in the south. For their part, the Syrians have avoided sending large numbers of troops to the south or heavy weapons to the Beirut area—two danger signs for the IDF.

But in Syria itself, 400,000 troops are stationed within 60 miles of the Golan Heights, Gissin said, "and all it takes is a political decision to launch them." Gissin asserted that severe economic difficulties have forced Syrian President Hafez al-Assad to "reschedule" the target date for "strategic parity" with Israel and to reduce the defense budget. He noted, however, that Assad has cut the least sophisticated elements of the army, emphasizing quality over quantity.

In addition to his economic headaches, Assad must contend with Syria's involve-

ment in Lebanon as well as a series of successful guerrilla attacks against his regime by the Moslem Brotherhood and other groups. "They are very sensitive to this," Gissin said, "not because of the casualties, but because of the fact that someone has been able to penetrate into Syria and hit them with the same weapon they have been using."

As a result, Assad has closed Abu Nidal's offices in Damascus, but permitted the Palestinian terrorist to operate camps in Lebanon's Syrian-controlled Bekaa Valley to prevent attacks on the Assad regime. Gissin said that the Syrians have closed Abu Nidal's offices several times in the past to curry favor with the West, "but then Abu Nidal moves to Libya and is back after half a year."

Because of Syria's many domestic problems, the IDF has concluded that "in the near future, there is low probability of an initiated attack by Syria against Israel." The officer hinted, however, that Assad might react violently if Syria is excluded from new movements in the peace process.

Gissin explained that the \$1.8 billion provided by Washington for the purchase of military hardware has been instrumental in preserving Israel's qualitative military edge. But cuts in the IDF budget in the past two years have affected Israel's ability to maintain its standing army and develop technology for the future battlefield.

The spokesman said that while Israel's Lavi will be the best aircraft of its class, the IDF objects to its continued development because the military "is going to have to absorb the cost from a shrinking budget." He said that the IDF would back the plane "if the additional money could be found from other sources." —J.R. □

HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

The PLO's Friends and Foes

A growing number of Senators and Representatives spanning the full political spectrum are sponsoring legislation to close the PLO office in Washington, D.C. and its United Nations observer mission in New York. Sens. CHARLES GRASSLEY (R-Iowa), FRANK LAUTENBERG (D-N.J.) and ROBERT DOLE (R-Kans.) and Reps. JACK KEMP (R-N.Y.), DAN MICA (D-Fla.) and ROBERT TORRICELLI (D-N.J.) are the leading sponsors of the Anti-Terrorism Act of 1987.

Nine Representatives have circulated a letter opposing the Kemp-Mica bill. The signatories (see below) contend that the PLO is not a terrorist organization but "a

government-in-exile."

The Anti-Terrorism Act recognizes the right of an individual or organization to advocate any cause. However, by outlawing the receipt or expenditure of PLO funds, the measure would prohibit the PLO, a terrorist organization, from paying individuals to work on its behalf in the United States. Currently the PLO provides \$250,000 to maintain the Palestine Information Office in Washington, D.C., according to Justice Department records.

During its recent convention in Algiers, the PLO rededicated itself to "continuing struggle in all its armed forms" as originally outlined in the PLO covenant. Senate Mi-

nority Leader Robert Dole stated that the PLO's "ideology of hate and violence and its personnel . . . have no place in America. They have no place in civilized society. It's time they were banished."

The following Representatives signed the pro-PLO letter in opposition to the Kemp-Mica bill: Reps. GEORGE CROCKETT (D-Mich.), MERVYN DYMALLY (D-Calif.), AUGUSTUS HAWKINS (D-Calif.), CHARLES HAYES (D-Ill.), GUS SAVAGE (D-Ill.), NICK JOE RAHALL (D-W.Va.), DAVID BONIOR (D-Mich.), HAROLD FORD (D-Tenn.) and JOHN CONYERS (D-Mich.). □

BACK PAGE

Room for Improvement

Leaders of Israel's national unity government frequently point out that the unlikely coalition of the Likud bloc and the Labor alignment has accomplished two of its major objectives since taking office in 1984: withdrawing nearly all Israeli forces from Lebanon and putting the brakes on inflation. However, they rarely mention a third promise—reforming the country's electoral system.

Syndicated columnist Edwin Black noted not long ago that "replacing Israel's 'party-only' voting system with American-style representative government has been a priority for Israeli leaders since Ben-Gurion."

Before former Ambassador Meir Rosenne returned to Israel, Sen. Rudy Boschwitz (R-Minn.) urged him to work for a change in election laws so that parties with less than 4% of the vote could not win Knesset seats. Leaders of major American Jewish organizations also have begun to endorse proposals like those which passed the Knesset Law and Judiciary Committee earlier this year, calling for increasing the threshold to 2.5% and for electing members by district.

Under current law, approximately 0.8% of the total vote—less than 25,000 ballots—gives a party one Knesset seat. A 2.5% minimum, if in effect for the 1984 elections, would have barred 10 parties now in the 120-member parliament with three or fewer seats each. Five parties would still have entered the Knesset, but among the absent would have been Rabbi Meir Kahane's Kach; Matti Peled's Progressive List for Peace; Aharon Abu Hatzaira's Tami; former Finance Minister Yigael Hurvitz's Ometz; Agudat Yisrael; and Morasha, a breakaway from the National Religious Party.

No party has won a majority in any of Israel's 11 general elections. Normally, Labor or Likud form weak governments based on their own pluralities plus support from some smaller parties—support gained through trading Cabinet posts for legislative promises and maintained by endless political log-rolling.

Proportional representation, combined with voting by party slates rather than in single-member districts, leads almost invariably to inter-party confrontation and Knesset paralysis on major issues. The aisle-crossing common in Congress, which enables Democrats and Republicans to work together at times, can bring down Israeli governments.

It also prevents Knesset members from being individually responsible to the voters and lessens their incentive to prod the infamously unresponsive Israeli bureaucracy. Further, it promotes rigidly hierarchical

parties, delaying the emergence of new leaders.

In times of crises, governments thus formed are felt to be too weak: On the eve of the 1967 Six-Day War public unease and Cabinet uncertainty led to formation of an extraordinary unity government. Again in 1984 security and economic problems seemed too big for either major party to deal with alone.

But the two big parties—not eager to alienate potential allies in any future narrow coalition—are not pushing reform. Despite approval by the Law and Judiciary Committee, neither electoral change measure has been scheduled for a first reading on the Knesset floor.

Likud appears to be at fault this time more than Labor, having agreed with some religious parties to pull back. Nevertheless, one of Likud's "young Turks," former development town mayor, Meir Shitrit, has pledged to carry the fight for reform directly to the public with a national petition drive.

Without reform, he said, "our very existence is in danger. We must make so many changes in the way we live and in the policies we follow. Those changes are simply not possible under today's system."

Reformers like Shitrit have been frustrated before. Labor's Gad Yaacobi, now Minister of Communication, introduced the first electoral change proposal in 1970, and reintroduced similar plans subsequently. Others have championed the issue as well.

Obviously, making the change will be politically painful. But government by majority, not pluralities-plus, might—over time—promote working consensus, not division. A more efficient, stronger Israel would be the result. —E.R. □

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NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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EDITORIALS

Secrets

A peculiar thing has been happening in Washington lately. In public, Administration officials have praised Saudi Arabia for its "cooperation" in defending the Persian Gulf. In private, U.S. officials have conceded to members of Congress that they have asked little of the Saudis—and gotten even less.

A story leaked to the *Washington Post* by official sources reported "positive responses" from the Saudis on a U.S. proposal to provide air protection for U.S. AWACS planes flying a new, southerly orbit in the Gulf. This arrangement "would allow the United States to track all ships as they enter the Gulf," according to the report. But the actual degree of Saudi cooperation as confirmed by the State Department was far less. Riyadh agreed "in principle" to dispatch Saudi AWACS to the southern Gulf only when U.S. flagged Kuwaiti tankers and their U.S. escorts pass through the Strait of Hormuz. The Saudis still deny U.S. warplanes basing and access rights, and U.S. aircraft carriers the right to dock.

The Administration has promoted Saudi "cooperativeness" through public declarations and whispers to the press in order to pave the way for resubmitting to Congress a variety of Saudi arms sales, including \$300 million in Maverick missiles and \$500 million in F-15 squadrons. But if U.S. officials are so eager to demonstrate Saudi assistance to a skeptical Congress, and the Saudis to show their affinity for the United States, why the Saudi reluctance to offer support in the Gulf and the Administration reluctance to go public with the extent of Saudi "cooperation"?

The *New York Times* revealed last week that the Saudis

have served as a financial "milk cow" for executive branch initiatives not approved by Congress. In addition to some \$32 million the Saudis allegedly provided the Nicaraguan contras, they also reportedly agreed to a U.S. request to support Angolan rebels at a time when Congress barred the President from doing so. In these actions and others, the Saudis have exercised their right to promote their own national interests—but this does not obligate the United States to reward Riyadh, as the Kingdom apparently expects, especially with our most sophisticated weapons.

As Rep. Howard Berman (D-Calif.) commented, "This article unmasks the true reasons behind U.S. policy toward Saudi Arabia. Why does the Administration repeatedly bend over backwards for a regime that rejects the Camp David process, finances the PLO and Syria, has sworn undying enmity for America's ally Israel, and refused basing rights for U.S. ships protecting their region? The answer is that Saudi Arabia has been a private banker for U.S. policy."

But while the Saudis have tried to keep their behind-the-scenes bankrolling under wraps, they have not been reluctant to publicly undermine U.S. interests. The Saudis exhibited no diffidence in 1973 when they spearheaded the Arab oil boycott; or in 1979 when they broke relations with Egypt following the signing of the Camp David Accords; or this year when they circumvented Jordan's King Hussein and provided \$9.5 million to the PLO for West Bank activities.

