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NEAR EAST REPORT

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★ ISRAEL + SOI p. 78

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

VOL. XXX, NO. 20 MAY 19, 1986

EDITORIAL

The Syrian Connection

Both Secretary of State George Shultz and Deputy Secretary John Whitehead assert that the United States "has no reason to doubt" that Syria was behind the Apr. 17 attempt to blow up an El Al passenger plane over Europe. There is, essentially, no room for doubt. Nezar Hindawi, a Jordanian charged with the crime by British authorities, says that he was trained in Damascus, was issued a Syrian passport and was escorted to London by a Syrian intelligence officer on a Syrian plane. He also says that he met with and was personally briefed by the Syrian ambassador to Great Britain, Luftalah Haydar, prior to embarking on his mission of murder. He also states that his brother, Ahmad Nawaf Mansour Hasi, was acting as a Syrian agent when he took part in the Apr. 5 bombing of a Berlin nightclub that took the life of an American soldier. West German authorities agree.

Hindawi's confession is tantamount to finding a smoking gun in the possession of the Syrian government. For years, Syrian involvement in international terrorism has been well known. Damascus openly backs the Abu Musa wing of the PLO and the Abu Nidal faction. Its Iranian and Lebanese Shi'ite operatives in Lebanon appear to have been behind the suicide bombings that killed hundreds of Americans, French and Israelis in Lebanon since 1983. However, until now there has been no single piece of evidence as damning as the Hindawi confession.

The question now arises as to what the United States and our allies are going to do about it. Secretary Shultz, speaking on the *Today* show, refused to acknowledge that Syria's involvement in terror is as blatant as Libya's. He detects a difference between the Libyan government, which "bragged about terrorism" and the Syrian government, which denies responsibility for the El Al attack. There is no difference. First, Hafez Assad recently told West Germany's foreign

minister that his government would continue to encourage terrorism against Israel. Second, rhetorical denials don't count for a thing. If 390 airline passengers, including many Americans, had died in the Apr. 17 incident, no one would argue that Syria should bear no consequences because—despite the evidence—it disclaimed responsibility. Most murderers deny participation in the act. If the evidence says something else, then so what.

The main difference between Libya and Syria is that Syria is a far more dangerous nation than Libya. Not only is it militarily strong but it is backed by the Soviet Union to an extent far beyond the backing Moscow provides Libya. Moreover, Syria is not a fringe state in the Arab world. It is a major Middle East player and is often viewed as Arab nationalism's capital.

There is another complicating element. The Syrian-Israeli border may be on the verge of new hostilities. Damascus has been issuing war threats and has moved 25,000 troops from Lebanon to bases on the Syrian side of the Golan Heights. Hafez Assad says that his goal is to take the Heights away from Israel as a first step on his march south to Haifa. Israel, for its part, is trying to calm the situation. It certainly does not want a war with Syria. And the United States does not want to see a Syrian-Israeli war either.

None of these considerations argue for U.S. timidity in the face of Syrian terrorism. The United States government has said that nations backing terror will pay the price. The Syrians have now been caught redhanded. They, and not their junior partners in Libya, have been exposed as international terror's kingpins. This, then, is no time for Washington to issue disclaimers for the Syrians. The Administration should, instead, utilize this opportunity to let Damascus know that it is playing a very dangerous game. If it continues to instigate and support terrorism, it will face serious consequences. Syria, like Libya, is not immune. □

VIEWING THE NEWS

Mubarak's Views

Egyptian President Mubarak "called on Syrian President Assad to withdraw the Syrian forces from Lebanon" (Middle East News Agency, May 9). Citing Mubarak's statement to the French paper, *Le Matin*, MENA reported that the Egyptian leader "reasserted the need for recognizing the Palestinian people's right to self-determination within the framework of a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation."

Mubarak said recognition of Palestinian rights "will deprive certain countries of the opportunity to exploit the Palestinian issue for their own self interest." He noted contradictions in Assad's recent statements. "He said in Yugoslavia recently that this problem must be solved peacefully but, when he returned to Syria, he again stressed that force is the only means. . . . Frankly speaking, I cannot understand what the Syrian President wants. If he is sincere, he can easily cooperate."

New Editor

M.J. Rosenberg, editor of *Near East Report* since 1982, is leaving in July to become Director of the American Jewish Committee's office in Washington, D.C. He will succeed Hyman Bookbinder who is retiring after 20 years.

Eric Rozenman, assistant editor of *NER* since 1984, has been appointed editor. Rozenman, a native of Ohio, comes to the editor's position with extensive background both in journalism and on Capitol Hill.

PERSPECTIVE

Syrian Moves, Saudi Arms

Israeli and U.S. diplomats in Washington last week played down reports of heightened Israeli-Syrian tension after disclosure of Syrian-constructed protective earthworks for tanks and artillery close to the Israeli-supported security zone in southern Lebanon. Revelation of the work—and improvements on the Syrian Golan Heights—came about a week after the meeting between President Hafez Assad and Jordan's King Hussein. An Israeli observer doubted whether that meeting had any connection with Syria's fortifications or that Amman had agreed to any military cooperation with Damascus.

The *Jerusalem Post* reported that Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy asked Assad, at Israel's request, to dismantle the as yet unoccupied fortifications. While not confirming the story, State Department Spokesman Charles Redman said on May 13 that during Murphy's most recent visit to the region—a month ago—"it would have been natural for him to discuss questions concerning local tensions. He added that Washington had "no reason to believe that an outbreak of hostilities was imminent."

Nevertheless, Ze'ev Schiff, the noted military correspondent for *Ha'aretz*, wrote that "the Syrians have marched to the brink

and taken steps that go beyond normal defense precautions. Steps that may already be called provocation." He cited possible Syrian involvement in the attempt to bomb an El Al airliner last month, continued support for Lebanese Shi'ite and Iranian terrorists in Lebanon, and installation of a radar facility on Jebel Baruk in Lebanon after Israel withdrew from the mountain. The radar installation apparently violated a tacit understanding.

Israeli leaders took care last week to avoid adding to a "war psychology," and noted that Syria had not staged a buildup of troops and equipment along the Golan or in southern Lebanon. They accused the PLO of spreading rumors of an Israeli strike against Syria to build up tension, similar to Arab incitement which preceded the 1967 Six-Day War.

A well-informed Congressional source said that Syria will "press to see what the limit is," and said he believed that "some fairly strong signals are being sent" from Israel. He suggested that Damascus, seeking to protect its general military buildup from an Israeli preemptive strike, might have engineered tension over the fortifications—in the hope that, to calm the atmosphere, Israel would declare its intention not to attack. Another U.S. analyst as-

serted that the Assad regime cannot know where its probing might lead but—believing Israel extremely reluctant to go to war—sees only opportunities for gain.

Israeli and American sources doubted much of substance occurred during the two days of meetings between Assad and Hussein. A gap between the two remains over the Iraq-Iran war, with Jordan supporting Iraq and Syria backing Iran; over relations with Egypt, which Jordan restored and Syria opposes; and over the PLO. Chairman Yasir Arafat presents a different problem for each head of state. Assad believes that Arafat is too independent and likely to compromise; Hussein sees him as untrustworthy and unwilling to compromise.

Also last week, the White House promised that President Reagan would lobby hard to sustain a promised veto over Congressional disapproval of the \$354 million Saudi missile sale. The Senate voted 73 to 22 and the House 356 to 62 in favor of a resolution of disapproval. Sen. Majority Leader Robert Dole (R-Kans.) said that the Administration will concentrate on getting enough Senators to change their votes so that sale opponents would fall short of the two-thirds majority necessary to override a veto. Both chambers must override the veto to prevent the sale from going ahead.

Israel and S. D. I.

Israel has become the third country—after Great Britain and West Germany—to accept Washington's invitation to participate in the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative [SDI]. Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin and U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger signed an agreement on May 6 enabling Israel to compete in "star wars" research on an equal footing with U.S. firms.

"Our part will be modest," Rabin later explained, "but in such a huge research and development program there are items . . . that can serve our defense needs which have nothing to do with space."

In addition, Israel would like to develop a defense against the Soviet SS-21 tactical ballistic missiles supplied to Syria (*NER*, Apr. 15, 1985). These short-range, lower and slower flying rockets may be the first against which practical defenses can be constructed.

Further, U.S.-supported SDI research

represents a new source of funds at a time when foreign aid levels may be stagnating and Israel continues to cut its defense budget as part of the economic reform program. Rabin said that he thinks research done for SDI will strengthen Israel's scientific and technological bases. He told *Kol*

Yisrael that "work has been done in Israel in spheres such as modern communications, computers, laser beams and electromagnetic cannons. We have the beginnings of an infrastructure in these spheres, but development is limited by lack of resources."

Aid Comes Home

A recent Government Accounting Office (GAO) report indicates that most U.S. foreign aid is actually spent in the United States, on the purchase of American goods and services, wages and other payments to American businesses. The GAO, which is Congress' investigatory arm, looked into fiscal year 1984 foreign aid spending at the request of Rep. DAVID OBEY (D-Wis.), chairman of the House Appropriations Foreign Operations Subcommittee.

Of the \$5.7 billion in military assistance that Congress approved for fiscal 1984—including \$1.7 billion for Israel—nearly \$5.5 billion was spent in the United States. The remaining \$250 million was used in Israel for research and development of Israel's home-built Lavi fighter aircraft.

New York, California, and Pennsylvania were the main beneficiaries of U.S. foreign military assistance, with nearly \$500 million in military contracts. McDonnell Douglas Corp. and General Dynamics Corp. landed 29% of the contracts.

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M. J. Rosenberg, Editor Eric Rozenman, Assistant Editor

Abby J. Stavitsky, Associate Editor Esther Chesney, Assistant I. L. Kenen, Editor Emeritus

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HEARD IN WASHINGTON

Rabin Details Diplomatic Hurdles

There is still a long way to go to expand the peace between Israel and Egypt to include other Arab states, Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin said on his recent U.S. visit. He reiterated his belief that strengthening Israel's peace with Egypt should have "highest priority. . . . We shouldn't take it for granted."

In a May 7 talk to reporters and Middle East specialists at the American Enterprise Institute, a Washington think-tank, Rabin said that Cairo and Jerusalem were close to agreeing on the terms of reference arbitrators will use to decide the Taba border dispute. When that is resolved, "the normalization agreements will be implemented" and Egypt will return its ambassador to Israel.

Given Syria's hostility to making peace and the anarchy prevalent in Lebanon, only Jordan remains of Israel's immediate neighbors as a possible candidate for peace talks, the Defense Minister observed. Rabin noted that in breaking off diplomatic efforts with Yasir Arafat last February, King Hussein concluded "that the PLO is the obstacle" hindering talks between Jordanian-Palestinian and Israeli delegations. Nevertheless, Hussein fears to enter negotiations alone. "The reason there is no advance toward peace is the lack of a partner ready to negotiate with us," Rabin said.

He asserted that Jordan made a mistake in "neglecting to develop the infrastructure in the West Bank and Gaza" which would have generated political support for Hus-

sein. After the King's break with Arafat, Hussein called for new Palestinian Arab leadership in the territories. But enthusiasm for the split with the PLO was limited; in addition, Zafer al-Masri, the moderate Israeli-appointed mayor of Nablus, was assassinated. According to Rabin, the King "suffered a setback," having first raised expectations by working with Arafat, then dashing them and finding himself without a strong following among local leaders.

Such leaders are necessary for meaningful talks between Israel and a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, Rabin said. But terrorism from various PLO groups and doubts about Hussein have deterred their participation. Before negotiations take place, Jordan must create stronger ties to leaders in the West Bank and Gaza—a process that might take several more years, Rabin said. But "whoever tries to find shortcuts will create more tension and disappointment and frustration."

Asked whether Israel should permit new municipal elections in the administered territories, Rabin asked "where in 21 Arab countries is there an elected mayor? None." He said Israel allowed local elections in 1976 but they were "conducted under the threat of the [terrorists'] revolver." In new elections, "whoever exercises terrorism will win."

Former Sen. Charles Percy (R-Ill.), while noting that Israel did not actively fight the Saudi missile sale, suggested that Congress' defeat of the proposal might harm the

U.S. relationship with "moderate and conservative Arab governments." But the Defense Minister reiterated Israel's longstanding opposition to the sale of arms to Arab countries "which declare that they are in a state of war with us."

Rabin also pointed to Saudi disagreement with Washington over Libyan support for terrorism and Riyadh's funding of the PLO—including the faction led by Mohammed Abbas, who recently vowed to attempt terrorist acts in the United States itself. "You can say that Saudi Arabia finances Abbas. . . . Why not ask [the Saudis], 'Don't at least finance the one involved in the Achille Lauro hijacking. . . . and the man who carries out threats. . . . also against the President of the United States.'"

A former Prime Minister and ambassador to the United States, Rabin said that Israel's focus on Syrian involvement in state-sponsored terrorism does not contradict American efforts against Libya. For Israel, "Syria is closer and combines two levels of threats," those from terrorism and those from conventional military action. With Egypt "out of the cycle of war" and Iraq bogged down in its war against Iran, Syria alone looms as a major Arab state which can initiate war against Israel, in Rabin's view. He said he hoped Damascus understood that even if it surprises Israel tactically with an outbreak of fighting, "in the long run they are not a match for us."

—E.R. □

PERSPECTIVE

Syria's New Submarines

The Syrian navy, which got its first two submarines late last year, has contracted with the Soviet Union for three more, according to an Israeli source. "[Additional] crews are already training in the Soviet Union now," he asserted.

Israel's navy has three submarines and hopes to replace them with an equal number of newer model diesels early in the next decade (*NER*, Jan. 6, 1986). Most of Israel's population lives along the Mediterranean coast and the country's industries depend on imported raw materials. The technologically advanced navy protects the coast and the sea lanes to the ports of Haifa and Ashdod.

The source said that Syria's expanded navy, including the submarine force, "is a new element to watch" in Damascus' military buildup. Since June 1982 the Syrians have received \$4 billion worth of Soviet hardware and enlarged their standing

armed forces from 242,500 to more than 400,000 troops. [A May 7 *Wall Street Journal* article reporting on Syria's military buildup said that Israeli and American experts fear "the risk of a war between Syria and Israel is higher now than at any other time in the past decade."]

The Syrian interest in submarines may stem from a realization of their special advantages in the Mediterranean. "The sea is a paradise for submarines from a professional point of view," the analyst said. Layers of water of different temperature and the relatively high level of "noise" from crowded shipping routes make sub detection more difficult in the Mediterranean than in the open ocean.