The real question is what the Saudis have done to promote America's vital interests in the region: access to bases, free flow of low-cost oil, peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the war against terrorism. In a word, nothing. These remain the standards by which we must judge the Saudis. □

VIEWING THE NEWS

Soviets to Visit

Entry visas have been issued to a Soviet delegation scheduled to visit Israel in early July (*Kol Yisrael*, June 19). The 10-member delegation will be the first to visit Israel since the Soviet Union broke relations with Jerusalem following the Six-Day War.

Israeli officials have spotted at least one Soviet Foreign Ministry official of a "policy-making nature" on the delegation list.

Terrorist Cell Nabbed

Israeli security forces apprehended a terrorist cell responsible for the assassination of the Israeli-appointed mayor of Nablus,

Zafer Al Masri, and two Israeli civilians (*Kol Yisrael*, June 19). Central Command Brig. Gen. Amran Mitzna said the group of West Bank residents was affiliated with the Syrian-based Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and was one of the most dangerous in the territories. A botched attempt to assassinate the Arab mayor of Jenin led to its exposure.

Peace Parley Alive

Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said the idea of an international peace conference for the Middle East is still "alive and kicking" (UPI, June 22). Peres recently

sought the support of European leaders for an international peace conference which would include the United States, the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and the "parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict." In Peres' view, such a conference would lead immediately to direct negotiations between Israel and its neighbors.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, head of the Likud Party, opposes Peres' plan and submitted his own proposal to visiting U.N. envoy Marrack Goulding. Shamir's formula calls for a regional conference involving direct talks with one or more of Israel's neighbors, including non-PLO Palestinian Arabs. □

PERSPECTIVE

Keeping the Balance

Jerusalem's Mayor Teddy Kollek spoke with American students at Hebrew University earlier this year about the challenge of governing a multitude of communities with vastly differing philosophies and overlapping loyalties. Israel, explained Kollek, is not a melting pot, and integration has never been an ideal, even among co-religionists. It is only remotely possible that even Jews may unite by the end of the next century, leaving aside any chances for Arab-Jewish integration.

Freedom for all religious groups is a prerequisite in a city holy to three major religions, as much in principle as in practice.

Kollek defended the construction of [a Mormon university] on Mount Scopus and argued that denying anyone the right to build a religious institution in the holy city would leave Israel open to charges of persecution. As for the Mormon missionary tradition, the Mayor pointed out that the University was bound to strictly enforce agreements prohibiting proselytization, and any violators will be sent home. Anyone who wants to build a university may do so, he declared, even Moslems.

Kollek responded to several questions about divisions within the Jewish community, further underscoring the different levels of national, religious and cultural differences unusual for a city with a population of 400,000. Regarding Orthodox opposition to the recent granting of a permit to a Reform congregation, he said the request was granted with certain compromises, but finally passed because he controls a "bare majority" on the governing body. Thus, the city is able to appropriate land to any Jews who wish to construct a synagogue.

Citing small ultra-Orthodox factions which deny the legitimacy of the state, Kollek defended every Jew's right to come to Jerusalem, whether or not he is a Zionist. They pay taxes, and many families have lived in Jerusalem for several generations, he noted.

Asked how to "eradicate" the influence of [nationalist] Kach party leader Meir Kahane, the Mayor responded, "You can't eradicate him, you can't eradicate anybody. You can only educate them." Nevertheless, he added, posters bearing political advertisements may be censored if considered inciteful.

After a yeshiva student was murdered in the Old City last year—an act which led to violent demonstrations and threats—several lessons have been learned about the spiral effect of terror. Following the January 1987 knifing of two Jewish boys, Kollek recalled meeting with both local Jews and Arab leaders. Hoping to contain potential violence, he explained to neighborhood Jewish activists that to seek vengeance would only play into the hands of the PLO. Terrorist groups which inspire such attacks attempt to escalate violence by provoking retaliation from the other side. By polarizing communities in this way, they gain support for hate. The next day he spoke with members of the Arab leadership and explained that while they were not guilty of the crime, they would draw unnecessary fire unless they sharply condemned the incident. In that particular case, further violence was averted. Kollek said, "Peace has very shallow roots" in this city.

Addressing the continued reticence of most countries—led by the United

States—to relocate their embassies from Tel Aviv to Israel's declared capital—Jerusalem—the former aide to Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion lamented [political misunderstandings] which led to a U.N. resolution calling upon all nations to move their embassies out of the seat of Israel's government. But he expressed confidence that gradually the envoys will return, as a few already have.

For example, the United States used to hold separate July 4 parties for Jerusalem Arabs and Jews. Now there is one common reception, since Kollek held the Americans to wording in the official government policy. Even though Jerusalem's status is awaiting negotiations in Washington's eyes, it is in the meantime considered "one city". U.S. leaders, most recently Vice-President George Bush, now visit all of Jerusalem, where they used to boycott sections captured by Israel in the 1967 Six-Day War and since annexed.

Kollek claimed that terrorist incidents in Jerusalem are not much more prevalent than in other parts of the world, except that his city has the third largest press corps in the world, and there is "very little to write about." Now 74, the Mayor called on Americans to study Israeli society, but to "measure it by your own measure." Posing a question for a change, Kollek asked why Americans expect better of Israel, without asking themselves why they haven't taken care of their own problems at home.

—Shai Franklin. □

Franklin, currently a research intern at the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, is a former NER writer and publisher of Brown University's Middle East Journal.

NEWS

Mayor Apologizes

District of Columbia Mayor Marion Barry acknowledged that a proclamation marking June 8 as "USS Liberty Memorial Day" was issued without first checking background material submitted by the USS Liberty Veterans Association. The proclamation declared the USS Liberty was "deliberately attacked" in international waters on June 8, 1967.

Commissions of inquiry in both the United States and Israel have shown that the Liberty incident was a tragic mistake made during the chaotic period of the Six-

Day War. As a result of communications problems by both parties, Israeli planes and torpedo boats attacked the Liberty, an intelligence-gathering ship, as it sailed off the Sinai coast. The Israeli government issued a formal apology and paid some \$6.8 million in reparations to the victims and their families.

Stating that the proclamation process "is not perfect," the Mayor said he regretted the declaration had become "a cause of divisiveness in our community." He also pledged that future proclamations will be

reviewed more carefully.

The Mayor's proclamation was prepared hastily by staff members asked by the veterans group to ready the document in three days. Under normal procedures, a proclamation takes four weeks.

Samuel Sislin of the D.C. Jewish Community Council said he appreciated the Mayor's "prompt and open response and [we] certainly accept the explanation . . . and apology." □

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HEARD IN WASHINGTON

Rosenne Sums Up Mission

In the last of what must have seemed like countless farewell interviews, Israel's former Ambassador to the United States, Meir Rosenne, quickly listed major items which demonstrate the current high level of U.S.-Israeli relations:

- Strategic and military cooperation, with regular meetings between officials of both countries in Washington and Jerusalem;
- Joint military exercises;
- Israel's involvement as one of five countries invited to participate in America's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI);
- The Free Trade Area Agreement (FTA) which took effect last year and will phase out most tariffs between the two countries over 10 years;
- Endorsing construction of a Voice of America transmitter in Israel. "This is the first time Israel has agreed to have on its soil a transmitter broadcasting to Iron Curtain countries. I think that no Arab country has ever agreed to this";
- And, U.S. monetary and technical help in 1985 and 1986 to aid Israel's economy recover from triple-digit inflation. Rosenne singled out Secretary of State George Shultz, Under Secretary for Economic Affairs Allan Wallis and Deputy Secretary John Whitehead for praise.

Rosenne, whose term ran from 1983 to this June, also pointed to U.S. support for both Soviet Jewry and the rescue of more

than 7,000 Ethiopian Jews in Operation Moses. He highlighted Shultz's dramatic participation in this year's Passover *sefer* at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow and Vice President George Bush's personal involvement in a trip to Sudan which helped almost 800 Ethiopian Jews make their way to Israel.

"Of course, we had other aspects of the relationship which were less delightful," the former Ambassador acknowledged, mentioning the Pollard spy case and Israel's involvement with the U.S. arms-for-hostage opening to Iran. Although the espionage affair was "a very serious problem . . . the centrality and the crucial aspect of the relationship between Israel and the United States carried more weight than any damage that might have been caused. . . ."

The diplomat criticized the critics of American foreign policy who claim the Reagan Administration has been negligent on the Arab-Israeli peace process. Foreign Ministry legal adviser at the Camp David negotiations, Rosenne said, "I think it would be a mistake to have the United States replace any one of the parties at the negotiating table. The conflict is between Jews and Arabs, between the Arab countries and Israel."

He described his country today as "certainly stronger than it was four years ago." Contributing to this have been the end of heavy military involvement in Lebanon;

strengthening the peace treaty with Egypt, "which still has room for improvement"; the edging up of Soviet Jewish emigration from a few hundred a month to 871 in May, "which we hope will not stop"; and, closer agreement with the United States on a number of issues.

When Rosenne served as a consul in New York in the 1960's, "the visit of a U.S. Navy ship to Haifa took six months of negotiations" because Washington feared damage to its relations with Arab states. Now not only are such port calls routine, but so is cooperation by many Arab countries and the United States. American diplomacy in the Middle East is not a zero-sum game in which ties with either Israel or the Arabs must suffer, he pointed out.

Rosenne chose not to answer a question on whether he was able to work with Arab diplomats in Washington.

The former Ambassador was sometimes caught in the middle as Likud bloc leader Yitzhak Shamir and Labor alignment chief Shimon Peres rotated between the Prime Ministry and the Foreign Minister's office. His advice to designated-successor Moshe Arad? "To anyone: You represent the government, not a party. . . . You should never say one thing in public and another in private; one has to be honest with himself. . . . And there can be no Israeli foreign policy without reference to the Jewish aspect of our existence." □

HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

Budget Passes

Congressional budget conferees agreed on a compromise \$1-trillion federal budget for fiscal 1988. Despite cuts in overall foreign aid levels, specific language in the conference report exempts the \$3-billion all-grant aid to Israel.