Submarines can be used for laying mines, which could pose a threat to operations from the Israeli navy's main bases at Haifa and Ashdod, the analyst noted. Israel also maintains a small facility at the Red

Sea port of Eilat and a naval presence on the Gulf of Eilat. Syria's navy is based largely at the northeastern Mediterranean ports of Latakia, Tartus, Baniyas and Minat al-Baida.

An American military expert added that the Syrians might hope to use submarines as "spotters" for "Sepal" shore-to-sea missiles. These have a range of approximately 180 miles.

According to *The Middle East Military Balance, 1984*, published by Tel Aviv University's Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Israel's navy then numbered 74 combat vessels—mostly patrol and missile boats. The Syrian navy is estimated to have 39 combat vessels, 20 of them received since 1983. Four new Soviet missile corvettes to be armed with improved Styx sea-to-sea missiles with a maximum range of 45 miles are on order.

—E.R. □

BACK PAGE

Back to Basics?

Washington Post columnist William Raspberry wants the United States to get "back to basics" in the Middle East. For him, the key "basic" is an obvious one: "the homelessness of the Palestinians." As far as he is concerned, Palestinian "homelessness" is the cause of international terrorism. Even further, he asserts that it was "the action taken by a guilt-ridden world to make a home for the Jews [that] left the Palestinians homeless."

There is so much wrong with Raspberry's formulation that it is difficult to know where to begin. First, perhaps, is his mistaken view that a "guilt-ridden world" established Israel. On the contrary, Israel was established by the Jews of Palestine who—after 60 years of developing their ancestral homeland—declared independence 38 years ago.

The State of Israel—like all the other newly independent states of the post-colonial era—was established by its own people. Independence was won after a decade-long struggle with the colonial power, Great Britain (which backed the Arabs), and after hurling back invaders from a half-dozen Arab states. A "guilt-ridden world" embargoed arms to the Jews and quietly readied obituaries for the still-born Jewish nation. It didn't turn out that way but only because of Jewish military power, not thanks to anyone's sympathy.

The problem with Raspberry's view is that it denies Israel legitimacy as a nation. It relegates Israel to that small (in fact, non-existent) category of nations created by guilt. Israel can then be denied the respect given to countries like India, Algeria, and those in most of Africa which threw off the colonial yoke. ~~Instead it can be dismissed as the creation of colonialists, a view which contradicts history and trivializes the deaths of the 6,000 Israelis in the 1948-1949 War of Independence.~~

Another thing wrong with Raspberry's thesis is his acceptance of the idea of Palestinian homelessness. Raspberry does not seem to know that the majority of Palestinian Arabs never left Palestine. Palestine—which never existed as a separate political entity—is a geographic area that includes all of Israel, the West Bank, the Gaza strip, and the Kingdom of Jordan. Jordan was only separated from Palestine by a British edict in 1922 but was before that—and remains—a part of Palestine. It is in those four areas—Israel, the West Bank, Gaza, and Jordan—that the overwhelming majority of Palestinians live.

It is true that the Palestinian Arabs do not have an independent state of their own. However, Palestinian Arabs inside Israel have the full rights of citizenship there.

West Bank and Jordanian Palestinians are citizens of Jordan and are represented in the Jordanian parliament. They were denied the right of statehood when the Arab states rejected the United Nations Partition Plan of 1947 which called for a Palestinian state alongside Israel and forfeited a chance at self-rule when they rejected the 1978 Camp David plan which promised West Bank autonomy. Israel, which accepted both the Palestinian state of the partition plan and Camp David, should not be blamed for mistakes made by the Arabs.

But the most blatant error in Raspberry's thinking is his belief that the condition under which Palestinians live produces international terrorism. Can he really believe that Muammar Qaddafi or Abu Nidal acts out of concern for the Palestinian people? And if he doesn't, then how can he believe that "solving" the Palestinian problem will make terrorism go away. The simple fact is that it won't. Much terrorism in the Arab-Israeli context is, in fact, conducted by radicals who want to block a political settlement.

The only way to deal with terrorism is to implement protective security measures at home and abroad. Embassies and other U.S. offices abroad should be made as secure as possible. On those occasions where terrorists succeed in pulling off an act of carnage, the United States should respond as President Reagan responded to Qaddafi. As far as the Palestinians are concerned, their problem must be dealt with. They have been given a raw deal by history and by virtually all the players in the Mideast, starting with their own leaders. Still, a solution must be found that allows them justice and Israel its legitimate rights including security. That solution is certainly not being advanced by terrorism. —M.J.R. □

The Mission to Israel for Political Activists

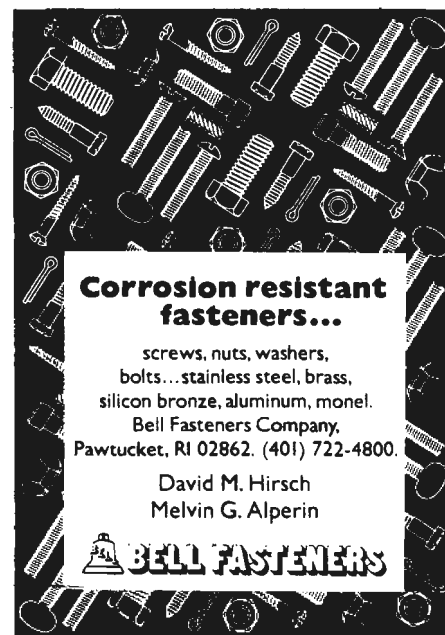
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WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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EDITORIAL

Congress Speaks

The overwhelming Congressional vote against the \$354 million missile sale to Saudi Arabia speaks for itself. The United States Congress simply does not buy the argument that Riyadh is a reliable and worthy ally of the United States. Congress has chosen, instead, to look at the record. During the past five years, the Saudis have opposed the Camp David peace process, the 1982 Reagan Plan, the 1983 U.S.-brokered Lebanon-Israel pact, the Jordanian-Israeli dialogue and the U.S. retaliation against Libya. They have supported the PLO, Syrian domination of Lebanon and the Arab world's continuing ostracism of Egypt. Examining that unambiguous record, the Congress sees Saudi Arabia for what it is: not a promoter of peace but a leading obstacle to it.

That is why it voted against the Saudi arms deal. And that is why it should look very carefully at the delivery of five AWACS surveillance planes to Riyadh which is scheduled for later this year.

Back in 1981, the Reagan Administration—after a bruising battle with Congressional opponents—succeeded in convincing the Senate that the Saudis should have the five AWACS. The Administration argued that Saudi Arabia was a supporter of U.S. policy goals in the Middle East. In fact, in pursuit of Senate approval of the sale, the Administration promised that the AWACS delivery would only commence if the Saudis offered “substantial assistance” to the Arab-Israeli peace process. That promise was included in a letter from the President to the Senate Majority Leader. It was enough to put the sale over.

Now delivery of the AWACS looms. Despite the President's pledge, the Saudis remain stalwart opponents of Israel and of the peace process in general. They maintain their support for both the PLO and the Libyans. In short, the promises made at the time of the AWACS sale are not being kept. The next step is up to Congress. □

VIEWING THE NEWS

Unrest in Syria

A newspaper in the United Arab Emirates claimed that “Syrian Vice President Abdal Halim Khaddam was wounded in an assassination attempt . . . in Damascus last week” (*Al-Ittihad*, May 4). The paper said that “Khaddam's driver was killed in the incident and that two others were wounded.” It did not say how serious Khaddam's wounds were but that he was admitted to a hospital.

Another news outlet, citing diplomatic sources in Damascus, reported that demonstrations in the Syrian cities of Tartus and Latakia called for the return of Rifaat Assad—another of Syria's three vice presidents and brother of President Hafez Assad (*Voice of Lebanon*, May 3). The Christian-backed radio claimed that the demonstrations followed tensions between Rifaat Assad and Khaddam, including efforts by Khaddam to keep Rifaat Assad away and pushing others to assassinate him.

Jordan-Syria Ties

In connection with Syrian President Hafez Assad's first visit to Jordan in nine years, Syrian authorities released 12 Jordanian prisoners; Jordan responded by freeing three Syrians (*Sawt Al-Sha'b*, May 5). The two days of talks between Assad and Jordan's King Hussein ended without the release of a joint communique, but Jor-

dan's information minister said the sessions had been positive (Reuters, May 6).

Assad's Amman trip capped a series of visits including meetings between the foreign ministers of the two countries in Saudi Arabia and a journey by Hussein to Damascus in December. Saudi Arabia has mediated a Jordanian-Syrian conflict, over which they almost went to war in 1980. The two still disagree on the Iraq-Iran war, with Jordan backing Iraq, Syria supporting Iran. And although Hussein broke with PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat for not being ready to enter negotiations with Israel, Syria supports anti-Arafat PLO groups who think Arafat went too far.

Saudi Ban

Saudi Arabia banned the importation of *Al-Ahram*, a leading Egyptian newspaper (Middle East News Agency, May 3). The Egyptian wire service said that according to *Al-Ahram*, “this step by Saudi Arabia was the first of its kind, with the exception of the short period in which all Egyptian papers were banned from certain Arab states, including Saudi Arabia, following the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty.”

The ban apparently was the result of a series by the paper's chief editor which “offered an objective assessment in figures of the volume of Arab financial aid to Egypt, which stopped in 1979.” The series

also “touched on the withdrawal of a number of Arab countries, including Saudi Arabia, from the Arab Industrialization Organization, and the negative impact this had on the Arabs' military capabilities.”

Missing Weapons

An Egyptian magazine reported that approximately 20,000 weapons disappeared from the camps used by police conscripts following the recent police riots and “Islamic extremist groups may have obtained some of them” (*Rose Al-Yusuf*, May 2). The publication noted that authorities have arrested dozens of Islamic extremists, “including Sheik Omar Abdal Rahman, who is a Jihad Movement ideologist. He has already been acquitted twice in connection with the assassination of . . . Anwar Sadat.” Rahman reportedly issued a *fatwa* (judgment) permitting the killing of Sadat.

A Middle East News Agency report noted that “the public prosecutor in Aswan has decided to imprison 56 people belonging to the extremist Islamic group which had attempted to storm the Al-Nasser Mosque” on April 29. A commentary in a Cairo publication took note of increasing violence by Islamic militants on university campuses and urged an open political discussion to “lessen the possibilities of confrontation and violence” (*Al-Musawwar*, Apr. 25) □

HEARD IN TEL AVIV

Rabin on Security, Negotiations

Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin believes that the American strike against Libya will send a "clear-cut signal to other terrorist-supporting countries not to encourage, assist and spread terrorism." In an exclusive interview with *NER*, Rabin also said that the experience of the last year has proven the wisdom of Israel's new Lebanon policy.

"The whole concept of the redeployment of the Israel Defense Forces [IDF] to the international border and the ending of our massive military involvement in Lebanon" has not brought about a major resurgence of Israeli casualties in the north. "With all the pressure the Syrians have put on their proxies in Lebanon to cope with Israel and the security zone, these results are clear-cut justification of the overall concept," the Defense Minister explained.

Rabin believes that Syria remains the most hostile of Israel's four Arab neighbors, but does not think that President Assad will "risk a direct all-out military confrontation" since his country is "far away from achieving strategic parity with Israel." Nevertheless, Rabin expects Syria to continue to build up its armed forces and to encourage terrorism against Israel in Lebanon, Europe and elsewhere and does not rule out the possibility of "moves" by Syrian troops in Lebanon.

Rabin opposes any gesture towards Iraq, which he characterizes as "also very hostile towards Israel." Iraq has participated in wars against Israel—and the Defense Minister made it clear that he sees the Iraqis as posing the long-term strategic threat to Israeli interests. "As long as the tension and the Gulf war continue, Iraq's participation in a war against Israel is eliminated."

The Israeli government was "not involved in any way" in the case of the Israelis and others arrested in Bermuda and accused by the United States of attempting to sell a large amount of weapons to Iran. "We are committed not to sell any item bought from the United States or in which there are American components." Any "stories" to the contrary are "total nonsense." Any arms sales by Israel must be approved by a special cabinet committee—in writing.

Rabin says that his policy toward the West Bank and Gaza territories begins with the need to "conduct an all-out war against terrorism." Unfortunately, the diplomatic opening of Jordan to the PLO led to an increase in terrorism in the territories

aimed at Israeli targets. Now that there is renewed tension between Jordan and the PLO following the February collapse of their joint political initiative, Rabin sees a chance that more restrictions will be placed on PLO offices in Jordan and that means that the terrorism may subside.

At the same time, the Defense Minister believes that "the bulk of the Palestinian" residents in the territories oppose terrorism, "regardless of their feelings and political aspirations." He believes that Israel must therefore "do its utmost to improve their standard of living and quality of life. Within the framework of the military government and the civil administration we have tried to bring about the Arabization of the system."

He feels that the PLO's hold in the West Bank and Gaza is based on the threat and practice of terrorism. "Under present conditions" he therefore "opposes allowing elections or political organization" in the territories. "Can you give me an example of one mayor who is elected in the Arab world?" Rabin asks. □

—David Twersky.

Twersky is NER's Israel correspondent.

HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

Exchange Helps Egypt-Israel Ties

It is small for a U.S.-funded overseas project—currently \$5.8 million—and in danger of getting smaller. But supporters in the United States, Israel and Egypt say that the Middle East Regional Cooperation (MERC) program comes closer than anything else to realizing the normalization of relations envisioned in the Camp David treaties. MERC promotes joint Israeli-Egyptian projects in agricultural science, medicine and technology and since 1979 has brought together nearly 1,000 scientists from the two countries.

In an early April letter to Secretary of State George Shultz, more than two dozen House members protested a possible cut in MERC funding to \$2.8 million. On May 6 participants detailed some of the program's successes for the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle

East. They urged continued—and, if possible, expanded—U.S. funding.

Subcommittee member Rep. HENRY WAXMAN (D-Calif.), original sponsor of the legislation which created the program, said it "had succeeded beyond all our hopes, both in concrete scientific advancements and in the relationships formed between the scientists. No stable, lasting peace can develop between these two key U.S. allies without building links of familiarity and trust between their peoples. Our program is doing that."

The fruits of cooperation between Israeli and Egyptian scientists and American project managers in the MERC program include: controlling an epidemic of Rift Valley fever and eliminating the once-deadly disease from the region; development of a hybrid fish called sea bream, a high-protein

variety which grows to market size faster than any previously known; increasing agricultural productivity by using solar energy to kill crop-harming bacteria; cross-breeding two strains of goat to produce a variety suited to a dry environment but yielding much more meat and milk; and developing a method to grow tomatoes in undiluted saline water, expanding the ability of farmers to irrigate.

Several committee members expressed dismay at what they said was lack of publicity over the program. But Israeli oceanographer Dr. Collette Serruya said that "too much publicity . . . could put our Egyptian colleagues in a difficult position." Rep. MEL LEVINE (D-Calif.) called that "a sad commentary on the broader relations between the two countries." □

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M. J. Rosenberg, *Editor* Eric Rozenman, *Assistant Editor*

Abby J. Stavitsky, *Associate Editor* Esther Chesney, *Assistant* I. L. Kenen, *Editor Emeritus*

Postmaster: Address changes to Near East Report, 500 N. Capitol St., N.W., Suite 307, Washington, D.C. 20001

ANALYSIS

Combating Anti-Israel Propaganda

Why does so much Soviet and Arab anti-Israel propaganda persist, reaching large audiences, even when it is blatantly false? Dr. Baruch Gitlis, director of the Harry Karren Institute for Propaganda Analysis and senior lecturer in psychology at Bar-Ilan University in Israel, thinks he has an answer.

"Psychologically, if the first information a person receives is not countered, it's always considered as the truth. And if it is repeated and not countered, it becomes not only the truth but the individual's image and concept of the truth," Gitlis told *NER* in a recent interview.

This is especially true in the television age, Gitlis said. "Although they read newspapers and hear radio, most people in the West are influenced by television. TV has a certain power to insert images that remain in the mind for a long time."

Israel learned this during the 1982 war in Lebanon. "For a few days all the United States saw and read was information based on anti-Israel sources," Gitlis noted. Stories of 600,000 refugees, of widespread destruction took hold. Later other sources pointed out that there were fewer than 600,000 people in the area of the fighting, that refugees were returning to Israeli-controlled territory, and that damage and civilian casualties were limited. But by then "people had already established their image of the war . . . which they still have

today."

Because "the essence of television is the motion picture," embellished by sound, music and even special effects, broadcasts become "something all the senses absorb." That makes the medium the most effective propaganda instrument, Gitlis said. "Even very intelligent people, who believe their evaluations are based on facts" can be swayed when the camera's focus shifts from objects to subjective topics like ethnic groups, nations and values.

Coverage of the Lebanon fighting also showed the effect of three decades of Soviet anti-Israel propaganda and accompanying Arab efforts, Gitlis charged. Since the early 1950's the Russians have tried to discredit Israel with two main themes, he said. The first was that Zionists collaborated with Nazis during World War II and that, by extension, Israel was a fascist state. The second was that Zionism was a racist ideology. "Arab propaganda doesn't bring anything new, especially in films, and PLO films [in particular], that didn't appear years before in Soviet propaganda."

"So in Lebanon in 1982, when the American media used the same images—of a Holocaust, of genocide and the Warsaw ghetto—everyone started to use it freely," Gitlis explained. This subconsciously reinforced the Soviet and Arab propaganda campaigns. What Gitlis called "the rhetoric of television, presenting images . . . half-

truths, truths out of context, images which have nothing to do with the facts"—such as file film not directly related to the story at hand—can help a propagandist by doing his work for him.

The Harry Karren Institute, the only such study center for propaganda analysis in the world, has extensive collections of Nazi, Soviet and Arab propaganda films. The newer the film, the more sophisticated it is. Recent PLO efforts include "short films using commercial techniques, repetitious slogans and music that you remember," Gitlis noted.

Meanwhile, in the Arab world, some basic approaches remain. Two years ago some elementary schools were using a PLO film which instructed children "that whenever the word Zionist or Israel appeared in a sentence, they must stomp their feet and sing a song that all Israel must return to them." Gitlis said the politics of left and right become irrelevant when anti-Semitic images are employed.

"The Arabs don't present the conflict anymore as political. They show the Israeli army as massacring villages, robbing graves. They are presenting the image of Nazis and [saying] that you don't negotiate with these people; they should be eliminated. . . . We are in the midst of a psychological war, not against Israel but against the Jewish people." □

—E.R.

FILE FOR THE RECORD

Syria's Terrorism Links

Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin told reporters in Washington last week that Jerusalem believed Syria was "deeply involved" in the unsuccessful attempt to place a bomb on an El Al jetliner in London in April. British news reports had said that the explosives which were to have been used were supplied to Syria and Libya by the Soviet Union. A West German newspaper claimed that the Jordanian arrested in connection with the sabotage attempt had been trained in a Syrian terrorist camp.

Other British reports asserted that the bomb meant for the El Al plane "had been prepared at the Syrian embassy." The British stories also said that the Syrian-backed Abu Nidal group was directly responsible for the attempted bombing and for the attacks on the Rome and Vienna airports last December. In the latter the terrorists apparently were trained in Syria and had left for the assault from Syrian territory.

Rabin called a statement by the seven leading industrial democracies at the Tokyo

summit "at least a beginning" in dealing with state-sponsored terrorism. The statement singled out Libya and appeared to move toward the harder rhetoric used by Washington. However, it left specific counter-terrorist action up to the individual countries.

Syrian President Hafez Assad told the West German news magazine *Der Spiegel* that he would use his influence to discourage terrorist acts by groups based in Syria or Syrian-controlled territory in Lebanon against targets in Europe. But Assad vowed to continue supporting "guerrilla" actions "in occupied territory."

Commenting on the Assad interview, State Department Deputy Spokesman Charles Redman said that "the Syrian government is already well aware of our concern over its support for terrorism, including the presence in Syria and Syrian-controlled parts of Lebanon of facilities and personnel belonging to the Abu Nidal organization. We believe Syria should rid

itself of Abu Nidal."

But Assad's Defense Minister, Mustafa Talas, told the Austrian publication *Wiener Zeitung* on Apr. 25 that "if Abu Nidal were to act against Israel he could be sure of Syria's support." Talas said that in general Assad's regime "favors armed struggle in the areas occupied by Israel." But Talas added that Syria would not back terrorist acts in countries friendly to it—among which he included Austria.

Meanwhile, Israeli police captured an east Jerusalem terrorist squad belonging to the anti-Arafat PLO faction led by Abu Musa [Sa'id Musa Muragha]. The group is believed to be responsible for the murder of British tourist Paul Appleby on Apr. 27, an Israeli businesswoman earlier in the month and the wounding of a German and an American tourist in separate attacks in the Old City. Syria backs the Abu Musa wing of Fatah against Arafat. □

—E.R.

BACK PAGE

This Year, Jerusalem

There are two Israels. The first is the Israel of the evening news. That is the Israel of the Arab-Israel conflict, of West Bank disturbances, of war threats, and of politics. Then there is the other Israel. That is the place where 4,000,000 people live, love, raise their kids—and spend the week deciding what they will do on the weekend.

The first Israel can best be experienced from afar. Israel's problems are more readily apparent on American television than on Ben-Yehuda Street (any of the Ben-Yehuda streets). As for the other Israel—the real Israel—you can only experience it by being there. For some reason, it just doesn't come through on video tape.

That is why it's time to start thinking about going to Israel this summer or autumn. Israel does not need its supporters spending their time and energy agonizing over its fate. Israel certainly doesn't need tears. It does need support and, right now, support for Israel can best be demonstrated by booking an El Al flight and going.

Spending time in Israel is no hardship. The fact is that Israel is a "fun" country of beautiful beaches and landscapes, fascinating historic sites, and an unusually friendly population. You can't worry about the "Middle East" when you are strolling along the Mediterranean promenade in Tel Aviv nor when you are sitting on the balcony overlooking Jerusalem's old city at the King David Hotel. The Middle East of the headlines just disappears—obscured as it should be by the Israel of reality.

The best thing about visiting Israel is that your trip is enhanced by the sense of connectedness that you feel. Visiting most foreign countries is a passive experience. You look, admire, and take home photographs that look like postcards. Sure, it's very nice to check out the ruins in Greece or the cathedrals in Italy. But these places have very little to do with most of us. Israel is different. Seeing the ancient "City of David" in Jerusalem is exciting because our ancestors lived there. Tel Aviv is thrilling because the people there look like—and sometimes are—relatives. You just do not leave a kibbutz the way you do a Scottish castle, remarking on how "nice" it is. You leave proud. Because that kibbutz has something to do with you. Everything in Israel does.

Of course, visiting Israel is a two-way street. It is good for the tourist. And it is good for Israel. Last year, 1.4 million tourists (430,000 from the United States) came to Israel. While there, they spent \$1.3 billion—more foreign currency than the country derived from all its exports. Israeli officials had hoped that 1986 would be an even bigger year. In fact, Israelis were

counting on an increase in tourism revenues to help sustain and advance the economic recovery of the last year. Any drop in tourism could seriously retard that recovery.

Unfortunately, it is a drop in tourism that seems to be happening. This winter the number of tourists visiting Israel was down 41%. If the summer figures are anything like that, Israel's economy could face some serious new troubles.

But there isn't much that Israel can do to attract tourists who are afraid of becoming the victims of a terrorist attack. Israel already runs the world's most secure airline, El Al. The country itself is about as terrorist-proof as any nation can be. The U.S. Congress is now considering erecting a fence around the Capitol. In Israel, it is not only the Knesset that is guarded. Every major and minor public place is protected. Purses and shopping bags are routinely checked in theaters and in supermarkets. This may make some people feel insecure. It should have just the opposite effect. In Israel, the entire instrumentality of the state works full time to prevent attacks on the entire population. This is true nowhere else.

In short, there is no reason to avoid traveling to Israel out of fear. There is, of course, a small element of risk in traveling anywhere. Take Manhattan, for instance, or Miami. The only safe place, really, is at home. But, then again, you may live near the San Andreas fault or within a few miles of a nuclear reactor. Risk is simply a part of life. Fortunately, in Israel, the risk is very small indeed. As for the rewards, they are obvious. You will be doing Israel a favor if you go there this year. But it is you who will be the real beneficiary. □

—M.J.R.

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EDITORIAL

Helping Hand

In April, Prime Minister Shimon Peres made the suggestion that the United States and other industrialized nations finance a \$20-30 billion "Marshall Plan" development fund for the Middle East. The money would come from savings accruing to Europe as a result of the oil price collapse—a sum estimated at \$70 billion for this year alone. The main purpose of the plan would be to help Arab states which have been hit hard by dropping oil prices. It would encourage economic cooperation between the industrialized countries, the Arab states and Israel, which would put its technical know-how at the disposal of its neighbors.

Peres' plan again demonstrates Israel's commitment to peace with its neighbors. The Prime Minister has tried the diplomatic route but has yet to find a partner willing to join him at the peace table. Now he offers the possibility of economic cooperation, the chance to make the entire Middle East as green and productive as Israel already is.

Peres lists all of Israel's neighbors as potential beneficiaries of aid from the West, even Syria. Of course, Syria responded with a speedy no and a denunciation of Peres. Still, Peres is undaunted. He has urged the United States and the other nations meeting at the Tokyo economic summit to give serious consideration to his proposal. Both Washington and Bonn have said that they will. Rome, Tokyo, and Lon-

don have also expressed interest.

The Peres proposal makes a great deal of sense. In the first place, any economic cooperation between the various Middle East states decreases the likelihood of war. But beyond that is the fact that economic instability often leads to political instability and to war. Jordan, Syria, and especially Egypt are all suffering because of the current oil glut. Further economic deterioration in those countries would weaken King Hussein and President Hosni Mubarak and could lead President Hafez Assad to divert his people's attention by going to war. To put it mildly, none of these developments would be good for Israel or for the United States. Only the Soviet Union and various Middle East extremists will benefit if the Arab world sinks into economic depression.

That is why it is important that the Peres proposal be given full consideration by the West, beginning at the Tokyo economic summit. It is true that Arab states are unlikely to buy into any proposal, no matter how beneficial, that bears the mark of Israel or Shimon Peres. So call it a new Marshall Plan or Shultz Plan or a Reagan Plan. It doesn't matter. The point is to help the Middle East avert political catastrophe by averting economic catastrophe. Prime Minister Peres deserves credit for empathizing with his neighbors' predicament despite the four decades of Arab attacks against Israel. He is one statesman who understands that his enemy's bad fortune is not necessarily his good fortune. □

VIEWING THE NEWS

PLO Moves

Talks between Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat at the recent Communist Party Congress in East Germany "focused on two main issues: Palestinian national unity and Palestinian-Syrian relations" (*Al-Qabas*, Apr. 22). Palestinian Arab sources told the Kuwaiti publication that Gorbachev said the PLO must take advantage of "the readiness demonstrated recently by Damascus to turn over a new leaf" in dealings with the organization.

Arafat "accepted this Soviet proposal, but objected to Syrian conditions" including the demand for an apology to Syria. Gorbachev replied that he would attempt to get the Syrians to drop their condition, provided Arafat's Fatah group agrees to other demands by Syrian-backed PLO dissidents, including annulment of the decisions

of the Amman Palestine National Council meeting—which led to the Hussein-Arafat accord.

Renewed Contacts

Prime Minister Shimon Peres said that Israel and Jordan have reopened quiet diplomatic contacts aimed at restarting the peace process (*Israel Television*, Apr. 27). Peres said that the exchanges were "more of understanding than of agreement," but "very interesting things have happened."

He did not elaborate. However, "diplomatic sources claim that Peres and Hussein may have been in touch during the Prime Minister's visit to France last week. The Jordanian King was in the French capital around that time. Sources in Peres' office have denied rumors that Peres and Hussein met in Strasbourg last week" (*Hadashot*, Apr. 25).

Bombs in Syria

Three explosions rocked the Syrian port city of Tartus on Apr. 23, leaving at least one person dead and 20 wounded (*Voice of Lebanon*, Apr. 24). The station is partly owned by the Christian Phalange Party. A week earlier, seven explosions in Tartus, Safita, Latakia and Homs killed dozens of people and wounded many more, another Christian-backed station reported (*Radio Free Lebanon*, Apr. 17).

Syria ignored the first blasts for three days, then launched a media campaign blaming Israel (*Kol Yisrael Arabic*, Apr. 20). President Hafez Assad's Ba'ath Party regime "does not find it convenient to let people know . . . that it is facing hostilities, feuds and vengeance from Syrians, Palestinians, Lebanese, Iraqis and other Arabs who are bringing double retaliation on it in its own country." □

PERSPECTIVE

Ne'eman on Territories, Peace

Israel cannot give up the northern two-thirds of the West Bank, "because only by holding the passes of Samaria can you have time to mobilize," said Techiya Party founder and Knesset member Yuval Ne'eman. And without time to mobilize, the state can be destroyed.

It is not generally realized that "there are two Israels. The pre-mobilization Israel is very weak"—a state of 3.5 million Jews protected by a small standing army, Ne'eman said in a recent Washington-area speech. On its borders or not far beyond are hostile Arab states with 1.2 million men under arms.