The final figure for the international affairs account, Function 150, is \$16.1 billion—\$100 million below the House level but \$300 million above the Senate level.

Reps. HOWARD WOLFE (D-Mich.), CHARLES SCHUMER (D-N.Y.) and HOWARD BERMAN (D-Calif.) played key roles in securing passage of the favorable international relations figures. Only House Budget Committee Ranking Member DELBERT Latta (R-Ohio) spoke out against the high levels of funding for Israel and Egypt, calling them an "outrage." House Budget Committee Chairman WILLIAM GRAY (D-Pa.) responded that aid to Israel and Egypt is "in the national interest."

The full House approved the budget last week; Senate action is expected soon. □

Reps. BOB McEWEN (D-Ohio) and TOM CARPER (D-Del.) introduced a resolution (H.Con.Res.134) commending the citizens of Jerusalem on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the reunification of the city.

Said McEwen, "This year, Jews all over the world celebrate Yom Yerushalayim, the 20th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem. But the reunification of this most holy of cities is cause for celebration by all those who cherish religious freedom around the globe. Its eternal symbolism as the city of peace and sanctuary to religious worshippers gives the anniversary special significance in the heart and prayers of freedom-loving people."

When Sen. STEVE SYMMS (R-Idaho) learned that a \$1,000 contribution to his 1986 campaign came from a pro-Nazi group, he did not return the money. Instead, he recently contributed \$500 each to the Idaho Holocaust Commission and B'nai B'rith. □

NER Chosen

Near East Report tied for third place in the American Jewish Press Association's Rockower Awards competition for 1986. Cited was the Sept. 15 editorial, "The Truth of Terror." The editorial criticized those—such as then-CBS News commentator Bill Moyers, and former President Jimmy Carter—who suggested in the wake of the Istanbul synagogue massacre that the "root cause" of Middle Eastern terrorism was U.S.-Israeli failure to resolve legitimate grievances of the Palestinian Arabs. It pointed out that state-sponsored terrorism, like the killings at Neve Shalom, was not the result of a frustrated civil rights movement but surreptitious warfare by those opposed to U.S. and Israeli aims.

BACK PAGE

They Meant Well

The political equivalent of a carnival fun-house mirror is a delegation of American Jews describing their meetings with Chairman Yasir Arafat and other PLO leaders. Distortions abound. For example:

After spending more than 90 minutes with Arafat in Tunisia recently, Hilda Silverman of the New Jewish Agenda—a group whose agenda is neither new nor particularly Jewish—revealed that “I spoke mostly . . . on Jewish fears. I’ve heard that in past meetings he hasn’t wanted to listen to that. But he couldn’t have been more responsive. . . . When I spoke to him of the visit of [Egyptian President Anwar] Sadat to Jerusalem and told him that was the high point of the lives of many Jews in Israel as well as the United States, I had expected him to dismiss it, but he was nodding and smiling.”

Sure he was. Arafat and the PLO achieved recognition by attempting to strike fear in Jews and others who support Israel. Although they pose no direct military threat to the state, they have shown enough talent for murder to win news media attention and, in some capitals, diplomatic status.

No doubt Arafat’s smile during Silverman’s soliloquy on Sadat was ironic. The PLO called Sadat’s 1977 trip to Jerusalem “high treason” and a “betrayal of the most sacred principles of Arab solidarity.” When Sadat was assassinated the PLO cheered.

While Silverman detected encouragement in nods and smiles, Arafat could rely on something more substantial—PLO policy. A few days after the meetings with the Americans, the organization reaffirmed its rejection of any direct talks with Israel and reiterated the call for “armed struggle until the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.”

Back home after the Arafat encounter session, Jerome Segal of the Washington Area Jews for an Israeli-Palestinian Peace criticized an Israeli statute outlawing meetings with the PLO and Congressional efforts to close the PLO’s offices in the United States. “There’s a very deep symbolic issue here. It goes beyond the question of dialogue. . . . There’s a history of denial of their existence,” he said, hyperactive empathy showing.

Segal, too, apparently did not realize that the mirrors were playing tricks. Israeli leaders of the right and left recognize that Palestinian Arabs need to be included in negotiations leading to a settlement between Israel, Jordan and the residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. They have practically begged them to join talks. But Palestinian Arabs have refused. Some oppose dealing with Israel—and thereby

granting recognition to the Jewish state—on principle. Others have been bribed or intimidated by the PLO.

The deep symbolic issue remains that, Egypt excepted, Arab countries and the PLO have not gone beyond their history of denying Israel’s legitimacy. And the most bitter, irredentist form of this denial of Jewish nationhood remains enshrined in the PLO’s “covenant.” It is unchanged despite occasional exchanges like the recent one between PLO representatives and Israeli leftists in Europe. Those sessions moved Silverman to gush, “Everybody spoke so warmly of their meetings with Israeli Jews. They talked with delight” about them.

Certainly they did. Such meetings are a sign of understandable war-weariness among Israelis and their supporters—notwithstanding the rhetoric that “peace must be made with one’s enemies.” Attempts to influence Israeli politics—while remaining true to the organization’s own intransigent principles as re-endorsed this year in Algiers—allow the PLO to play “good-cop, bad-cop” unassisted and simultaneously.

To make peace, Israel and Arabs other than Egyptians will have to talk. But peace is not made with enemies—it is made with former enemies who, through defeat or a change of heart, stop the war.

One reason many in the West place the burden of peacemaking heavily on Israel is that they have given up on the Arabs. Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young, former U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., recently put it this way: “They [the PLO] don’t have a tradition of justice and peace.”

—E.R.

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EDITORIAL

Arms Sales Intermission

Last week the Reagan Administration asserted that it will ask Congress to reconsider the controversial proposal to sell Saudi Arabia 1,600 Maverick-D air-to-ground missiles worth \$360 million. The Administration withdrew the sale two weeks ago in the face of strong bipartisan opposition on Capitol Hill, led by Sens. Alan Cranston and Robert Packwood in the upper chamber, and by Reps. Larry Smith, Vin Weber and Mel Levine in the House. Sens. Howard Metzenbaum and Robert Dole also played important roles in opposing the deal. But the executive branch still does not understand why resistance to the Maverick sale—and the earlier and also temporarily withdrawn bid to sell Riyadh an additional squadron of F-15 fighters—was so strong.

White House officials blamed themselves for not doing a better job of informing Congress and pledged to improve their performance. National Security Council Adviser Frank Carlucci, alluding to previous transfers of earlier model Mavericks, decried “sudden Congressional opposition to weapons previously approved and sold to Saudi Arabia. . . .” Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy added that the sale would be resubmitted at “a more propitious moment.”

But by skipping the informal 20-day Congressional prenotification for the Maverick sale the Administration revealed what little confidence it had in its own case. Absent some most unlikely changes in Saudi policy—including decisions to start supporting U.S. efforts to mediate the Arab-Israeli conflict, curtailing financial support for the PLO and Syria, backing American Persian Gulf policy by allowing U.S. combat planes to be based on Saudi soil—the White House will not be able to do a better job of “informing” Congress than it did this time.

Opposition to Saudi arms sales is anything but sudden. At least since the battles over the Carter Administration’s initial sale of 60 F-15’s in 1978 and the Reagan Administration’s 1981 AWACS planes deal, Capitol Hill’s objections to big-ticket weapons transfers to Saudi Arabia have been clear. So have the reasons: By word and deed the Kingdom has yet to convince Congress it is a reliable American ally.

Because of this, there will not be “a more propitious” occasion to reintroduce the Maverick sale, or the latest F-15 deal, or any of the other thick slices of a \$2-billion-plus weapons salami planned for Saudi Arabia this year. That is just as well. Arms sales to Middle East states of dubious dependability need to be reined in, not accelerated.

The Arab-Israeli arms race began in earnest when the Soviet bloc started supplying Egypt on the eve of the 1956 Sinai campaign. Since then literally hundreds of billions of dollars worth of weaponry have been poured into the region, increasing tension and distorting economic growth. Arms destroyed in one war have been replaced by newer, ever more destructive systems from the factories of the Soviet bloc, Western Europe, the United States and, in the past decade, by new third world suppliers.

Instead of searching for an opportunity to push another Saudi weapons deal, the Administration should consider beginning to uncouple foreign policy in the Middle East from arms sales. One way to start would be by reexamining the conventional arms transfer talks initiated by the Carter Administration. These aimed at getting the Soviet Union and Europe to join the United States in limiting the sale of major weapons systems to areas of regional conflict.

The Middle East certainly qualifies. And along the way, maybe we can kick the habit of overarming Saudi Arabia. □

VIEWING THE NEWS

Subpoena Satisfaction

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir’s office and the Foreign Ministry “have expressed satisfaction with the U.S. State Department stand on the subpoenas issued in the Iran arms affair, as expressed in letters the department has submitted to the federal court in Washington” (*Ha’aretz*, June 12).

Israel objected to subpoenas special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh issued for David Kimche, Yakov Nimrodi, Amiram Nir and Al Schwimmer. Jerusalem claims the action could violate diplomatic immunity; the State Department reportedly accepts the view that material in the quartet’s possession “is privileged because at the time of their involvement . . . they were

handling official material that was not subject to [foreign] investigation.”

Soviets Renege

Moscow has made a “sharp retreat” from some of its understandings with Israel, according to Foreign Minister Shimon Peres (*Ma’ariv*, June 14). The paper noted “this was the first time Peres has revealed that Israel has received a Soviet ‘nyet’ in the unofficial contacts between the two countries.”

Peres said “the issue of *aliyah* [immigration] is falling out of our hands. . . . We must invest ongoing and ceaseless efforts to increase immigration from the Soviet Union.”