Only by being able to mobilize men up to 50 years of age—more than 10% of the total Jewish population—and waging war with the leadership and technical ability born of fighting with its back to the wall, has Israel triumphed. If Syria and Egypt had been able to launch the 1973 Yom Kippur War from the pre-1967 borders instead of from the Golan Heights and Suez Canal, Ne'eman said, Israel might not have had the 48 hours necessary to absorb the blows, mobilize and counter-attack.

Even now, a civilian car can drive from the Jordan River bridges to Tel Aviv in an hour-and-a-half, he said. "I supposed a Jordanian or Iraqi tank driver could do it in three hours—they don't know the way." Regardless of ideology, Ne'eman said, "that's the basic worry."

So the question is, should Israel stay as

conqueror or as settler, returning to what was part of western Palestine before 1948 and part of *Eretz Yisrael* for millennia? Ne'eman and Techiya—now with five seats in the Knesset in opposition to the Labor-Likud national unity government—believe Israel should increase the number of settlers in the territories from the current 50,000 to at least 100,000 as soon as possible.

A military presence alone would not suffice, he said. Referring to the U.S. base in Cuba, Ne'eman argued that "Samaria is about a million times more essential to Israel than Guantanamo is to the United States. Without it we could be annihilated before we were able to complain to the U.N."

A leading physicist and former Minister of Science and Technology, Ne'eman was in Washington for a conference on nuclear terrorism. He noted that "in such scenarios, Israel is a prime target." Even without hypothetical threats, the Middle East already spawns many conflicts. Ne'eman cited Arab world clashes, including the Iraq-Iran war, the coup in South Yemen, the civil wars in the Sudan and Lebanon, Libya's incursions into Chad, and the war between Morocco and the Algerian-backed Polisarios as proof that Israel cannot rely on "a promise and a signature." It can give "peace for peace," but not "territory for peace."

An opponent of the Egypt-Israel treaty, Ne'eman said that "we made a deal they

couldn't keep." Jerusalem returned the Sinai peninsula to Cairo for the promise of normal relations. "But no Egyptian ruler could do that and survive. . . . Egypt cannot normalize relations," he asserted, since in the Arab world "anti-Israel hate is still the only unifying thing."

Techiya stayed out of the unity government "to have a free hand, and prod the Likud to implement the program of settlement," Ne'eman explained. A recent poll, completed after the riotous Herut Party convention this year, gave Ne'eman's group 10 seats. Such a showing would make it the third largest party after the Labor alignment and the Herut-Liberal coalition of Likud.

Ne'eman lamented the damage the Arab baiting of Rabbi Meir Kahane has done to the "nationalist right." He said that Kahane's approach not only dehumanizes Arabs—a technique which Jews have experienced and must oppose—but also gives ammunition to critics of the right.

However, he noted that over 500,000 of the 1.3 million Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza Strip hold refugee papers and argued that under any peace agreement they should be absorbed by Arab countries the way Jews from Arab lands have been absorbed by Israel. But "the rest will stay and hold onto their Jordanian passports."

□
—E. R.

HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

Saudi Resolutions Advance

The foreign relations committees of both houses approved legislation last week to block the \$354 million Saudi arms proposal. Both committee votes took place after Administration officials testified on Capitol Hill in support of the missile package, which includes Stinger anti-aircraft, Sidewinder air-to-air and Harpoon anti-ship missiles.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee approved the resolution of disapproval by an 11-6 vote. During the panel's debate, sale opponents argued that U.S. military transactions to Saudi Arabia—totaling over \$44 billion since 1971—have sent sufficient political and military signals to the Saudis.

"The Saudis have repeatedly 'tested' our friendship. I think it's past time to test their sensitivity to key American interests," declared Sen. ALAN CRANSTON (D-Calif.), a chief sponsor of the resolution. "The Administration asserts [that] this is a signal-sending exercise. We should send a signal that we can't have business as usual with potentates who thwart American interests," he added.

The voice vote passage of the measure in the House Foreign Affairs Committee followed Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy's appearance before the panel's Europe and Middle East Subcommittee. Murphy, citing the important political and

military signals the sale would send, testified that the President will veto any Congressional attempts to block the sale.

Panel members, however, led by Reps. MEL LEVINE (D-Calif.), LARRY SMITH (D-Fla.), ROBERT TORRICELLI (D-N.J.), BEN GILMAN (R-N.Y.), CHRIS SMITH (R-N.J.) and TOM LANTOS (D-Calif.) questioned the Administration's rationale for the sale, arguing that Saudi Arabia offered assistance to Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi and continues to finance the PLO and Syria. They also drew attention to the high ratio of Sidewinder missiles per capable aircraft the Saudis would have if the sales goes through. □

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OP-ED

Keep Jackson-Vanik Amendment

Speaking to 400 American business people late last year, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev complained sharply about the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which links most-favored-nation (MFN) tariff status and credits for the Soviet Union to Jewish emigration. U.S. Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige responded that the Administration had no "immediate plans" to ask Congress to lift the amendment. But some in Washington would do just that.

The late Sen. Henry Jackson first introduced the legislation in 1972. An amendment to the Trade Reform Act, it was a **breakthrough** in the human rights field, the first legislation expressly inspired by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and its assertion of a citizen's right to emigrate.

Jackson was prompted by a secret Kremlin edict of August 1972, which imposed a "diploma" tax on Jews seeking to leave. They had to pay virtually confiscatory levies based on the amount of their higher education. Until mid-March 1973, 1,450 Soviet Jewish emigrants had to pay approximately \$7 million. How many were kept from applying or from leaving because of the tax is unknown.

Kremlin awareness of the planned introduction of Jackson's amendment produced

an unprecedented consequence. In essence, Soviet officials revoked the tax by not implementing it. The Jackson-Vanik amendment would have the same consequence a decade later when Romania sought for a time to impose a similar tax.

Soviet Jews perceived the legislation—passed by huge majorities in both houses of Congress in December 1974—as the most effective instrument on their behalf and Jackson became their greatest hero. Soviet benefits in trade would be dependent on eased emigration procedures.

Former President Richard Nixon and former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger have argued in recent years that the drop in Russian Jewish emigration is related directly to Jackson-Vanik. That view has been echoed by others in the capital and some in the Jewish community.

But their thesis is questionable. Jewish emigration began to plunge in early 1974, 11 months before the legislation was enacted. Moreover, Kissinger told a Senate committee in December 1974 that the Soviets had given assurances that the provisions of Jackson-Vanik would be fulfilled. If the Kremlin reneged, it was due no doubt to the Stevenson amendment, which placed a limit on credits to the USSR, not to Jackson-Vanik.

Between 1976 and 1979, while the amendment was fully in force, Soviet Jewish emigration rose annually, reaching its highest level in 1979 with the exodus of more than 51,000. In addition, Hungary was granted MFN status under Jackson-Vanik provisions in 1978 and it is inconceivable that Moscow would have permitted this Warsaw Pact country to accept the arrangement had it been viewed as a challenge to Soviet authority.

Contrary to claims of its critics, the amendment provides great flexibility. One feature enables the President to waive its restrictions and to immediately grant MFN status and credits if the chief executive is assured that a Communist country shows good faith in intending to ease emigration procedures.

But in the absence of any positive signs on Soviet Jewish emigration, dropping or weakening the amendment would merely scuttle an invaluable tool. In 1973 Andrei Sakharov said rejection of Jackson-Vanik would mean "a betrayal of the thousands of Jews and non-Jews who want to emigrate." His words are as true today as they were then. □

—William Korey

Dr. Korey is Director of International Policy Research for B'nai B'rith.

CAPITOL COMMENT

Legislators Confront Terrorism

"Legal Mechanisms to Combat Terrorism"—specifically the availability of civil and criminal actions against the PLO—was the subject of an Apr. 23 hearing held by the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism." Sen. JEREMIAH DENTON (R-Ala.), subcommittee chairman, noted that the "wealth of information" on the criminal activity of Arafat and the PLO may make the hearing only the "first in a series."

Much of the hearing focused on whether the Justice Department should indict PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat for the 1973 murders of two U.S. diplomats. Ambassador Cleo Noel and George Moore were kidnapped and killed by terrorists allegedly acting under Arafat's instructions.

This February, 44 Senators led by Sens. FRANK LAUTENBERG (D-N.J.) and CHARLES GRASSLEY (R-Iowa) wrote to Attorney General Edwin Meese requesting consideration of an indictment. However, the Justice Department concluded recently that there was "insufficient evidence" and "lack of jurisdiction."

Deputy Assistant Attorney General Mark Richard told the subcommittee that U.S. courts lacked jurisdiction because when the crime occurred there existed no "federal criminal liability" for the murder of U.S. diplomats abroad. Though a 1976 statute made such attacks a federal crime, the law cannot be applied retroactively, according to the Department.

But Lautenberg, who also testified, recalled that the Constitution's *ex post facto* clause "was designed to assure that the accused had fair warning of the criminality of his act." Surely the PLO chief knew that the murders were criminal, insisted Lautenberg, "so the *ex post facto* clause is simply a convenient escape hatch for those who do not wish to prosecute Arafat."

Grassley challenged the Department claim of insufficient evidence. He referred to reports of a tape-recorded radio interception of Arafat ordering the shootings. He said that it was difficult to believe this evidence could go "either unlocated or, once located, be inadmissible in court." Denton, suspicious of the Department's re-

fusal to confirm or deny the tape's existence, called for a closed session to probe the matter further.

Grassley maintained that the U.S. has been "inconsistent and deficient" in its enforcement of visa restrictions against the PLO and submitted a list of 12 cases of U.S. visas granted to PLO officials during the last five years.

The subcommittee reviewed the policy permitting the Palestine Information Office—the PLO's "Washington bureau"—to maintain a presence in the capital (which it has since 1978). Lautenberg called for close scrutiny of the bureau as a possible support base for terrorist operations. When Justice and State Department officials appeared reluctant to clearly label the PLO and seemed to excuse the existence of the information office, Denton asserted that "the PLO, by any measure, is a terrorist organization." □

—Jonathan Cohen

Cohen is a staff member of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee.

BACK PAGE

No Limits?

It's time to take another look at Joseph Sobran, the syndicated far-right columnist whose opinion pieces appear in some 67 major newspapers throughout the country.

Last year during the Bitburg affair, Sobran attacked the American Jewish community for opposing the Presidential visit to the German war cemetery. He derided Jews for their concern about Bitburg noting that "you would think [President Reagan] had called Elie Wiesel 'Hymie.'" He called Martin Peretz, owner of the *New Republic* a "bearded Jewish McGovernite" and he described a party given in honor of the magazine as being "as Jewish as *Fiddler on the Roof*." Sobran also stated that his view of Nazi war crimes was that "bygones were bygones." As for the State of Israel, Sobran despises it and the "Jewish lobby" which applies "political pressure" on its behalf.

In short, young Sobran has quite a record when it comes to Jews (not to mention women, blacks, Italians and others he enjoys smearing). Still, his latest syndicated outburst deserves special mention because in it Sobran demonstrates that he is not merely someone who doesn't much like Jews. He also gives evidence of adhering to a classic, almost European-style anti-Semitism.

Sobran's subject was the Pope's visit to a Rome synagogue, a spectacle that clearly dismayed the columnist. Sobran was offended by the Pope's "capitulation" to the Jewish view that Christian Europe has 2,000 years of persecution of Jews to live down. Not so, writes Sobran. "Millions of Jews chose to migrate to Christian Europe. They lived there for centuries." He concedes that European gentiles were "sometimes hostile to Jews" but then suggests that such Christian anti-Semitism pales when compared to Jewish bigotry toward Christians.

Sobran then sets out to prove that Jews have always treated Christians badly. For instance, he says that "some rabbinical authorities" held "that it was permissible to cheat and even kill gentiles." (Really, Sobran, which "rabbinical authorities"?) He says that Jews have always thought of Christians as "stupid"; that they deride Jesus Christ; and that they have practiced 2,000 years of anti-Christianism. He contends that the only reason we hear more about "Christian anti-Semitism" than about Jewish racism is because "Christians have been self-critical." Jews are not.

The most novel aspect of Sobran's diatribe is his amazing view that "Christian philo-Semitism" is more significant than Christian anti-Semitism. The proof of that, he says, is "the long Jewish presence in

Christian Europe. . . ."

Interesting. There was, in fact, a long Jewish presence in "Christian Europe" which basically ended when 6,000,000 European Jews were sent to gas chambers. (That was during that Holocaust which Sobran dismisses as just another "bygone.") However, for some 1,900 years before the Nazi period, Jews in Europe were victims of thousands of pogroms and anti-Semitic outbursts. Some of these attacks had their origins in secular or state-sponsored anti-Semitism. Many more (like the Crusades and the Spanish Inquisition) were religiously inspired attacks on Jews. There were openly anti-Semitic popes. Martin Luther, the founder of Protestantism, became an unabashed anti-Semite who called on Christians to attack Jews. Pope John Paul II knows that. That is why he visited the Rome synagogue. Sobran knows that too. He just doesn't give a damn.

It is hard to know how best to respond to a guy like Sobran. After all, neither American Jews nor most American Christians have much experience with his type. America is a country without a widespread anti-Semitic tradition. For Americans, Sobran is a throw-back to another time, another place. The one question worth asking is why respectable magazines like the *National Review* and the *American Spectator*, and good news chains like the Hearst press print his stuff. Isn't anything beyond the pale anymore? Is every bigot who can string a sentence together entitled to a place on an editorial page? Aren't the newspapers that run Sobran's views giving them tacit endorsement by not spiking a particularly offensive column? There are dozens and dozens of good provocative columnists to choose from. Why run this guy?

—M.J.R.

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NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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EDITORIAL

Broken Promises

It is at times like these that America finds out who its friends are. Great Britain has, through Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, stood in solidarity with the United States against Colonel Qaddafi. So have Canada, Singapore, West Germany (sort of), and, of course, Israel. That's it—the roster of Free World nations willing to back Washington in the struggle against international terrorism. It is not meant as a slight to the five countries supporting our Libyan actions to point out that it is not a terribly impressive list. Where are most of our NATO allies, our Latin American neighbors, and our Southeast Asian friends? Where are the African states and the Asians? As for the Middle East, where are Egypt, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia?

Saudi Arabia is the most interesting case. Since 1950, Riyadh has received \$50 billion in military assistance from the United States. Another \$20 billion in arms has yet to be delivered and the Administration is now proposing the sale of 2,500 more missiles to the Saudis. No other country in the world has received more than \$12 billion in weaponry over those same four decades. The question begs itself. Just what has that \$70 billion bought us? Well, for one thing, it has bought us a rich denunciation of President Reagan's Libyan policy on the floor of the United Nations. On April 17, Saudi Ambassador Samir al-Shihabi took to his feet to make sure that no one would think that \$70 billion in U.S. arms would buy Riyadh's support for Washington. First, he called on the Security Council to "adopt a commensurate stand as a principle, measure, and responsibility against the serious U.S. attack on Libya. . . ."

He then made clear that he opposed terrorism in principle

but that he did not share the American view of who the terrorists are. Ignoring the Libyan-backed attacks on Americans and Europeans, Al-Shihabi focused on Israel, which he called "the largest terrorist institution in history." He said that Israel "commits the ugliest form of terrorism against the Palestinian people inside and outside Palestine. . . ." He avoided mentioning Libya except to say that America's reprisals against Libya are "condemned by the U.N. charter." In case anyone missed his point, the ambassador concluded that Israel is the "real threat to every Arab country." The ambassador's speech—militantly anti-Israel—could have been delivered in 1948 or in any year since. It gave not the slightest indication that Saudi Arabia accepts Israel's right to exist. After all, who would argue that a "terrorist institution" deserves to exist?

Saudi opposition to U.S. policy goals in the Middle East—among them the security of Israel—is not new and is no great surprise. After all, when was the last time Saudi Arabia backed the United States on anything? Still the Saudi reaction is worth noting if only because later this year the Saudis are scheduled to receive delivery of the first of five AWACS planes promised to them by President Reagan in 1981. At the time of that AWACS sale, the President assured Congress—in a letter to the Senate Majority Leader—that delivery of the AWACS would only commence if the Saudis had offered "substantial assistance" to the Arab-Israeli peace process. Instead, Saudi Arabia has remained one of the bastions of rejectionism and, in every way, an obstacle to Middle East peace. Saudi backing for Qaddafi is just one more indication that the promises made at the time of the AWACS sale are not being kept. □

VIEWING THE NEWS

Siniora Explains

Hanna Siniora is one of two Palestinian Arabs deemed acceptable last year by the United States and Israel as a member of a potential Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. He believes that, despite American "intransigence" that the PLO accept U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338 without conditions, flexibility is possible. "The U.S. Administration can adopt what the parties to the Middle East conflict agree on, even what the Jordanian-Palestinian movement agrees on and what the PLO and the Jordanian government adopt. Jordan is cap-

able of persuading the U.S. Administration to support this unified position," Siniora told a London-based Arab language weekly (*Al Majallah*, Apr. 9-15).

Siniora, editor of the east Jerusalem paper *Al Fajr*, repeated that Resolutions 242 and 338 are unacceptable without endorsement of Palestinian self-determination. Asked if self-determination meant "a state with a flag, an anthem and an authority concerned with cleaning streets and managing rural and municipal affairs," Siniora said that self-determination meant manage-

ment of all "political, economic and fateful affairs. . . with utter freedom."

Siniora added that Arab solidarity must be restored before the "military solution" could be employed. "We do not demand termination of military action. But in the absence of such military action, we have no alternative but to move politically." Siniora was interviewed in Washington, where he met last month with State Department officials, including Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy. □

ANALYSIS

New Middle East Realism

Neither Israelis nor Arabs nor Americans should expect much in the next phase of the "peace process," believes Dan Schueftan, an Arab affairs expert at Hebrew University's Truman Institute. And that is not bad, he told an audience of Congressional staff members recently, because it indicates a "creeping realism."

Schueftan believes that Israeli public opinion has begun to realize "for the first time" that a dramatic breakthrough "to peace once and for all . . . will not be coming in the foreseeable future." Many Israelis once hoped that an era of brotherhood would dawn in which the Arabs would no longer treat Israel as an outsider "but treat us as they treat each other," he said. Now the examples of the Iraq-Iran war—with its 1.5 million casualties—and the 12-year slaughter in Lebanon with more deaths than all Arab-Israeli wars combined have changed this perception.

"Practically every Arab regime came to power through violence, maintains power through violence and probably will lose power through violence," Schueftan commented. "Israelis are beginning to understand we live in a very different part of the world."

The killing last year of seven Israelis—including four children—by an Egyptian security officer at Ras Burka in the Sinai

marked a turning point, he added. "Not just that it happened, but the way the Arab world, even the Egyptian public reacted," describing the killer as a hero. But "Ras Burka and peace are not mutually exclusive in the Middle East" where "violence is not the exception but the rule."

Even if Israel's neighbors only do to Israel what they do to each other, the country must be seen "to carry a big stick . . . and show a willingness to use it," Schueftan said. Regardless of the merits of the operations, Israel's bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor, its war against the PLO in Lebanon and the long-distance raid on the PLO headquarters in Tunisia reinforced Arab perception of a nation which will strike when threatened.

Israelis have focused on a "lesser" version of peace, and Arab states now recognize that Israel will "not play by the rules" when attacked. This, plus Arab understanding that over the long run Washington will not abandon Jerusalem, contribute to the "new realism" Schueftan sees. "There is a deepening Arab awareness that Israel cannot be brought to its knees . . . a more realistic assessment of what the Arabs can and cannot do."

There is also a realization that "the wars among themselves are no accident, that whoever gets stronger the first thing he

does is fight another Arab or Moslem. The Iraq-Iran war means they simply cannot add up all their power and juxtapose it against Israel. . . . And they realize that people outside the Arab world are beginning to understand that too."

Arab leaders also acknowledge that the long struggle has taken its toll on their countries as well as on Israel, Schueftan asserted. Arabs are paying a price they can't afford in the long run. He cited King Hussein's Feb. 19 speech as admitting something which could not be considered as recently as five years ago—that the Arabs need to have peace with Israel out of consideration for "their own vital interests to settle with Israel."

Schueftan, whose book, *The Jordan Option*, will be published soon in Hebrew, said he favored compromise on Israel's part not so much to get the Arabs to make peace but for Israel's own internal needs. However, "no Israel government is going back to the 1967 lines . . . and I don't know of any Arab government, including Jordan, willing to accept anything less." Doubting the possibility of another "Camp David spectacular," Schueftan urged "adjusting expectations to small steps. As long as they are in the right direction, that should be good enough." □

—E.R.

HEARD IN JERUSALEM

Behind Latest Cabinet Crisis

Israel's cabinet recently resolved a 14-day crisis which threatened to bring down the national unity government by switching the portfolios of Finance Minister Yitzhak Modai and Justice Minister Moshe Nissim. Prime Minister Shimon Peres of the Labor alignment demanded Modai's ouster after Modai's harsh criticism of him. The Finance Minister's Likud coalition colleagues insisted that he remain in the cabinet. Both sides ultimately accepted the shift which put Modai, an economist, in charge of Justice, and made Nissim, a lawyer, responsible for Finance.

The cabinet crisis overshadowed the annual battle of the budget, fought only a few days earlier. Israel's fiscal year runs from April 1 to Mar. 31 and budget battles have triggered more than one previous coalition

clash. In fact, the previous government, headed by Likud's Yitzhak Shamir, fell in March 1984 in connection with the budget debate.

This time Labor's Knesset faction attacked budget priorities, charging that not enough money would go to development towns and ailing industries, too much to settlements in the administered territories and to other favored Likud programs. Modai dismissed Labor criticism as inflationary and partisan—saying that Labor confused the interests of the Histadrut labor federation with the national welfare. Laborites threatened to oppose the budget on the Knesset floor and Peres warned that if the budget failed the government would fall.

The threat of a coalition crisis forced

Likud to agree to Peres' demands for emergency relief to several important but struggling industrial and agricultural concerns controlled by the Histadrut. With the budget approved and Modai out of the way, the Prime Minister has ensured that he will continue to get his way on economic policy. Nissim, a newcomer to finance, should prove more pliable from Labor's point of view.

Still, Peres cannot be judged the winner. If the Prime Minister succeeded in getting Modai replaced, he also strained his credibility to the limit. After the Sharon, Taba, economic "growth" and Modai crises, he cannot afford to appear to be creating coalition problems in order to escape rotation with Shamir in October. Peres' cred-

(Continued)

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M. J. Rosenberg, Editor Eric Rozenman, Assistant Editor

Abby J. Stavitsky, Associate Editor Esther Chesney, Assistant I. L. Kenen, Editor Emeritus

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HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

Senators On Saudi Sale

Reagan Administration officials have tried to separate Saudi Arabia's less-than-helpful role in the Arab-Israeli peace process from the proposed sale of \$354 million in U.S. anti-aircraft and anti-ship missiles to Riyadh. And, in recent Capitol Hill testimony, they have attempted to put the best light possible on Saudi financial support for the PLO and Syria and verbal support for Libya.

Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, Richard Murphy, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that some Arab states—including Saudi Arabia—are moving to a more realistic view of Israel's place in the Middle East. Failure to reinforce this trend and to bolster U.S.-Arab ties by sales such as that planned for the Saudis "would be a great irony," he said. He called this "a time of testing" in the U.S.-Saudi relationship and stressed that approval of the sale would help deter Iran from expanding its war with Iraq to other Persian Gulf states.

Nearly all committee members except Sen. RICHARD LUGAR (R-Ind.), the chairman, forcefully disagreed. Referring to the American raid on Tripoli three days earlier, Sen. ALAN CRANSTON (D-Calif.) said "it's strange" to be discussing the sale of 2,600 missiles "to one of Col. Qaddafi's staunchest friends and supporters: Saudi Arabia." Cranston pointed out that the Saudis reportedly offered to make good any losses Libya incurs because of the American economic boycott. He said they also bankroll "other terrorists in the PLO and Syria" and have "actively opposed" U.S. efforts to expand the Camp David peace process. Cranston's resolution to disapprove the sale has been signed by 64 Senators.

"I find it hard to believe that we can

continue this myth of Saudi Arabia as a moderating force," declared Sen. AL D'AMATO (R-N.Y.). He said that Riyadh only "talks a good game." Asserting that the United States has provided Saudi Arabia with "over \$44 billion in arms since 1971 and \$22 billion in this Administration alone," D'Amato rejected the argument that the United States must again prove its friendship.

Sen. FRANK LAUTENBERG (D-N.J.) asserted that "the military justification for this sale cannot withstand close scrutiny." Since delivery of the air-to-air Sidewinder missiles, air-to-ship Harpoons and ground-to-air Stingers will not take place until 1989 through 1991, the sale cannot deter Iran in the short run. Meanwhile, "Saudi Arabia already has over 3,000 Sidewinder missiles to knock out less than 100 Iranian planes."

Lautenberg also charged that U.S. arms sales to Saudi Arabia "equal our sales to all our European allies combined." Nevertheless, the Saudis "have bankrolled the PLO terrorists to the tune of \$114 million a year since 1979. And their financial support of Syria, another U.S. enemy, is reported to be \$500 million annually." Lautenberg called Saudi Arabia "an opponent of peace with Israel," said that it participated in the 1948, 1967 and 1973 wars, and warned that the Stingers—sometimes called "an ideal terrorist weapon—could end up in the PLO's hands."

Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Armitage, testifying with Murphy, countered that the proposed sale "doesn't add any new systems to the Saudi arsenal." He noted that more than \$20 billion of the U.S. military aid to Saudi Arabia has gone for construction, with just \$4.8 billion spent on weapons and ammunition. [Including "support equipment," such as cargo

planes, trucks and radar, the figure is approximately \$15 billion.]

Murphy was "disturbed" by attempts "to create a formal and direct linkage between our routine arms supply to Saudi Arabia and peaceful resolution of the Arab-Israeli dispute." He called such linkage "a narrow approach to a complex set of issues" and claimed that withholding arms from Saudi Arabia and Jordan could undermine American credibility. This would ultimately harm the United States, Israel and "the moderate Arabs."

Murphy said that Riyadh seeks to channel its support to the PLO through Yāsir Arafat's Fatah for "humanitarian" purposes such as aid to families and refugees. He added that the Saudis see Fatah as less extreme than other PLO factions, and asserted that Saudi Arabia does not view itself as a main party to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Instead, it is willing to accept a settlement agreeable to Jordan and the Palestinian Arabs. He also repeated the Administration claim that the Saudis have done a number of things behind the scenes to support U.S. policy in the region outside of the Arab-Israeli peace process.

Unswayed by these arguments, Sen. JOHN KERRY (D-Mass.) asked why the Saudis have not publicly endorsed U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 [the basis for Arab-Israel talks since 1967 and 1973], "why they still refer to the 'Zionist entity' as their number one enemy" and why they continued to support Syria during the 1983-1984 U.S.-Syrian confrontation in Lebanon. Kerry asked "when do we get to stop showing our signs of friendship . . . and ask the Saudis to start showing theirs?"

—E.R.

HEARD . . . Continued

ability—and Labor's alleged partisanship—traditionally have been two of Likud's strongest issues.

The Prime Minister must explain why if Modai was unacceptable as Finance Minister he is acceptable as Justice Minister. He must also justify replacing a knowledgeable and successful Finance Minister with a novice. Nissim's move to Finance was primarily an expression of internal Likud conflict. Every other candidate was vetoed by one or more colleagues; Nissim was least objectionable because he was seen as least threatening to various rivals for Likud leadership.

Another coalition crisis could erupt over foreign policy. Likud's cold reception of Peres' "Marshall Plan" for economic stabilization in Egypt and Jordan as well as in Israel—and the Prime Minister's attempts to bridge the gap between Israel and Egypt over the festering Taba dispute—might provide reasons for the next outburst. Rumors that the United States has agreed to test Egyptian reactions to Peres' plan for autonomy in the Gaza Strip as a first step might also stoke the fires.

Peres' declaration at the mid-April Labor Party convention that Israel "recognizes the Palestinian people"—criticized by

Shamir—was not only timed to help U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy's renewed diplomatic efforts. The decision of the Labor convention to drop southern Gaza from the list of strategic areas in the territories which Israel will claim in any peace talks came as no surprise to those already looking for the next coalition crisis. "This [compromise] is no more than another time-out," concluded Labor Secretary-General Uzi Baram.

—David Twersky.

Twersky is NER's Israel correspondent.

BACK PAGE

Blaming Israel

The Apr. 28 issue of *Newsweek* includes seven letters on the U.S. bombing of Libya. Six of them link Palestinian "homelessness" to Libyan-backed terrorism. Four of those six argue that "an obvious approach to solving the problem of terrorism is for Israel to return the territory it expropriated and to grant the Palestinians a homeland."

Six letters to the editor is no scientific survey. However, there can be no doubt but that a sizable portion of the public believes that the terrorist threat will only disappear when the Palestinians have a homeland.