Weir Waffles

Rev. Benjamin Weir, outgoing moderator of the 3.1-million-member Presbyterian Church USA and a former hostage of Lebanese Shi’ite Moslems, criticized parts of a church study, “A Theological Understanding of the Relationship Between Christians and Jews” (Associated Press, June 13). The study’s original language referred to “the continuity and irrevocability of God’s promise of land to the people of Israel.”

Weir said such wording could be interpreted as saying “that the land of Palestine [sic] is in possession of Israel in perpetuity.” That would be “an embarrassment to Christians in the Middle East.” □

BACKGROUND

Saudi Sale Promised Anew

Last week, National Security Adviser Frank Carlucci announced that the Administration plans to reintroduce a request to sell 1,600 Maverick-D missiles to Saudi Arabia as part of a general plan to reassert U.S. presence in the Middle East. In a speech timed to coincide with the televised Presidential address last week, Carlucci elaborated on the Administration's plans and objectives regarding the Persian Gulf and the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The senior White House official depicted current Arab-Israeli relations in a positive light, citing Egypt's reintegration into the Arab world and former Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres' trips to Egypt and Morocco as examples of a growing acceptance of Israel among Arab countries. He noted that Jordan is committed to a "broader peace" and revealed that Syria has "shown signs of interest" in the peace process. "Something profound is happening," Carlucci told the annual convention of the National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA). "The psychology in much of the area is changing, with an acceptance of peace supplanting the commitment to war and struggle."

To capitalize on this trend, the Administration "squeezed out" \$30 million for quality-of-life improvements on the West Bank this year, and has been working behind the scenes to promote an international conference on the Middle East. Carlucci specified that such a conference would not impose a solution on participants or veto agreements, would lead to direct negotiations, "and would not introduce disruptive

elements into the region."

In the Persian Gulf, the United States is working to secure an end to the seven-year-old Iran-Iraq war through the U.N. Security Council and to "help our friends defend themselves." Echoing themes of recent Administration testimony on Capitol Hill, Carlucci defended U.S. presence in the Gulf as necessary to protect the free flow of oil, to uphold U.S. leadership and to counteract increasing Soviet involvement in the strategically important region.

"Even if the Soviets may not be overtly causing problems to peace and moderation, the more they insinuate themselves the better position they are in to do so in the future," Carlucci said. He asserted that Soviet mediation at the recent Palestine National Council meeting in Algiers led to a "radicalized" PLO. The Soviets have also undertaken to "fix" oil prices with Arab regimes and offered protection to Kuwaiti tankers among other Middle East moves.

Following the Carlucci speech, Assistant Secretary of State Murphy told reporters that the United States was not trying to "stampede" Gulf states into providing military facilities. "We are discussing with our friends in the Gulf states what will be needed to provide a secure operation, a safe operation," he said. But when pressed on the details of Gulf cooperation, he responded, "That will become evident in time." [Capitol Hill aides briefed on U.S. plans claimed that the Administration has been unable to win any concessions from the Gulf states.]

At a "Prospects for Peace" luncheon

held the same day, Abdulwahab Darawshe, of the Labor Party, and Ran Cohen of the left-leaning Citizens Rights Movement became the first Israeli Knesset members to address an NAAA conference.

Cohen invited the NAAA to send a delegation to Israel "in the name of my friend Abdulwahab Darawshe and others in Israel." He also conveyed a message from Minister-without-Portfolio Ezer Weizman, saying that "only technical reasons had prevented me from attending."

Accepting Palestinian Arab calls for self-determination and the relinquishing of Israeli control over the territories, Cohen nonetheless stressed the need for the Israeli peace camp to speak with the Arab world, as well as the necessity to stop PLO terror. "We need a declaration . . . that the PLO will recognize Israel, to put their self-determination beside Israel, not instead of Israel." Referring sharply to Cohen's statement, Rahman said, "Peace is not necessary in the Middle East because it is good for Israel . . . peace does not do us a favor. We are demanding our god-given rights in the country of our birth."

Hassan Abdel Rahman, director of the PLO's Palestine Information Office in Washington, made an unscheduled address.

Reps. Stephen Solarz (D-N.Y.), Benjamin Gilman (R-N.Y.), Nick Rahall (D-W.Va.) and Mary Rose Oaker (D-Ohio) co-hosted a Capitol Hill reception with the NAAA for Cohen and Darawshe.

HEARD IN JERUSALEM

Arab Council Bid Reconsidered

Hanna Siniora, editor of the pro-PLO east Jerusalem newspaper *Al-Fajr*, reportedly was reconsidering his proposal to run for city council in 1988. Siniora, often described in the Israeli press as a Palestinian Arab moderate as well as a supporter of Yasir Arafat, said his platform would propose dual sovereignty for both Jews and Arabs living in Jerusalem.

"Actually, I am reinvigorating the Palestinian claim to sovereignty over east Jerusalem," he said on *Kol Yisrael*. Siniora added that he would work to establish a borough in east Jerusalem in which Palestinian Arabs could run their own affairs.

He estimated that his slate could win up to eight seats on the 31-seat Jerusalem city council. In 1983 there were 68,000 eligible Arab voters, although only 12,000 cast ballots after a PLO call for an election boycott.

Siniora's proposal was denounced in the Arab world as legitimizing Israeli control over Jerusalem. Former Gaza Mayor Rashad al-Shawwa called the plan ill-advised because Jerusalem was an issue for all Arabs and Moslems, not only Palestinians.

Al-Fajr's own publisher opposed the plan and another east Jerusalem paper, *Al-Nahar*, editorialized that joining the city

council "would signify Arab acceptance of Israel's decision to annex Jerusalem."

Finally, condemnation by the PLO itself caused Siniora to reconsider. The organization called on its supporters under Israeli administration to "quickly bypass these ideas as though they were non-existent." □

Correction

In the June 8 issue the name of the editor of the anthology, *The Zionist Idea*, and vice president of the World Jewish Congress, Arthur Hertzberg, was misspelled.

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HEARD IN WASHINGTON

Beilin on Moscow's Role

(Second of two parts.)

American officials continue to stand by Israeli requirements that before the Soviet Union participates in an international conference on the Middle East, it must first reestablish diplomatic relations with Israel and permit greatly increased Jewish emigration. Yossi Beilin, director-general of foreign affairs in Israel's Foreign Ministry, said that U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy will raise those issues when he meets with his Soviet counterpart, Vladimir Polyakov, next month.

Beilin, a close associate of Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, visited Washington recently to refocus attention on Peres' proposal for a conference. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir rejects the idea; the same day Beilin met with Murphy, Knesset Member Dan Meridor—a Shamir ally—also visited the Assistant Secretary to voice opposition to a conference including the Soviets (NER, June 15).

"It's not correct to say Peres is enthusiastic about a Soviet role," Beilin told a small group of reporters, "but he understands that without an opening of the international conference there won't be a peace process in the Middle East for the time being. . . . The Soviets have to be in . . . this is a price he (Peres) is willing to pay.

Others are not."

Beilin said he told Murphy that there is consensus in Israel that "the Russians won't be able to take part in any kind of peace process, whether it is an international conference, or not unless there is a normalization between Soviet Russia and Israel. Normalization means for us two things: First is a significant change in the policy towards emigration of Jews . . . and the second is resuming relations with Israel." Later he pointed to the record emigration of 1979—more than 50,000—as a target figure.

Beilin said that if Israel agrees to a conference but one does not take place because of Soviet failure to meet the preconditions, his country could still gain. "Maybe if it is proved to the Arab states that an international conference with the participation of the Soviets is impossible . . . they may consider another option for [direct] negotiations."

Moscow's participation also would help insulate Jordan from pressure by Syria, the director-general said. King Hussein "is intimidated by Syria" and bound by the Rabat declaration of 1974 that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians, Beilin noted. Soviet involvement in a conference might "create backing" for Hussein to move without the PLO.

He stressed that Jordan and the Labor Party half of Israel's coalition government—partly through behind-the-scenes American diplomacy—two months ago reached an understanding on the outlines of a conference. However, "there are no agreements about detailed procedures" yet. Beilin argued that this opportunity should be seized, "although there are some problems, challenges, dangers and so forth."

Meridor and other opponents have argued that holding a conference would raise unrealistic expectations and its likely failure—when Israel and the United States walk out in the face of radical Arab and Soviet demands—would destabilize the region. Beilin said "this argument is always raised when there is any kind of opening. It is a very good argument because it doesn't have to deal with the details.

"I can't be impressed with this . . . because it means there will never be any kind of change." He said the status quo does not remain stable but changes every day—demographically and in terms of law and order in the territories. "And the question that confronts us is will we continue to have a war every seven or eight years or should we launch another campaign to have peace in our area?"

HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

Saudi Torture, Arms Sale

Legislators were given a rare look at torture and imprisonment in Saudi Arabia last week as the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East opened a series of hearings on Saudi human rights violations against American citizens.

James Edward Smrkovski, one of six witnesses, was a training specialist for Saudi Airlines when he was arrested at his home in Jidda and held captive for 15 months. During his imprisonment, Smrkovski said he was subjected to physical harassment, humiliation, death threats, beatings, electric shocks, and, at one point, the mutilation of six toenails. He was denied visits from family, friends or counsel.

Patricia M. Roush alleged that after she divorced her Saudi husband he abducted their two daughters and took them to Saudi Arabia. Saudi officials informed Roush that as Moslems and Saudi citizens her children could not be returned to their mother under Islamic law. She asked, "What happened to the U.S. laws which my ex-husband broke by taking these children illegally?"

Larry Gerber, acting director of the International Human Rights Law Group, declared, "The torture of prisoners in Saudi Arabia, including U.S. nationals, appears to be both egregious and widespread." Gerber supported victims' claims that the State Department responded inadequately to their needs. He called the department's evaluation of Saudi human rights abuses "bland" when compared to reports on other countries.