Even Vice President George Bush seems to accept this idea. In his 1984 campaign debate with Geraldine Ferraro, Bush said that "the answer" to terrorism "is a solution to the Palestine question." In February, Bush's Task Force on Combatting Terrorism singled out the Middle East as a region where "a cooperative international effort to mitigate the sources of grievances" is essential.

But Bush is only the most prominent American (actually the second most prominent if you include former President Jimmy Carter) to suggest that the "Palestine question" is the root cause of international terror. Columnists from Mary McGrory on the left to Evans and Novak on the right have long contended that the United States can best combat the terrorist menace through intense involvement in Middle East peace-making. Specifically, they want the United States to pressure Israel to get out of the West Bank. Then, and only then, will terrorism cease. Or so they argue.

The only thing wrong with this formulation is that it's dead wrong. As Johns Hopkins Professor Fouad Ajami points out in the April 17 *New York Times*, "talk of a peace process that would end this wave of terror is naive." In fact, "nothing would inflame the passions of extremists in the region more than a major American diplomatic initiative."

Ajami, a Sh'ite Moslem born in Lebanon, writes that "no American diplomatic scheme would spare America the fury of those bent upon eradicating its presence in the region. It is a false reading to say that the terror springs from the impasse between Israeli and Palestinian." Accordingly, "if Americans are to embark upon a diplomatic initiative, they must have no illusions about it. Their enemies in the region will go on a rampage precisely to convince them of the futility of such an endeavor."

According to Ajami, Middle East terror is rooted in the struggle over the "soul and historic direction" of Islam. The center is under siege by militants of every stripe.

"That is why, in a political world of angels and demons, the distant superpower was turned into a demon. A decade of oil wealth and promise in the Moslem world was ending in failure and defeat. When the inevitable scapegoating came, America was the best kind of scapegoat because it had become part of the region's landscape, its feuds and calculations of power."

He says that for Khomeini's followers in Iran, America stood for "cultural defilement." For the Syrians, America was the one thing standing between them and regional hegemony. For the Palestinians, America "stood between them and a Palestinian state." For Qaddafi, America is the symbol he can use to rally popular support despite being "an isolated, hated figure in the region. . . ."

It is therefore impossible to argue that the struggle for "Palestine" is the cause of Middle East terrorism or that terrorism would be eliminated by giving the Palestinians a state. Certainly, a West Bank state would change some of the aspects of the terror wave. Israel itself would become more of a target and certain terrorist groups might grow more bloodthirsty while others might, for a time, grow less. But the general picture would either remain static or, probably, become worse.

The battle against babies on airplanes and teachers in Beirut is not being fought for the Palestinians. On the contrary, it is the Palestinians who remain among the victims of the terrorist war. For Qaddafi and company they remain nothing more than the pretext for terror—convenient excuses for killing. They deserve better. □

—M.J.R.

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EDITORIALS

The President Acts

They have been around for a long time. They were there when Adolf Hitler's forces marched into the Rhineland in 1935. They recommended a cautious response or no response at all. If the democracies did fight back, they would only add to the cycle of violence and turn Hitler into a hero.

They were there when the United States had to consider how to respond to Josef Stalin's blockade of Berlin in 1948 and Nikita Khrushchev's transfer of nuclear missiles to Cuba in 1962. They advised that Presidents Truman and Kennedy not take action. *Realpolitik* dictated a *pro forma* response and nothing more.

They were there when Israeli aircraft flew a rescue mission to Entebbe and saved the lives of 103 innocent airline passengers who had been hijacked by the PLO. They said that Israel's action violated Ugandan sovereignty and therefore international law. It was excessive, they argued.

The same voices are being heard now as President Reagan launches a counterattack against terrorism by ordering U.S. warplanes to bomb segments of Col. Muammar Qaddafi's terrorist infrastructure in Libya. They are saying that the President's action "will only turn Qaddafi into a hero"—overlooking the fact that the Libyan already is a hero among those circles which admire terrorism directed against the West. They say that the President's response will not end international terrorism.

President Reagan himself concedes that part of that criticism may be correct. "I have no illusions," he says, "that [this] action will ring down the curtain on Qaddafi's reign of terror. But this mission can bring closer a safer and more secure world for decent men and women. We will persevere."

The President is right. His response to Qaddafi's "reign of terror" will not bring it to an end overnight. But it is a start. Moreover, there was simply no alternative to military action. Could any President—pledged to preserve, protect, and defend American citizens—have sat back helplessly while American civilian planes were bombed and American sol-

diers murdered? At some point tough talk becomes a substitute for action rather than a prelude to it. If the President had not acted, the U.S. anti-terrorist effort would have been perceived, rightly, as a rhetorical device rather than a policy. That would have given the green light to more acts of terror, against us and our allies.

President Reagan's current course tells terrorists and their supporters that they cannot expect to kill innocents with impunity, that they will be held accountable, and that—at long last—the United States is fighting back. The President deserves, and has, our support.

The Pope's Visit

Pope John Paul II has made a major contribution to Christian-Jewish relations by making the first visit by a pope to a Jewish house of worship. Addressing "our dearly beloved brothers," the Pope said that the Roman Catholic church "deplores" anti-Semitic acts "at any time by anyone. I repeat, by anyone." The Pope's historic visit cannot erase almost 2,000 years of European anti-Semitism, anti-Semitism that was often encouraged by the church. However, it does make clear that Rome is determined to continue on the road toward respect for and acceptance of Jews that was proclaimed two decades ago by Pope John XXIII.

Unfortunately, the Pope did not go far enough. Omitted in his speech was any reference to the State of Israel, the central fact in Jewish life today. It is Israel—not acceptance by the Vatican or anyone else—that has liberated the Jewish people from the scourge of anti-Semitism. It is Israel—a symbol and reality—that enables Jews and Judaism to flourish. It is Israel that enabled the Jewish people to survive the Holocaust.

To accept the Jews and ignore the State of Israel is a strikingly incomplete act of reconciliation. The Vatican should recognize the State of Israel. Israel, at this point, hardly needs such recognition. The Vatican, however, does need to extend it. □

VIEWING THE NEWS

Egyptian Visit

Egypt's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Boutros Ghali, spent two days in Israel last week as a guest of the Labor Party, the convention of which he attended. Ghali held meetings with Prime Minister Shimon Peres, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Minister Ezer Weizman, and other

Labor, Likud, and religious party leaders.

Ghali left Israel optimistic about the improving state of relations between Cairo and Jerusalem. He told *Davar* (Apr. 11) that he feels "a climate of euphoria around me." He explained: "Peace between us has been cold for the last four years. We are now using new heaters to thaw the freeze and I

am one of them. . . . The resumption of contacts between leading Egyptian and Israeli officials is very important. . . ."

But Ghali noted that there are several major obstacles between the two countries and full normalization of relations. Among those problems are the Taba border dis-

(Continued)

AIPAC POLICY CONFERENCE

Congressional Middle East Views

For children in the Arab world hoping to grow up with the rights and freedoms Americans take for granted, "the example of Israel is their only chance," Rep. Lynn Martin (R-Ill.) told approximately 1,500 participants at the policy conference of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). Martin noted that "Israel is unique in the Middle East. There is not a single country for thousands of miles in any direction that provides the guarantees of freedom that are found in Israel."

Israel can also serve as an inspiration to the women of the Arab world, Martin said. "While the society is by no means perfect, at least women are accorded legal equality." She recalled the career of Golda Meir, and noted that today "over 40% of university graduates are women, as are 39% of the work force," with women well represented in professional and technical fields. And "under Israeli law, the country's Arab and Druze women have attained independent legal status and equal education opportunities. These rights have brought about far reaching changes in the Arab and Druze women's perception of their role within the family and community."

Martin blamed Arab governments for the fact that of the tens of millions of post-World War II refugees, "only the Palestin-

ian refugees from 1948 [and after] are still in camps. . . . children and grandchildren without futures." While Israel absorbed hundreds of thousands of Jews from Arab countries, Arab states "sought to perpetuate" the status of Palestinian refugees "to use it as a weapon against Israel."

Following Martin, Rep. Tony Coelho (D-Calif.) commended AIPAC for choosing "not to mount an all-out effort to defeat" the proposed \$354 million Saudi arms sale. He said that the organization "understands you can't fight every fight; you've got to pick and choose. Especially with Gramm-Rudman [deficit reduction legislation], you're going to need all the political capital you can muster to protect aid to Israel from dangerous cuts." Coelho noted that cuts in foreign aid—"an easy target"—become "even more inviting" in an election year.

However, he said he needed no lobbying to vote against the missile package to Saudi Arabia and would "do everything I can to see that my colleagues vote the same way. . . . I don't see any reason why Saudi Arabia needs or deserves these weapons." Coelho said the Saudis still provide massive funding for the PLO, have condemned the United States "for shooting back at Libya," and have not helped U.S.-backed Middle East peace efforts.

Coelho said both the United States and Israel "need a stable government in Saudi Arabia. Otherwise, the door would be open to Khomeini." But additional American anti-ship and anti-aircraft missiles "don't have anything to do with that."

Other Congressional speakers at the Apr. 6-8 conference included Democrats Richard Gephardt, Mo.; Mickey Leland, Texas; Tommy Robinson, Ark.; Charles Schumer, N.Y.; Larry Smith, Fla. and Republicans James Courter, N.J. and Vin Weber, Minn.

At a panel on "The Impact of State Officials on the U.S.-Israel Relationship," three Texans, Agriculture Commissioner Jim Hightower, General Land Office Commissioner Garry Mauro and Railroad Commissioner Mack Wallace, explained new programs forging close links between government, business people and others in Texas and Israel. Hightower discussed the Texas-Israel Exchange (TIE), a unique joint venture between Israelis and Texans from the public and private sector. Since both areas have similar farming conditions, TIE will focus on irrigation, dry land field crops, water conservation, biomass and solar energy production, computerized marketing and other ventures. —E.R. □

VIEWING . . . Continued

pute, "the quality of life" of West Bank Arabs, and the role of the PLO in future peace negotiations. Egypt continues to insist on a role for Yasir Arafat in any negotiations.

Nevertheless, Ghali insisted that there is "on both sides" the "strong political will to reinforce peace. . . ."

Coalition Hangs On

Israel's National Unity Government has survived another crisis (*Kol Yisrael*, Apr. 11). The crisis began when Finance Minister Yitzhak Modai publicly insulted Prime Minister Shimon Peres by claiming that the Prime Minister had nothing to do with Israel's successful new economic program. Modai also made other critical comments about Peres.

Peres responded by demanding that the Likud party strip Modai of the Finance portfolio or face the collapse of the unity

government (and the dashing of any chance that Yitzhak Shamir would "rotate" into the Prime Minister's job in October). Likud had no choice but to capitulate. It switched Modai to the Justice Ministry while placing the Justice Minister, Moshe Nissim, in the Finance Minister's job. Peres was satisfied by this arrangement and the coalition survived, at least for now.

Training in Israel

"A group of black South Africans is undergoing training in Israel in social organizing and economic leadership skills that group members say are essential preparation for power-sharing in the event of a transition from white rule" (*Washington Post*, Apr. 8). The group of black township community leaders is concentrating on organizing trade unions, civic associations and women's groups and developing social pro-

grams "in an era of anticipated relaxation of apartheid laws. . . . The training program is sponsored by Israel's national labor federation, the Histadrut, and the Israeli government is not directly involved, although official sources said it has the government's tacit approval."

Syrian Connection

A Cairo-based terrorist team, "operating under the guidance of Syrian Air Force intelligence services," was responsible for the Apr. 2 bombing of the TWA airliner over Greece in which four Americans died (*Jerusalem Post*, Apr. 11). The paper cited "reports circulating in London."

It said Middle East sources believed that "neither Abu Nidal's group nor Libya was responsible" for the TWA attack. The Syrian-backed group, believed to include up to 30 people, "is said to operate out of Cairo and Alexandria." □

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HEARD IN WASHINGTON

Straight Talk on Terror

The West can defeat terrorism, believes Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel's Ambassador to the United Nations. The necessary ingredients for victory in the counter-terrorist struggle are clarity and courage. Netanyahu told the closing session of the recent American Israel Public Affairs Committee's policy conference. He said that terrorism can be fought successfully once democratic states define it and pinpoint its sources.

"There are platitudes and misconceptions blocking our understanding—and that's not accidental," Netanyahu said. Terrorists and their apologists claim "you cannot define it; 'one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter.'" But such obfuscation and deception cannot hide the fact that terrorists deliberately and systematically kidnap, maim and murder civilians to advance political goals.

In doing so, they try to erase the distinction between combatant and non-combatant which has marked civilization's effort to put moral limits on war. "If somebody transgresses those limits, he's committed a crime. . . . Over time we begin to accept the idea that there's some sort of equivalence, that jailed terrorists, murderers, are equivalent to hostages taken off planes," Netanyahu explained. "Slowly, surely, with great determination, terrorism begins to murder man's sense of sin."

He called attempts to explain the escalation of terrorism in the past 20 years in terms of grievances or denial of national aspirations "nonsense." He pointed out

that in "the most dire oppression, the most terrible and fearful assaults on human rights," such as practiced by the Nazis or the Soviet Union, partisans and dissidents did not and do not employ terrorism. "People who really fought for freedom chose to wage their struggle by honorable means. . . . The choice of method indicates what the true goals are."

The Ambassador stressed that terrorism "derives from the unbridled disposition toward violence." In the Middle East, terrorism against Jews in Palestine and Israel extends back before 1967 and the acquisition of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, before the founding of the PLO in 1964, to the 1920's and "the days of the Mufti, when there were no refugees or indeed no state of Israel." It stems from the rejection of compromise, the rejection of politics, and the choice of violence instead.

Since World War II, Netanyahu said, the influence of communist totalitarianism, Arab radicalism and Moslem fundamentalism have merged to produce states which "recognize no limits" in the pursuit of their goals. And both communist and radical Middle Eastern states "view the West, its democracies, its politics and ethos as the principal challenge to their domination."

How to fight such state-sponsored international terrorism? Start with the attitude that we will no longer be bullied. "Say, I refuse to give in. . . . I'm willing to strike back." This will not perpetuate a cycle of violence but ultimately help break it, rais-

ing the cost to the terrorists and limiting their freedom of action, Netanyahu argued. Unless the states which back terrorist organizations and individuals are dealt with, "we will not even be scratching the surface."

Courage—from politicians, the military, and the public—will be vital. The Ambassador, a veteran of a special Israeli unit himself and whose brother died leading the Entebbe rescue, said that "the sober truth is that a successful war against terrorism will involve a continuous series of blows and counter blows. But in the long run it is the only way to make these governments realize that we in the West will not sit back and take it."