But Deputy Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs Marion Creekmore defended his department, claiming that these Saudi violations were "rare." Rep. TOM LANTOS (D-Calif.) responded angrily, saying, "these are not disputes . . . we are speaking of torture and abduction."

Rep. LARRY SMITH (D-Fla.) declared that "there are people in this Administration who want to cover up for the Saudis and their shortcomings. . . . It is disgraceful."

Arms Sale

Responding to a general lack of Saudi cooperation in the Middle East, Congress

expressed its overwhelming opposition to the sale of 1,600 Maverick-D missiles to Riyadh.

Only Sens. RICHARD LUGAR (R-Ind.) and DANIEL EVANS (R-Wash.) did not oppose the deal in Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings, emphasizing the importance of arms sales to the U.S. foreign trade balance and domestic employment. After the withdrawal, Evans charged that the deal was defeated because "of the skillful efforts of outside organizations."

To this, Sen. ALAN CRANSTON (D-Calif.) retorted, "All this effort in the Congress is not because of outside organizations, but because of widespread bipartisan opposition."

Sen. JESSE HELMS (R-N.C.) reiterated his concern regarding Saudi financing of the PLO and Saudi Arabia's lack of diplomatic relations with Israel: "If their [Saudi] relations with Israel would improve, our disposition regarding arms sales might improve."

BACK PAGE

The Sounds of Success

Nine years ago the program director at Drexel University's WKDU-FM challenged Mark Grossmann, then a freshman, to "do something Jewish." Grossmann responded on a Friday the 13th in January. Driving through a blizzard "which closed the city," he reached the campus near downtown Philadelphia and—armed with two of his mother's albums—one by the Israeli Chasidic Music Festival group and another of Hebrew children's songs—taped the first "Sounds of Jerusalem."

The program has been on the air Friday's ever since. In the process it has grown from a half-hour taped production to a live show broadcast from 7 to 9 a.m. Grossmann, now a part-time masters' student at Drexel and, for the past four years full-time Jewish National Fund field director for southeast Pennsylvania and New Jersey, is both disc jockey and executive producer.

He distinguishes his show from the comparatively more common Yiddish music/Jewish community radio shows, including one long-running commercial production in Philadelphia. "On some of those programs you're lucky if you hear three Israeli songs a day. . . . The station sees us as 'the Jewish show,' but we're not. It's Israeli," Grossmann said.

His commentary is in English, the music in Hebrew—mostly Israeli pop tunes including international hits like Ofra Haza's "Galbi," a Yemenite Jewish song with a disco-style arrangement. Grossmann admits that "when I started I knew nothing about Israeli music," but years of searching for recordings of current popular tunes changed that. He has purchased most of the albums on his own, although an early \$200 grant from the more than one dozen Philadelphia-area campus Hillel Foundations relieved the burden on his mother's collection.

The music attracts listeners "because it's something different," Grossmann said. It holds them because they grow to like it whether or not they understand Hebrew.

But "Sounds of Jerusalem" includes more than music. On a typical Friday morning Israel's Consul-General in Philadelphia will be on for a few minutes at 7:30. Fifteen minutes later Morton Levine, a long-time Hillel rabbi, phones in a brief *davar Torah*.

At 8:18 a.m., news from Israel's *Kol Yisrael*, and at 8:45 a.m. an Israeli freshman at Drexel, Esti Rosen, offers a segment on basic Hebrew in the guise of *Tiul BaAretz*—a trip through the land. In addition, attorney Daniel Markind, recently returned from a year and a-half in Israel, interviews visiting newsmakers.

WKDU-FM is a non-commercial station

not rated by Arbitron and competes with more than two dozen other stations in the country's fourth-largest radio market. Nevertheless, Grossmann estimates that audiences for individual shows range from 2,000 to 10,000.

"Our only real promotion is word of mouth and an occasional mention in the newspapers. . . . But over the years there's been a lot of word of mouth."

And "Sounds of Jerusalem" makes a favorable impression on some dial-twisters who find it by accident and, intrigued by the music, stay tuned. "One young woman, non-Jewish, called one day to tell me she had started studying Hebrew at a community college. She said before she heard the program she didn't really like Israel, but now she did," Grossmann recalled.

Philadelphia has a sizeable community of *yordim*—Israelis who have emigrated—but Grossmann believes that "90% of our listeners are American Jews who don't know Hebrew to any great degree but are affiliated culturally. . . . Most of the audience doesn't understand, but they like the feeling."

Grossmann is not aware of other shows like his in major markets. He would like to syndicate "Sounds of Jerusalem" elsewhere, but "neither I nor others have marketed it."

He also would like to find new sources of financial support, for record purchases and perhaps some promotion. Meanwhile, the program started on a dare nears the end of its first decade. At a time when much media treatment of Israeli affairs leans to the jaundiced side of neutral, the "Sounds of Jerusalem" are pleasant. □

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EDITORIAL

Arming an Illusion

After a decorous delay—brought on by Congressional distress with Saudi Arabia's failure to intercept the Iraqi jet which attacked the USS Stark—the Reagan Administration gave late notice of a new Saudi arms sale. This slice of 1987's \$2.3 billion Saudi Arabian weapons salami is for 1,600 Maverick-D air-to-ground missiles worth \$360 million.

Arguments for the latest deal are doubly flawed. In the first place, Mavericks are designed primarily for use by fighter planes against armored units, especially tanks. They would do nothing to enable the Saudis to help the United States defend Persian Gulf shipping in the post-Stark environment.

In the second place, they would not appreciably help Saudi Arabia defend itself from invading armored columns. The only two threats—Iraq and Iran—have their own tanks pointed at each other. Iran's armored corps is negligible; Iraq's funded in no small measure by the Saudis themselves. Curiously, the Administration has been telling members of Congress privately that Saudi Arabia needs the Mavericks to counter an Iraqi threat at the same time as the United States is tilting toward Iraq in the Gulf war.

Further, the image of Saudi Arabia as an inter-Arab or inter-Islamic force rests on the mirage of Saudi capability. Yet in 1979 the Kingdom reportedly required French commandos to clear the Grand Mosque in Mecca of fundamentalist insurgents. This year if anyone besides the Soviets are going to safeguard Gulf merchant vessels, it looks like Uncle

Sam will have to do it—even after \$29 billion worth of U.S. military sales to Riyadh since 1981, including 2,582 earlier-model Mavericks. (Israel has 900, Egypt 700, South Korea 200.) Saudi Arabia, an immensely wealthy but underpopulated, semi-feudal monarchy simply is not able to protect itself or others.

Tens of billions of dollars worth of American (and Western European) arms have failed to transform Saudi Arabia into a pro-Western regional power. They also have failed to win the Kingdom's support for the U.S.-sponsored Arab-Israeli peace process. They have not weaned the Saudis from continuing large-scale financial support of the PLO and the Syrians. They have not overcome royal opposition to U.S. bases on Saudi soil. And they cannot protect the dynasty of Saud from the real but intangible threat of Islamic fundamentalism. Only the defeat of Iran by Iraq or—more likely—a stalemate enforced by the United States can do that.

However, despite the Saudis' *singular* internal weaknesses, their massive weapons procurement program has increased the potential threat from *combined* enemy forces which Israel must plan for on its eastern front. Indeed, Saudi Arabia still insists that the main military threat it faces is neither Iran nor Iraq but Israel.

Not only the Administration but also our European friends should recognize Saudi Arabian realities—and stop arming that country as if it were a NATO nation facing the Warsaw Pact. □

VIEWING THE NEWS

Cutting a Deal?

"West Germany is nearing a final agreement with the Lebanese Shi'ite kidnappers of two German businessmen" that would exchange them for Mohammed Ali Hamadi—wanted by the United States for the 1985 TWA hijacking in which Navy diver Robert Stethem was murdered—and Hamadi's brother (*Washington Times*, June 2).

Hamadi was arrested at Frankfurt airport in January carrying explosives and a false passport. His brother, Abbas Hamadi, was arrested in Germany on suspicion of involvement in the businessmen's Beirut kidnapping. A third brother, Abdel Hadi Hamadi, reportedly is "a prominent member" of the Iranian-backed Hezbollah.

In Washington, diplomatic sources noted that West Germany has said there would be no deal, defining "deal" as an exchange of

the hostages for the Hamadi brothers. But the *Times* reported that Bonn might prosecute Mohammed Hamadi only for illegal weapons possession. A minimum sentence would allow him to be freed quickly.

Inquiry Authorized

Israel's Cabinet asked Supreme Court President Meir Shamgar to appoint a judicial inquiry commission to investigate the methods of the Shin Bet, the country's internal security, counter-terrorism force (*Kol Yisrael*, May 31). The move came after the court reversed the treason and espionage convictions of former Israeli Army officer Izat Nafsu, who had claimed that Shin Bet agents forced him to confess.

Foreign Minister Shimon Peres told the radio the next day that "there are no disagreements in Israel about the rule of law, to which we are all answerable," but added

that "the Shin Bet people defend the country. . . . These people have acted in our service and we should at least offer them justice."

Karami 'Syria's Man'

The assassination of veteran Lebanese Prime Minister Rashid Karami, a Sunni Moslem, "must definitely be regarded as an explicitly anti-Syrian act," said Uri Lubrani, coordinator of Israeli activities in Lebanon (*Kol Yisrael*, June 2). Anyone who served as "Syria's man" in the war-torn country would accumulate enemies of all types, Lubrani pointed out.

Initial claims of responsibility came from one caller who vowed to strike at all leaders who "betray" the nation, especially Maronite Christian President Amin Gemayel, and from a second who asserted that the assassination was retaliation for Syria's December massacre of Shi'ite Moslems. □

HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

Latest Saudi Arms Sale Opposed

Despite strong Congressional opposition, the Reagan Administration has notified Congress it plans to sell 1,600 Maverick-D air-to-ground missiles, valued at \$360 million, to Saudi Arabia.

The Administration did not respond to an earlier request by SENS. ROBERT DOLE (R-Kan.) and HOWARD METZENBAUM (D-Ohio) to Secretary of State George Shultz for consultation with Congress. In addition, the Administration did not give legislators the customary 20-day pre-notification. As a result, Congress had only 30 days, beginning May 29, to vote to disapprove the deal. Without passage of disapproval resolutions in both chambers, the sale will proceed.

SENS. ALAN CRANSTON (D-Calif.) and BOB PACKWOOD (R-Oreg.) and REPS. LARRY SMITH (D-Fla.), VIN WEBER (R-Minn.), and MEL LEVINE (D-Calif.) are leading bipartisan groups of colleagues in introducing identical resolutions of disapproval.

A majority of the Senate has already sponsored the resolution of disapproval (S.J. Res. 153):

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BACKGROUNDER

Disagreement Over Jerusalem's Status

Last month Secretary of State George Shultz outlined the official U.S. view that "all of the territories that were taken and occupied by Israel are subject to negotiation. As far as Jerusalem is concerned, we also have the view that there needs to be . . . a unified Jerusalem, not cut up, so we're not going back into two Jerusalems.

"But insofar as the nature and status and arrangements in that city are concerned, we think that in the end they have to be a matter of negotiation. . . . The same with the Golan Heights, and the same with the West Bank. That's what you have to sit down and talk about when you get to direct negotiations."

Shultz also said that the United States would put the 1982 Reagan initiative on the table "when we get to those face-to-face

negotiations," recognizing that "others will come with their own views and no doubt differing views." The Administration's plan—rejected by the Begin government, which was not consulted about it beforehand—proposed a West Bank and Gaza Strip Palestinian Arab entity confederated with Jordan.

Two days after Shultz's comments, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres observed that the Secretary merely had voiced "the traditional U.S. positions; there is nothing new in them. . . . We have always said the Reagan plan is not acceptable to us. We welcomed the Reagan [diplomatic] initiative, but not the [specifics of the] plan. On the matter of Jerusalem, there is absolutely nothing to talk about."

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir said

Shultz's remark that the United States would broach the President's initiative to an international conference on the Middle East was a worrisome novelty. Shamir stated that the plan meant the transfer of Judea, Samaria and Gaza to Jordan.

A major Israeli daily editorialized that in the context of the Shamir-Peres battle over a conference—the Foreign Minister promoting the idea and the Prime Minister opposing it—Shultz's remark "makes things more difficult for Peres. . . ." However, *Ma'ariv* also observed that if Jerusalem waited until its position was identical to Washington's before entering talks, "then we would have had to wait a long time and refuse to sit around the table even if the Arabs expressed their readiness to hold direct negotiations." □

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NEWS ANALYSIS

Fair Economic Winds

After two years of stabilization, the Israeli economy may have entered a period of growth, according to recent reports from Jerusalem. During 1986 Israel's gross domestic product rose by 2% with the private sector showing a 4% increase. These figures surprised the Central Bureau of Statistics which admitted that it had underestimated last year's growth.

Other good economic news included:

- The cost-of-living index registered a 2.2% per month rise in April but the economic ministries expect that inflation figures will be lower in coming months;
- The standard of living increased by 12% last year and continued to rise at the same pace during the first quarter of 1987;
- Unemployment declined from a high of 7.9% in mid-1986 to 5.7% during the first three months of 1987;
- A January devaluation of the shekel stimulated an increase in exports—although imports exceeded exports by \$1 billion during the first four months of 1987;
- Israel's foreign currency reserves have hit an unprecedented high and may reach \$6 billion by the end of the year;
- A U.S. government source said that the past nine months have seen a rise in the

purchase of investment goods.

Nevertheless, analysts maintain that while economic activity may have returned to "normal" levels, many structural problems must be overcome before large-scale economic growth can ensue.

Martin Ingall, a Boston-based economic analyst, explained that while these statistics may not reflect a structural change in the way Israelis do business, they may show that "the business sector is approaching critical mass—the point at which it is large enough to interact with itself and with foreign concerns. It may not be large enough to change the Israeli system quite yet, but it may be big enough to develop a new constituency for capitalism within Israel."

Since January, the Israeli government has engaged in a revolutionary effort to roll back its legacy of "quasi-socialist" involvement in the business sector and to stimulate private investment, according to Ingall. The government deregulated the capital market, sold some government-owned businesses and lowered taxes.

The most painful aspect of economic reform has been a reduction in the government's budget. While this has resulted in

the elimination of some waste, it has also cut into such vital areas as education and defense. Ingall said that the Israelis' willingness to make these sacrifices for stability and growth has enabled the country to emerge from the economic abyss, unlike Brazil and Argentina which have also instituted reforms in the past two years. In addition he credits long-term faith in the government and emergency U.S. economic aid for helping the turnaround.

U.S. officials had hoped that the Israeli government would introduce a balanced budget in 1987 and they continue to encourage reduced expenditures.

Israeli officials and Western economists are advising all sectors not to be carried away by the positive developments. In a recent speech to the Knesset, Finance Minister Moshe Nissim called upon manufacturers and labor unions to resist the desire to take advantage of growth and low inflation by raising wages and prices. Economists maintain that any event which might threaten public confidence in the government or the economy—such as an early election—could trigger renewed instability.

□

POLICY CONFERENCE

Lehman Found Respect Growing

Former Secretary of the Navy John Lehman told the recent American Israel Public Affairs Committee Policy Conference that during his six years at the helm, the U.S. Navy and the Israel Defense Forces developed "a genuinely, mutually beneficial relationship that has helped our Navy as much as we have helped the Israeli Defense Forces."

He added: "That is cause for a great deal of optimism for the future."

Lehman resigned his post earlier this year after presiding over one of the largest peacetime buildups in the Navy's history. He became Secretary of the Navy at the age of 38—one of the youngest men ever to hold the job—after serving on the senior staff of the National Security Council and as deputy director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. He is currently a defense consultant.

The former official said that the Pentagon's attitude toward Israel has changed from condescension to respect as person-to-person contacts have increased and cooperation has grown. Israeli pilots have gained tactical air support training at U.S. facilities and have shared the "lessons learned in their real world, fight-for-life environment" with U.S. pilots, Lehman said.

He added that a group of U.S. pilots will soon train in Israel. "It's opened up a whole new generation of young military officers on both sides that have strong personal relationships, a mutual professional respect, and now a first-hand knowledge and friendship [in place of that which] was much more detached before."

A pilot in the Navy reserves, Lehman said that he has flown several dogfights against Israeli Kfir aircraft which have been leased to the United States at no cost. Praising the plane's performance, he announced that a second group of 13 Kfirs will be leased to the United States and stationed on the West Coast this year.

While in office, Lehman established "an enormously beneficial relationship" between the Navy and Israeli defense contractors who, he said, "have what we do not: smallness and lack of bureaucratization." He noted over 15 cooperative naval programs between Israel and the United States, including:

- Night-vision equipment for helicopters;
 - Pioneer drone aircraft for battleships.
- "We have saved the taxpayer at least \$1 billion in avoiding having to reinvent the wheel," Lehman said.

Lehman lauded the Israeli Navy for its "virtually 100% success in keeping the sea-coast secure from attack" since the 1967 war, but cautioned that Israel's current equipment is not sufficient to meet the threat posed by new Soviet systems being introduced into the region. He said that the Soviets are providing their allies in the Middle East with diesel electric submarines and "special forces, guerrilla warfare, infiltration and sabotage equipment." Alluding to the bombing of the USS Stark, Lehman mentioned the "anti-ship threat that now is saturating the area" and warned "the Israeli Navy does not have modern generation equipment to deal with that."

To counter these new risks, Lehman advocated the early completion of two U.S.-Israel cooperative programs: the Saar Five surface combatant patrol boat and the Dolphin submarine.

Lehman expressed optimism over the future of the U.S.-Israel military relationship. "It is not going to be an easy road and it's not going to be a short road, but we have shown that there are very real gains in security that can be brought about if people will seize the opportunities and carry them out. . . ."

□

BACK PAGE

The World Changed

Twenty years ago this week Israel triumphed in the Six-Day War. The Middle East and, in some respects, the world beyond was transformed.

The story of the month leading up to the war has been retold countless times. It included Egypt's closing of the Straits of Tiran to Israeli shipping, its expulsion of U.N. peacekeepers from the Sinai and their replacement by its own army, and the mobilization of Egyptian, Syrian, Jordanian, Iraqi and Saudi Arabian forces along Israel's borders.

Arab leaders openly announced their goal of "wiping Israel off the map." Nevertheless President Johnson counseled patience, even after Israel's diplomatic efforts proved futile. The agonizing tension—which forced Jews in Israel and the diaspora to confront the possibility of a second Holocaust—was broken by a brilliant, desperate move.

Leaving only four French-built Mirages to protect its own airspace, Israel sent 188 combat aircraft against enemy airfields. Victory in the air opened the way to victory on the ground. By June 11 not only were enemy forces no longer within mortar range of Tel Aviv's suburbs and the Knesset in Jerusalem, but Israel had gained the Sinai Peninsula, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights, Judea and Samaria.

Some spoke of military genius, others of miracles—and some of both.

Of course immediately thereafter the propaganda mills started churning. Its enemies began their attempts to transform Israel's image from that of the David of the Middle East to Goliath. Arab aggression in the 1973 Yom Kippur War notwithstanding, the effort bore fruit in 1975 with passage of the U.N. General Assembly resolution equating Zionism with racism.

Also troubling, in a different way, is the difficulty some Israelis and friends of Israel have had in coming to terms with the results of 1967.

Journalist Andrew Meisels—who covered the war and has stayed in Israel since—wrote in the June 1 *Washington Times*: "The Six-Day War radically changed the geopolitical realities in the Middle East. It carried the seeds of another war—that of 1973."