He said greed, cowardice and confusion so far have prevented the adoption of such a policy by most Western governments. "We tend to think that if someone is prepared to die for a cause, that he is justified. This is terribly dangerous. No one was more ready to die for a cause than the Hitler youth." American action will help lead reluctant European allies, Netanyahu said. Families of hostages will need courage as well, he added, to resist pressuring their governments to capitulate.

The Ambassador praised U.S. Attorney-General Edwin Meese, who spoke before him (see *NER* editorial, Apr. 14), for urging that international terrorism be seen as a crime and that terrorists be dealt with in the legal system, the way domestic criminals are handled.—E.R.

□

NEWS ANALYSIS

Reaction to Raid

Only the governments of Great Britain, Israel and Canada voiced support for the U.S. bombing of Tripoli in retaliation for Libyan terrorism. While Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher granted permission for American planes to use their British bases in carrying out the raid, France and Spain refused to allow the United States to overfly their airspace.

In the Arab world condemnation was nearly universal, although some countries which receive U.S. aid took a comparatively moderate tone. Syria called for "the Arab masses to take all practical steps to punish the United States" and Iran's Prime Minister warned that the "U.S. will receive the due response for its stubborn attitude." A PLO official said the action was the "most stupid mistake the Americans have made in recent years," and that he ex-

pected the Arabs to express solidarity with Qaddafi.

Jordan said that the Tripoli strike would aggravate Middle East troubles; Egypt—repeatedly threatened by Qaddafi—expressed "alarm and resentment." Saudi Arabia declared "its great regret and condemnation of the attack" and reaffirmed support "for the Libyan people."

But in Israel, Prime Minister Shimon Peres said, "If the Libyan government issues orders to murder American soldiers in Berlin in cold blood . . . what do you expect the United States to do? Sing Hallelujah? Or take action in her defense?" Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin said that the strike was a justified action against international terrorism and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir said that those who wish to free the world of terrorism must first hit the countries that support it.

Addabbo Remembered

Rep. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO (D-N.Y.), 61, a life-long supporter of Israel and Jewish causes, died last week. Addabbo, a 25-year veteran of the House of Representatives, was widely respected for his non-partisan style and well known for his expertise in defense issues.

He was a genial legislator with a sharp and humorous wit. As chairman of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, Addabbo played an important part in shaping America's defense priorities—and helping to mold the U.S.-Israel strategic relationship.

□

BACK PAGE

Slippery Slope

If you are looking for proof that anti-Semitic diatribes are not the sole property of the far right, check the Mar. 22 issue of *The Nation*. It carries an essay, "The Empire Lovers Strike Back," by novelist Gore Vidal. The piece lumbers under the weight of anti-Jewish, anti-Zionist, anti-Israel innuendo and cliché.

For decades *The Nation* was a standard-bearer of liberal-progressive politics in the United States. But for some years now it has been sliding beyond liberalism toward the fringe left. And on the fringe the political spectrum bends into a circle and extremes merge. There right-wingers who fantasize about Jewish conspiracies and left-wing ideologues who equate Zionism with racism meet.

And that's where we find Vidal. The author—who used to duel regularly with William F. Buckley Jr.—would now be disqualified from participating in such a liberal-conservative duo. A better match for Vidal now would be Lyndon LaRouche.

Pretending to respond to criticism from *Commentary* editor Norman Podhoretz and his wife, writer Midge Decter, Vidal launches a barrage of anti-Semitic rhetoric.

He fires off the dual loyalty canard, charging that for Podhoretz and Decter in particular and Jewish supporters of Israel in general, their "first loyalty would always be to Israel." Vidal finds Decter unable to understand his purebred version of American history—that the United States has been a racist-imperialist empire, diluted by waves of immigration. The reason, according to Vidal, is that "like most of our Israeli fifth columnists, Midge isn't much interested in what the *goyim* were up to before Ellis Island."

Decter doesn't understand him, Vidal says, because "in the Middle East another predatory people is busy stealing other peoples' land in the name of an alien theocracy." He then proceeds to "spell it out"—to update the old conspiracy theory: To win U.S. aid for Israel, "a small number of American Jews" have joined forces with reactionary anti-Semites, militarists and evangelical Christians. They help scream that "the Russians are coming" so they can "continue to frighten the American people into spending enormous sums for 'defense' which also means the support of Israel in its never-ending wars against just about everyone."

Such Jews, he asserts, should all register with the Justice Department as foreign agents. Their country is not the United States, he declares. The United States is his possession. No, says Vidal, Podhoretz and Decter's country is Israel, which he doesn't much like.

Vidal, for all his pretensions to learning and culture, seems to have missed a few basics. Among them: America's support for Israel stems from public recognition of Israel's value as a democratic ally and strategic asset. Twenty Arab countries and numerous terrorist groups chose to be at war with Israel—not the other way around. Jews returned to Palestine not as predators but as builders in their own land. The Judeo-Christian ethic underlays the liberal Western values of the society that Vidal lives in and so disparages. Charges of subverted loyalties—"Israel's fifth columnists"—echo those made by bigots against minority groups throughout American history. And America spends great sums on defense because while fascism was defeated 40 years ago, its mirror image, communism, still threatens.

The indulgent explanation for his outburst is that Vidal may have been engaged in parody—self-parody. After all, he refers to himself as America's "current biographer." He sounds almost comic, like a modern Know-Nothing, when he asserts that the oil-rich, strategically vital Middle East is irrelevant to Americans.

Self-parody might also explain a racist eruption not directed at Jews, in which Vidal broods about "the coming Sino-Japanese world." He fears that if the United States and Soviet Union don't band together, the "white race" will "end up as farmers—or worse, mere entertainment—for the more than one billion grimly efficient Asiatics." First the Jewish conspiracy, then the "yellow peril."

Of course, the other explanation is that Vidal was serious. In that case, as *The New Republic* put it: "This man is ready for the funny farm."

—E.R. □

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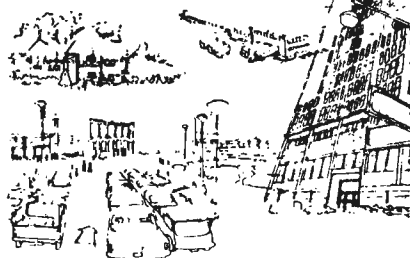
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NEAR EAST REPORT

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EDITORIALS

Jordan's Line

In recent months it has appeared that King Hussein has moved—albeit tentatively—toward some form of acceptance of Israel. In February, he broke with the PLO and charged it with subverting the Middle East peace process. He also delivered a three hour speech blasting Yasir Arafat which, amazingly, had no words of condemnation for Israel. It is reported that the King has considerable regard for Israel's Prime Minister Shimon Peres and would like to find a way to enter negotiations with him.

This is all good news—indications that the ice may be breaking and that Jordan may be moving toward peace with Israel.

Nevertheless, there are other signs which point in quite the opposite direction. Most disturbing is the evolving relationship between Jordan and Syria. Jordanian and Syrian officials have shuttled between Damascus and Amman while King Hussein and President Hafez Assad have pledged that the two countries share identical views on the Arab-Israeli conflict. This is palpably false. Syria still favors destroying Israel through conventional warfare. Failing that, it backs terrorists who set off bombs in Israel's cities and at other locations around the world. Jordan, on the other hand, has a commendable record in fighting terrorism. Hussein fought the PLO in 1970 and has, ever since, kept the terrorists based in Jordan on a very short leash. That is to his credit. Still, the evolving Jordanian-Syrian alliance is worrisome.

Almost as troubling is the propaganda line which still emanates from the Jordanian press. If Hussein is trying to bring his people around to acceptance of Israel, there is no evidence of it in the controlled Jordanian press. For instance, on April 2, an editorial in *Ar Ray* refers repeatedly to Israel as the "Zionist entity." It says that "this entity" is incapable of peace with the Arab world because such peace would "conflict with the substance and mentality of

Zionism. . . ." It says that "the Zionist enemy" has always favored "the policy of invasion and aggression."

Later the editorial attacks Shimon Peres for praising President Reagan's strong stand against Libya. "If this praise of invasion, provocation, and gunboat diplomacy is part of the Zionist mentality" then "it is difficult to imagine" that Israel is ready for peace.

This type of rhetoric is not readying the Jordanian people for peace. It is, instead, inflaming it for war—a war neither Jordan nor Israel wants, or intends to have. Anwar Sadat used to say that 99% of the Arab-Israel conflict is psychological. He broke through that wall by recognizing that Israel was a place not an "entity" and that its people were men and women and not the "Zionist enemy." Jordan should follow that example. It is time to cool the rhetoric. The demonization of Israel must stop.

Meese's View

In a major speech before the annual policy conference of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, Attorney General Edwin Meese put forth his own—and the Reagan Administration's—view of international terrorism. Referring to possible prosecution of leading terrorists, he said that "we are serious about applying the full weight of law to indict, apprehend, and prosecute those who commit terror against Americans." Comparing the war against terrorism to the war against organized crime, the Attorney General said that "you don't make real progress until you close in on the kingpins."

He added that the leader of the PLO, Yasir Arafat, "must ultimately be held accountable" for actions by the various PLO factions.

Meese's statement, coming as it does from the highest law enforcement officer in the land, is an important indication of this Administration's vigorous anti-terrorist policy. Meese's tough formulation is welcomed by all Americans concerned about—and dedicated to—eradicating the terrorist scourge.

VIEWING THE NEWS

Hussein's Signals

In an interview with Britain's *Jane's Defense Weekly*, King Hussein "stated that he may be compelled to submit to U.S. pressure on [a] separate peace with Israel if Jordan does not obtain vital assistance from the Arab states" (*Kol Yisrael*, Apr. 2). As further reported by an Amman paper, the monarch also "expressed the belief that differences between Jordan and the PLO leadership are serious" (*Sawt Al-Shab*, Apr. 2).

Hussein said that "we worked together for one year in order to reach a common

objective, then they suddenly changed their opinion and stand." When the PLO rejected U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338, "everything was over at that point."

The King termed American refusal to sell F-16 and F-20 aircraft to Jordan an insult for which the Reagan Administration is responsible. He repeated that Jordan will now look to France, Britain and the Soviet Union for arms.

Hussein's position, according to one Israeli commentary, was that "if his country does not receive aid from the Arab states he will have no choice but to surrender to U.S. pressure and make a separate peace with

Israel in exchange for the financing of Jordan's essential 'expenses' " (*Ha'aretz*, Apr. 2). The daily reported that Hussein has hinted at a willingness to "attain a separate solution with Israel" before.

It quoted sources close to Prime Minister Shimon Peres as saying that "these hints are usually accompanied by threats or warnings directed at Arab countries." Although "this is the first time Hussein has made such harsh remarks in public," the sources doubted whether Hussein would move toward separate, direct talks with Israel.

□

PERSPECTIVE

CIA Chief on Record

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Director William J. Casey believes that the Soviet Union's "creeping imperialism" has two main targets: "the oil fields of the Middle East and the isthmus between North and South America." Speaking to the opening session of the 27th annual policy conference of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), Casey charged that the Gorbachev regime has "intensified efforts" to cement strategic bridgeheads around the world.

Such bridgeheads in and near the Middle East and its sea lanes include Syria, Libya, South Yemen, Ethiopia and Afghanistan. In addition, the Soviets and their allies in the region are trying to destabilize Egypt and Tunisia and to pressure the new government of Sudan. Activity by Moscow, allied regimes and radical groups "has the potential to surround Israel and the oil fields of the region," Casey told approximately 1,500 AIPAC members.

He pointed to the Kremlin's "massive" investments in Syria and Libya and said that approximately 6,000 Russian advisers are stationed in the two countries. He asserted that these states—plus Iran—employ "terrorism as a way to attack the West and pro-Western governments." He added that, in addition, Syria is working hard to complete its domination of Lebanon and is moving "sophisticated Soviet weapons closer to Israel's border." The CIA chief expects the Soviets "to push efforts to reunify the PLO," perhaps under more pro-

Syrian leadership.

Partly in response, the United States and Israel have "institutionalized" strategic cooperation in recent years, Casey said. This includes "enhanced cooperation in intelligence exchanges, in particular in the field of counter-terrorism. . . ." He said that the United States also has expanded cooperation "with friendly Arab states" which see a danger in Soviet expansionism and feel threatened by Moscow-backed radicals.

Casey disclosed that Saudi Arabia gives the United States "lip-service" on the issue of Saudi financial support for the PLO, but in matters in which the Saudis see their interests involved or feel threatened, "there is only a limited degree in which we can influence them." The State Department backed away somewhat from Casey's remark the next day: "As for Saudi financial aid to the PLO, we disagree with it, but it is a fact that we and our friends don't always agree. . . . On balance, we and Saudi Arabia have much more in common than we have disagreements."

Israel's Ambassador to the United States, Meir Rosenne, told the same session that two things are required to combat terrorism—"political wisdom and moral will." In addition to the terrorists themselves, he said, responsibility "lies with those democratic states which thought Israel would be the only victim. Now they see their own innocent citizens victimized." Responsibility also rests with "those who make a distinction between terrorists, say-

ing that Abu Nidal is a 'bad' terrorist but [Yasir] Arafat is a 'good' terrorist."

Rosenne charged that the PLO used its offices in Western nations "as bases from which to launch terrorist murder" and urged that they be closed. He said that documents captured by Israel in Lebanon "amply demonstrated" that the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites are at the heart of the international terror network. And he condemned "fashionable" efforts to explain or understand terrorist motivations and aspirations.

"Such explanations function in effect to justify terrorist acts. . . . All over the world there are all sorts of groups with all sorts of grievances. If 'understanding' were to be extended to their 'root causes,' they would have *carte blanche* to murder, in order to gain 'redress.' Mass murder is mass murder, and no grievance can justify it, nor will 'understanding' avert or eliminate terrorism."

Rosenne stated that terrorism did not begin with the problem of the Palestinian Arabs nor will it end if that problem is solved. "Internecine Arab terrorism, for example, is a natural part of Mideast politics, and this atmosphere is hospitable to the extension of terrorism beyond the Arab world itself. . . . It is in the context of that traditional culture of violence that the terrorism perpetrated against Israel by the Arab world is to be understood."

□
—E.R.

Thomas A. Dine

Dine on "Revolutionary Era"

Not only is the relationship between the United States and Israel "excellent," it has entered "a revolutionary era" in which the ties are being institutionalized to survive changes in Administrations and to continue to grow. Thomas A. Dine, executive director of AIPAC, described the new level of relations in an Apr. 6 speech to the organization's annual policy conference. Dine asserted that President Ronald Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz "are going to leave a legacy that will be important to Israel's security for decades to come."