Yet what sowed the seeds of the Yom Kippur War was not so much Israel's 1967 victory but the adoption by Arab leaders, meeting in Khartoum two months later, of the "three 'no's'": "... no peace with Israel, no negotiations with Israel [and] no recognition of Israel. . . ."

Michael Walzer, writing in *The New Republic* of June 8, was almost apologetic: "It still seems to me a just and necessary war," and "... the war was a war (as I believe) of

necessary self-defense. . . ." Such tentativeness lends indirect support to the myth that the Six-Day War was one of Israeli aggression.

Arthur Herzberg, writing in the May 28 issue of the *New York Review of Books*, pointed out that "throughout the centuries since the destruction of the Second Temple in the year 70, the physical existence of the Jews has depended on the good will of others. . . . In a very deep sense, the exile of the Jews, which had begun with the destruction of the Temple . . . ended in the Six-Day War.

"This victory 'cured' Jews of the shame of powerlessness. They were now admired among other nations, and they could admire themselves. . . ."

However, citing one of Ben-Gurion's last warnings—that the territorial fruits of victory could turn sour if Israel held on to them too long—Herzberg added: "It would, I now believe, have been better had the Six-Day War ended in a draw and not a series of stunning victories."

But in the game of historical what-if's, it seems plain that only an unqualified triumph like that of 1967 could have marked the Jews' emancipation from powerlessness to power—or, more accurately, Israel's escape from imminent peril to relative security. True, not all the euphoric visions of a mid-June 20 years ago have materialized. But shifting the focus from what did happen to what did not makes Walzer, and especially Herzberg's reexaminations, sound irritable. They imply without saying so that Israel had better alternatives then or in the years since.

It did not. And in its diplomatic search for peace it still must work in an environment fashioned largely by the Arabs. □

—E.R.

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NEAR EAST REPORT

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EDITORIAL

The Reality of Rhetoric

In its official resolutions—and in speeches by leaders as far apart as Jordan's King Hussein, Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak and Syria's President Hafez Assad—the Islamic Conference Organization (ICO) summit late last month called for an international Middle East peace conference. The United States and Israel oppose such a gathering, fearing it would become a propaganda forum for the radicals and obstruct, not assist, direct Arab-Israeli talks and a possible settlement of the conflict (*NER*, Feb. 2).

Nevertheless, stories persist that the Administration is considering Arab—especially Jordanian—entreaties for such a conference. Advocates of a policy flip-flop assert it would help restore U.S. credibility—damaged by the Iran arms sales—among relatively pro-Western Arab countries.

Yet the rhetoric of the ICO summit—and the political reality it stems from—casts doubt not only on the usefulness of an international conference but also on the readiness of even Arab moderates to prepare their countries and people for peace. This intertwined rhetoric and reality suggests that the Arab/Islamic world is not yet ready to view the Camp David Accords and the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty as a model for similar agreements.

Assad's abuse of Egypt at the ICO summit was no surprise. Neither was his pronouncement that "the Muslim cannot be with the Muslims and with the enemies of Muslims at the same time. . . . We must put an end to the existing relations between Israel and some Arab brothers."

But instead of delivering a response emphasizing the need for and benefits of peace, Mubarak did not debate Assad. Rather, he simply noted his disagreement and went on to stress the urgency of making peace between Iraq and Iran, "two fraternal Islamic countries," and the requirement of an international conference to oversee Israeli withdrawal from "occupied Arab territory"—including Jerusalem—and es-

tablishment of "Palestinian self-determination."

Back in Egypt, however, Mubarak gave a second speech in which he did reprimand Assad for criticizing Egypt. But he had told Assad, he said, that "Camp David is over anyway. What is there left now? Now we are resolving the issues on the basis of an international conference."

As for Hussein, the King accused "the alien Zionist occupation" of "relentlessly trying to erase all signs of Arab and Islamic presence in the area." He urged resolution of the Iraq-Iran war so that Islamic unity could be mobilized on behalf of "the liberation of Jerusalem and the occupied territories. . . ." He bolstered his remarks with the Koranic citation: "Who so fightest in the way of Allah be he slain or be he victorious, on him we shall bestow a vast reward."

Some analysts note that the ICO, like the Arab League, is divided and weak. They say that not too much should be made of *pro forma* rhetoric intended largely for "domestic consumption."

But that is just the problem. Appeals for Arab and Islamic unity continue to be based on the only common ground—hostility toward Israel. Inflammatory rhetoric "for domestic consumption" means that ruling elites, even in comparatively moderate Arab states, are afraid to prepare their people for the possibility of peace with Israel. The announcement from Egypt that "Camp David is over" belittles the only Middle East process to have achieved an Arab-Israel peace.

Radical pan-Arab politics—as exemplified by Syria—has exercised a veto over the peace process in the past. The fear of fundamentalist contagion has so paralyzed pro-Western states that radical pan-Islamic politics—as exemplified by Iran—may be gaining veto power also. In that environment, an international peace conference might well sound like the ICO summit.

□

VIEWING THE NEWS

Fatah Ship Captured

The Israeli Navy apprehended 50 Fatah terrorists packed aboard a small merchant ship bound for the Druze-controlled port of Khaldah in Lebanon. Israeli authorities identified at least eight Fatah "commanders" on board. The terrorists are currently being held and interrogated (*Kol Yisrael*, Feb. 7).

Israeli Navy Commander Rear Admiral

Avraham Ben-Shoshan explained that while these terrorists had met in Cyprus from around the world, the largest concentration is in Iraq. He added that Cyprus has become the central terrorist assembly and embarkation point for Lebanon. Israel has recently taken steps to shut down a sea route through the Christian-controlled port of Juniyah, forcing the terrorists to head for Druze-controlled Khaldah.

Hussein Meets Assad

Jordan's King Hussein met with Syrian President Hafez Assad last week in Damascus to discuss the current situation in Lebanon (Jordan Television, Feb. 10). In Washington, State Department officials asserted that Jordan needed to mobilize its I-Hawk anti-aircraft missile batteries to defend against a threat from Syria.

□

HEARD IN JERUSALEM

Behind the Hostage-Takings

Islamic Jihad, the group generally believed responsible for holding some of the longest-imprisoned American hostages in Lebanon—including Associated Press bureau chief Terry Anderson and Beirut American University administrator Thomas Sutherland—actually is part of “the security apparatus of the Hezbollah [Party of God] movement.” Israel Television reported recently that this group, “headed by a man named Imad Murniyah . . . hijacked the TWA plane to Beirut, blew up the headquarters of the U.S. Marines and the French with the help of suicide drivers, and are now dealing with kidnappings.”

Other recent stories report that additional Islamic fundamentalist terror groups in Lebanon—including the Revolutionary Justice Organization and the “Organization of the Oppressed of the Earth”—also may be Hezbollah offshoots or Hezbollah itself acting under different labels. The “Organization of the Oppressed” has claimed responsibility for the kidnappings and murders of at least four Lebanese Jews and the abduction of five more.

A newly-announced “Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine” last week demanded that Israel free 400 terrorist sus-

pects in exchange for the three American instructors and one Indian national with American residency kidnapped from Beirut University College late last month. Israel Television said that this outfit, probably affiliated with Syrian-backed anti-Arafat PLO groups, “jumped on the [hostage-taking] bandwagon driven by the Hezbollah movement through the so-called Islamic Jihad.”

“The Palestinians sense that the moment of truth is approaching, and they want to get part of the booty that may result from this wave of kidnappings,” the report added. Murniyah or some of his men “were in the past connected with the PLO during its [pre-1982] stay in Beirut. Now they are backed by Iran, which two years ago compelled the Hezbollah splinter factions to unite. They receive their orders from Iran and take care not to get too close to the Syrians.”

Questions surfaced quickly in Israel about rumored contacts for a three-way exchange to involve hundreds of terrorist suspects, the four instructors and one captured Israeli flier presumably held in Lebanon. They were fueled in part by memories of the much-criticized exchange of 1,150 terrorists and suspects—including

convicted murderers—for three Israeli soldiers in 1985. A number of those released by Israel subsequently were re-arrested for new acts of terrorism.

“Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine” demanded the freedom of Palestinian Arabs. But many of those held in south Lebanon by the Israeli-backed South Lebanon Army (SLA) apparently were Lebanese Shi’ites. They were captured by the SLA and Israel Defense Forces (IDF) in anti-terrorist sweeps in and near Israel’s security zone in southernmost Lebanon.

Hezbollah reportedly sometimes has fought alongside the PLO in the latter’s continuing “camps war” against the more mainstream, Syrian-supported Shi’ite Amal militia.

At the bottom of many Islamic Jihad-Hezbollah actions is the demand for release of 17 terrorists—apparently related to their Lebanese colleagues by blood as well as belief—jailed in Kuwait for fatal attacks on U.S., French and other installations. The United States has said repeatedly that it will not pressure Kuwait to free the terrorists. And Israeli sources in Washington said that the United States had not asked Israel to meet the latest demands. □

BACKGROUNDER

Israel Named Major Non-NATO Ally

A new phase in U.S.-Israel relations began recently as Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and Secretary of State George Shultz officially designated Israel a major non-NATO ally as recommended by Congress. Also named were Egypt, Australia, Japan and the Republic of Korea.

While Israel has long been viewed as a strategic partner of the United States, this measure includes Israel in a select group of important allies. A result of this political statement is that Israel will now be entitled to some of the benefits now enjoyed by NATO allies. Two specific areas important to Israel are cooperative research and development, and joint military productions. As one observer put it, “This does not guarantee Israel special benefits, but provides opportunities to compete on a level playing field with formal U.S. allies in strategic development and cooperation.”

This year, U.S. military assistance to Israel, not affected by the new designation, is

\$1.8 billion.

In granting the new status, the U.S. government acknowledged Israel’s strategic value to the United States and the sophistication of its defense industry. Weinberger advised Congress that Israel, like other major non-NATO allies, “represents a unique and strategic U.S. interest [that] . . . currently utilizes a wide range of U.S. systems and technology which it is in our long-term interest to improve and modernize.” Furthermore, Israel “has the ability currently to contribute to U.S. conventional defense modernization through an established, sophisticated and innovative research and development base.”

Senators Sam Nunn (D-Ga.), John Warner (R-Va.) and Dan Quayle (R-Ind.) and Representatives Les Aspin (D-Wis.) and Jim Courter (R-N.J.) sponsored several pieces of legislation that made strategic cooperation a reality. The major non-NATO ally designation must be renewed annually.

Although this designation does not formally bind Israel and the United States in a mutual defense treaty, one Capitol Hill observer points out that the two nations have long assisted one another in times of trouble: “Israel has demonstrated time and time again its willingness to come to the assistance of the United States, whether through intelligence or political support.”

“The U.S. spends over \$86 billion every year to provide security in Europe and another \$30 billion in the Pacific and Far East. Israel defends U.S. and Western interests in the eastern Mediterranean for a fraction of that. This new designation recognizes Israel as the ally it is.”

An Egyptian official in Washington said that this new designation would not affect Egypt’s status as a member of the Non-Aligned Movement. Members are not to belong to any military bloc or permit foreign bases on their soil. □

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NEWS ANALYSIS

Preview of Shamir Visit

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir is in Washington this week for the first time since resuming the Prime Minister's office last October. It is also the first time the Israeli leader has visited the United States since the disclosure of the U.S.-Iran arms deal. Shamir will discuss a wide range of bilateral issues with top Administration officials.

During his visit, the Prime Minister will have a private meeting with President Reagan and attend a working luncheon with the President and his chief aides. Shamir also will meet with Secretary of State George Shultz and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger.

Shamir's trip comes at a time when the Administration is trying to reestablish Middle East policy and rebuild credibility with pro-Western Arab states. Jordan and the Persian Gulf states are particularly nervous in light of recent Iranian military gains and the potential for an Iranian victory in the war with Iraq. Washington has sought to reassure these states by sending warships to the eastern Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf, and by recommending the sale of military equipment. The Administration already has informed Congress that it advocates the sale of 100 laser-guided artillery shells to Jordan, 12 F-16 fighter-bombers to Bahrain and 200 armored personnel carriers to Saudi Arabia.

In addition, State Department officials have confirmed that the United States is considering permitting modification of Jordan's American-built I-Hawk anti-aircraft missile batteries to make them mobile. The

batteries originally were placed in fixed positions so as not to threaten Israel. It is reported that the Administration is looking into selling Saudi Arabia military helicopters and electronic countermeasures for F-5 and F-15 fighter planes.

Shamir will seek the Administration's assurance that Israel's position will not be endangered as the United States attempts to woo Arab countries.

The Prime Minister will be able to report on progress his country has made toward instituting a new economic plan—based partly on the recommendations of the U.S.-Israel Joint Economic Development Group. He also may discuss the proposed restructuring of Israel's foreign military sales debts to the United States.

Although Washington sources agree that the peace process has taken a back seat to the Iran-Iraq war in policymaking circles, the process will nonetheless be on the agenda. In a recent interview with Israeli television, Shamir reiterated his opposition to the idea of an international conference saying, "I do not think it would serve in the interests of peace. I think it would only worsen relations between us and our neighbors, that it would put us in a trap from which we would have a hard time escaping. What we are offering . . . is the way of direct negotiations between us and our neighbors."

But Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres has been considering convening an international conference or "umbrella" for direct negotiations, if that would get Jordan's King Hussein and

non-PLO Palestinian Arabs to move. Officially the United States has "major problems" with the concept of an international conference, but it recognizes the interest of such Arab nations as Jordan and is "looking into the possibility"—if problems of its composition and its relation to direct negotiations could be resolved. Some observers indicate that the United States currently favors an international conference to demonstrate its continued commitment to the peace process, and to appease Arab states which have long favored this type forum instead of bilateral talks with Israel.

In addition, Shamir may discuss quality-of-life improvements for West Bank and Gaza Strip residents. And in his meeting with the Secretary of Defense, Shamir may examine how best to apply the recently signed agreement designating Israel a major non-NATO ally.

Reports from Washington and Jerusalem also indicate that Israel and the Soviet Union may be on the road toward improving relations. A resumption of diplomatic relations between them could remove one stumbling block toward an international conference. But Israel has said it will not resume relations with the Soviets until they relax emigration restrictions on Soviet Jews. In this connection, Shamir has said that he will tell U.S. officials that Soviet Jews should not be considered "homeless" for purposes of immigration. "I think that the Jews leaving the Soviet Union on the basis of Israeli visas have a homeland . . ." he said. □

—J.R.

HEARD IN WASHINGTON

Prayer Breakfast Honors Israel

More than 1,000 Christian evangelicals—blacks and whites—joined several hundred Jews to honor Israel at the National Religious Broadcasters' (NRB) sixth annual National Prayer Breakfast. U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese; Israel's ambassador to the United States, Meir Rosenne; and 16 Senators and Representatives shared the platform with a number of evangelical leaders.

Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.), breakfast co-chairman, said that in honoring Israel and its "special relationship" with the United States, Americans "reaffirm the spiritual, moral and political qualities of life in the United States. We are proud to have stood by our ally in the past, and we will be proud to stand by her today and in the future."

Sen. Albert Gore (D-Tenn.) accentuated the strategic benefits of a strong bilateral

alliance. "Israel," he said, "is our strongest ally and best friend. . . . She will remain strong and grow. The bonds between us transcend political issues on which we may differ."

The Vice President of the Religious Round Table, Dr. Charles Mims, cautioned the audience against "blind acceptance" of "inaccurate, exaggerated media accounts" depicting estrangement in the black-Jewish coalition. "The fact is that the Jewish-black relationship is stronger than ever," Mims said. "No two peoples have been more mistreated than these two communities. . . . We stand together in fighting our mutual enemy of evil prejudice and anti-Semitism."

Mims and other black leaders denounced an attempt by members of the self-described Black Hebrews to disrupt the

event. Members of the cult forced their way into the auditorium just before the breakfast, scattered anti-Israel leaflets and overturned tables. Following their arrest, NRB Executive Director Ben Armstrong issued a statement describing the Black Hebrews' protest as intimidation.

The breakfast meeting was the largest of the six such annual events. The public display of support for Israel among the top echelons of the Christian fundamentalist community came a few weeks after the release of a study by the Anti-Defamation League which found that most American Christians do not "consciously use their deeply-held Christian faith and convictions as justification for anti-Semitic views of Jews." □

BACK PAGE

Pushing Policy Through News

January included Cardinal O'Connor's controversial Middle East trip, filing of sentencing documents on confessed spy Jonathan Pollard and his wife, and release of the Senate Intelligence Committee's report on the U.S.-Iran arms deal—each with an important Israeli angle. So one hardly could expect a flood of good news last month about the Jewish state.

Nevertheless, the sheer quantity of stories which appeared in January in the *Washington Post* was staggering. Obliging, the paper explained why in a series of editorials.

As noted here in a Nov. 17 column, "Facts Out of Context," the *Post* is the capital's preeminent news outlet. What it covers, and how, helps shape debates on domestic and foreign policy.

Statistically, the paper ran 41 news stories, three columns and three editorials exclusively or predominately about Israel. The news stories, of course, varied greatly in length and placement, but with the commentaries they amounted to roughly one-and-a-half items per day. These pieces occupied a total of 934 column inches—the equivalent of nearly eight-and-a-half full pages of type, not counting headlines or pictures.

In the same two sections—the "A" or hard news section and the business pages—the *Post* in January printed eight stories and two columns about Japan. These totaled 258 column inches, or a little more than one-fourth the coverage allotted to Israel.

Legitimate Questions

Before someone points out the obvious—that Japan did not help the United States ship arms to Iran and so is not likely to be featured in stories about the investigations, it should be noted that even without them Jerusalem got twice the coverage given to Tokyo. It is legitimate to ask whether items such as four consecutive stories related to the sentencing of Pollard, multiple updates on O'Connor and a lengthy feature on a group of dislocated Palestinian Arabs overshadow U.S.-Japanese relations, including issues of historic trade deficits, the value of the dollar, and jobs.

Certainly many of the stories about Israel were justified by events. But the tone of the coverage, including headlines and display—if not the substance—suggests that it is Israel itself, not just the news, which is at issue. Why, for example, did largely unrelated photos of Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres appear four times in stories about Israel and the Iran arms deal while photographs of perhaps the two key figures—fired U.S. National Security staffer

Lt. Col. Oliver North and former National Security Adviser Vice Adm. John Poindexter—appeared twice and once, respectively?

Additionally, the flood of Israeli news was not as unrelievedly one-sided as a *Post* reader might have been led to believe. In January Israel's unions, management and politicians vigorously debated and the Cabinet hammered together phase two of an economic reform program, but the paper did not cover it. Nor did the *Post* mention the Sedom conference, at which a U.S. delegation including former Vice President Mondale and several members of Congress spent three days with leading Israelis, examining the success of the latter's embattled democracy. (See *NER*, Feb. 9, for coverage of both stories.)

In an article entitled, "The Focus on Israel," which appeared in the Feb. 1 *New York Times* magazine, reporter Thomas Friedman noted that "because of its long and sacred history, and its own actions, Israel constantly has been front-page news." It may well be true that the uniqueness of the Jewish state means that coverage of it also will be unique.

But that uniqueness does not completely explain *Washington Post* reporting about and from Israel. The paper's Middle East foreign policy opinions cannot be ignored. The *Post* made these clear in three editorials, one in December and two last month. In each the paper argued that American foreign aid suffers from "maldistribution"—too much goes to Israel and Egypt.

The paper's judgment of news about Israel seems to reflect editorial opinion. Taken as a whole, its coverage presents the country as a too-expensive problem, not as the strategic ally and fellow democracy it is.

—E.R.

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