Citing the Secretary of State, Dine said that institutional arrangements are being

built now to solidify close U.S.-Israel ties, even if a future Secretary does not wholly concur. AIPAC's executive director emphasized that "the old order in which Israel was regarded as a liability, a hindrance to America's relationship with the Arab world, a loud and naughty child—that order has crumbled. In its place, a new relationship is being built, one in which Israel is treated as—and acts as—an ally, not just a friend, an asset rather than a liability, a mature and capable partner, not some vassal state."

As evidence of the revolution in the relationship, Dine pointed to the U.S.-Israel strategic cooperation agreement, including joint military planning exercises and pre-

positioning of military equipment in Israel. Such a connection "sends a strong deterrent signal to radical forces in the Arab world and to the Soviet Union. It tells them that any thought they might have had about driving a wedge between the U.S and Israel, about isolating the Jewish state in order to destroy it, is foreclosed."

Dine said that strategic cooperation will increase Israel's access to "the most advanced American technologies, crucial when the few face the many."

He said that "a similar process is taking place in the economic arena." The Free Trade Area agreement gives Israel impor-

(Continued)

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HEARD IN WASHINGTON

Kennedy, Heinz on Middle East

Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), in a banquet address to the AIPAC policy conference, praised the American pro-Israel community for being active "in one of the noblest causes of our time or all time—the security, freedom and future of the state of Israel and the people of Israel." Sen. John Heinz (R-Pa.), the other featured speaker, proclaimed that "Israel's struggle is a struggle—forever bound together with that of the United States—for freedom, democracy, dignity and peace." Both voiced continued support for the rights of Soviet Jewry, including the right to emigrate to Israel.

Kennedy and Heinz were the principal Senate sponsors of a resolution opposing the Administration's \$1.9 billion Jordan arms sale. Seventy-four Senators signed the resolution, causing the Administration to put the sale on hold.

Kennedy welcomed the decision by Jordan's King Hussein "to abandon his nefarious pact with the PLO. It is possible to find encouragement in the King's long overdue embrace of a fundamental truth in the Middle East, that it is impossible to negotiate with a ruthless terrorist like Yasir Arafat. . . . The time has now come for King Hussein to stop talking about peace in the abstract and start talking with Israel directly at the conference table."

In addition to threats from PLO terrorists and "madmen like Qaddafi," Kennedy cited a second danger to an Arab-Israeli peace process—"another unacceptable round of arms sales" by the Administration to the Middle East. "Instead of trafficking recklessly in numbers like F-15, F-16 and F-20 [designations of advanced U.S. war planes]" the Administration "should be tirelessly pursuing the two most important numbers in the Middle East—U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338."

Kennedy asserted that "Israel has made its choice for peace, and it is time for the Arab nations to do the same. . . . Israel has returned the Sinai to Egypt. It's time for Egypt to send its ambassador back to Israel." And he quoted his brother, President John Kennedy, who on Israel's eighth birthday in 1956 said the Jewish state would "live to see an 80th, and an 800th, for peace is all Israel asks."

Heinz, referring to the Carter Administration's vote for an anti-Israel resolution at the U.N., stressed the "restoration" of U.S.-Israel ties under the Reagan Administration. Pointing to the Administration's economic and defense policies, Heinz said that a stronger America is able to be a stronger friend of Israel. He cited the ground-breaking Free Trade Agreement between the two countries, the \$1.5 billion

supplemental aid program which assisted in Israel's economic recovery, and strategic defense cooperation between the two nations "unique outside of our formal alliances such as NATO."

Heinz said that good U.S. relations with many Middle Eastern states are essential to help promote the peace process. He supported incentives, like military and economic aid to Egypt and economic aid to Jordan, "to help those who move the peace process forward." But he criticized Saudi Arabia, which "has not taken any active role in the pursuit of peace. . . . For years we have counted on the Saudis to rein in the PLO, to quiet the Syrians, to quell the chaos in Lebanon. We have been disappointed."

Heinz said U.S. Middle East policy should rest on four main points: close moral and strategic relations with Israel; no negotiations with terrorists and insistence that "the other side must renounce terror, recognize Israel and its right to exist and acceptance of U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338 before negotiations begin; that only direct negotiations between Arab and Israelis can lead to lasting peace, and that the U.S. cannot buy peace with arms sales. Taken together, these four principles guarantee the survival of Israel behind secure and recognized borders." —E.R. □

Dine Speech . . . Continued

tant economic advantages in trading with the United States, and with Common Market nations as well, Dine explained. Although the benefits will take some years to materialize fully, "this treaty will have an enormous effect on Israel's export opportunities."

Also testifying to the change have been the shift in U.S. military and economic aid to Israel from part loans and part grants to all grants under the Reagan Administration, supplemental economic aid during Israel's economic reform program and Administration advice on recovery, and firmer diplomatic support for Israel. This goes "beyond defending Israel to actively opposing and undermining the anti-Israel efforts of the Arabs."

"We are in the midst of a revolution that is raising U.S.-Israel relations to new heights. In the process, a whole new constituency of support for Israel is being built "in precisely the area where we are weakest—among officials in the State, Defense and Treasury departments, in the CIA, in science, trade, agriculture and other agen-

cies." These officials "are now learning, through personal experience, the value of Israel to the United States" and they are the people "responsible for proposing policy and for implementing it."

But Dine warned against complacency, noting that revolution in relations "has only just begun. The gains are not yet secure." He noted that Congress, reflecting "Israel's standing among the people of America," remains "the bedrock of the U.S.-Israel relationship." He stressed the Congressional role in securing "the most generous Israel aid package ever" and the importance of Congress in blocking arms sales to Arab countries still hostile to Israel.

Dine explained AIPAC's difficult decision not to actively battle the scaled-down \$354 million sale of anti-aircraft and anti-ship missiles to Saudi Arabia. He said a variety of military experts concluded that "this package would add little of consequence to the existing overall threat to Israel" and that numerous major Jewish organizations "felt we would not be justified in mounting a major campaign to confront the

Administration's policy in this particular case."

Underlying the organization's success in Washington, Dine said, was the commitment of its members, its grassroots work in Congressional districts across the country and its young leadership development program. He lauded the presence of more than 500 pro-Israel college activists—the largest ever to attend a policy conference. And he praised AIPAC members in general, "Jews and Christians, young and old, white and black, liberals and conservatives, Democrats and Republicans," working through the American political process "to expand, to deepen, to enhance the partnership between Washington and Jerusalem." □

Dine's Speech

The complete text of Thomas Dine's speech can be obtained by writing to Dan Mariaschin, AIPAC, 500 North Capitol St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001.

BACK PAGE

The Siege

It is said that one should not speak in absolutes. There are, supposedly, no "bests" and "worsts"—despite the predilection of some magazine editors for naming the best Chinese restaurant in town, or the worst dry cleaners. Nevertheless, I will defy this probably wise adage by stating that *The Siege* by Conor Cruise O'Brien is the single best book on Israel that I've ever read.

The Siege (Simon and Schuster, 1986) is a most uncommon book by a most uncommon author. O'Brien, as his name indicates, is an Irish Catholic. A writer and editor, he first became interested in Israel while serving as Ireland's ambassador to the United Nations. Because Ireland is fixed alphabetically between Iraq and Israel, O'Brien's seat in the General Assembly was located between his two Middle Eastern counterparts. He became friendly with the Israeli and, ultimately, fascinated with the story of Israel's rebirth.

The Siege tells that story in strong, clean, hard-hitting prose. For O'Brien, the re-establishment of Israel—and its survival in the face of the siege waged against it—is "inherently perhaps the greatest story of modern times." O'Brien begins at the beginning, with word portraits of Theodor Herzl, Chaim Weizmann, Vladimir Jabotinsky, David Ben-Gurion, Menachem Begin, Abba Eban and the other key figures who helped create—and preserve—the modern Jewish state. They are not presented as heroes sculpted in marble but as real people—some of whom disliked each other intensely—who somehow managed to pull together in one historic common effort. O'Brien believes that Zionism is one of history's great success stories. Not only was the Jewish state established, but that state has helped reduce the anti-Semitism that has dogged the Jewish people for 1,900 years. In O'Brien's view, it is the existence of a strong Israel that helps prevent attacks on Jews even in the Diaspora. It is only in periods when Israel appears weak that the anti-Semites—smelling blood—come out of their closets.

O'Brien describes various moments during the last 38 years when Israel was weak, dangerously weak. His description of the 1956 Sinai campaign period—when Israel was threatened with nuclear attack by Moscow while the Eisenhower Administration pointedly looked the other way—is particularly harrowing. Equally disturbing is O'Brien's description of the role he alleges that Secretary of State Henry Kissinger played during the disastrous Yom Kippur War. O'Brien believes—and presents supporting evidence—that it was Kissinger who encouraged Egyptian President An-

war Sadat to "heat up" the confrontation with Israel in the fall of 1973. O'Brien writes that Kissinger apparently suggested to Sadat that "only by going to war [could he] induce the United States to put enough pressure on Israel to secure the return of his territories." Later, once the war was under way—and going badly for Israel—"Kissinger's policy" was to "stall on the resupply of arms to Israel so as to soften Israel up for the ultimate peace negotiations." In the end, writes O'Brien, Prime Minister Golda Meir had to "bypass" the unsupportive Secretary of State and appeal directly to President Nixon for the arms necessary to stave off defeat. It was Nixon who "ordered the great airlift" that helped save the Jewish state.

There is more to O'Brien's book, much more. Even his discussion of the Lebanon war and of the PLO's role in international terror provides either new information or a new twist on things the reader already knows. His conclusion, while not optimistic, is realistic. O'Brien does not expect any comprehensive "solution" to the Middle East conflict. Like the Irish "troubles," it gives every indication of being one of those near-permanent international problems. Israel cannot give up the West Bank and Jerusalem; the Arabs can accept nothing less than a settlement that would strip Israel of both, and probably much more. The answer for O'Brien then is some sort of shared rule on the West Bank. The Israeli military presence would stay but the Palestinian Arabs and Jordan would take the lead in matters relating to civilian life. In fact, that is happening already. Peace, real peace, will have to await the day when the Arabs agree to end the siege. That, says O'Brien, won't happen soon.

—M.J.R. □

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NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

VOL. XXX, NO. 14 APRIL 7, 1986

EDITORIALS

Keeping Company

It is no surprise that in reaction to the U.S.-Libya clash over the Gulf of Sidra the Arab League foreign ministers came together to denounce America. The action was unanimous; all 20 member states and the PLO agreed. The only Arab state not on the bandwagon was Egypt, suspended by the other League members for making peace with Israel.

Some commentators dismissed the exercise as predictable lip-service because the League turned down Libya's demand for sanctions against the United States. But this view ignores an important point. Arab League foreign ministers agreed, without dissent, on support for Libya regardless of its actions. Qaddafi right or wrong, they declared, in effect. The real and imagined moderates, including Jordan and Saudi Arabia, joined the radicals led by Syria and Libya itself.

This support for Qaddafi from the Arab League is not merely rhetorical. The language nations use in diplomatic discourse tells us something about how they see the world. Arab condemnation of the United States as an imperialist aggressor and praise for Libya as a small state struggling to preserve its territorial integrity and its freedom can be used as justification for future anti-American terrorism.

But even more, they demonstrate that displays of inter-Arab solidarity still take precedence over Arab moderation. It does not matter that many Arab leaders may assure Western diplomats in private that they loathe Qaddafi; in the end policy stands or falls in public. The company they keep counts more than private whispers.

The Arab League's action—even if it never goes beyond words—does not help prepare the way for moderation. Instead, the Arab League foreign ministers have demonstrated

once more the hold that radicalism—the lowest common denominator—still has on all of them.

Intractable

Two weeks ago the mainstream PLO announced that one group of its "fighters" had planted time-bombs "inside the occupied homeland . . . in Kfar Saba north of Tel Aviv." Several days later Yasir Arafat's Fatah claimed responsibility for the Katyusha rocket attack which injured four children playing in a Kiryat Shemona schoolyard, which it described as a "military academy." The PLO also asserted that it has returned *en masse* to Lebanon.

Such announcements, expectable from anti-Arafat "extremists," come naturally to the "moderate" PLO as well. They serve a useful function, helping objective observers filter out the disinformation which constitutes Arafat's diplomatic campaign.

An example of the latter was last week's full-page ad in the *New York Times*. It listed three "peace proposals" which the PLO alleged that the United States had rejected. But American officials already had dismissed such PLO talk as an effort to wiggle out of blame for the collapse of joint political efforts with Jordan.

A PLO which persists in calling a schoolyard full of children a military installation, that counts the village of Kfar Saba as part of its illusory "occupied homeland," and believes that those who attack them are "fighters," not terrorists, is the real PLO. Even full-page newspaper ads cannot disguise it. This is Arafat's PLO—intractable and eventually to be shoved aside by those who will make peace in the Middle East. □

VIEWING THE NEWS

Rabin's Criticism

Israel's Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin criticized State Department suggestions to members of Congress that they postpone traveling to the Middle East during the Easter recess in the wake of the U.S. attack against Libyan ships in the Gulf of Sidra. Rabin said the advice amounted to giving in to terrorism (Reuters, March 31). "How do you say to a Senator not to come [to Israel] and say to a tourist, come?"

Several Senators postponed trips to the Middle East on State Department advice, but Sen. Steven Symms (R-Idaho) said after giving a lecture in Jerusalem that "one

reason I'm here is because I refuse to allow Qaddafi to be my travel agent."

Beirut Clashes

Fighting between the Shi'ite Amal militia and gunmen in Palestinian Arab camps in Beirut escalated recently with 18 killed and 60 injured (Voice of Lebanon, March 31). Amal reportedly has been trying to prevent PLO factions from reestablishing themselves in Beirut and south Lebanon, and Palestinian groups, perhaps aided by the pro-Iranian Shi'ite Hezbollah, have sought to increase attacks on the Israeli-backed

security zone in southern Lebanon and on northern Israel.

Meanwhile, artillery shelling and car bombings in Christian areas intensified. The executive committee of the Lebanese Forces, the major Christian militia, accused Syria of direct involvement in the shelling "to impose a unilateral solution and hinder the use of Arab and international good offices. . . . Syria has sought to tighten its control over Lebanon. . . . It has turned Lebanon into a staging ground for terrorism" (Voice of Lebanon, March 27). □

HEARD IN WASHINGTON

Sharir Extends Invitations

Without tourism from Israel to Egypt, there won't be peace in the real sense," believes Avraham Sharir, Israel's Minister of Tourism. In Washington recently for meetings with Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige and others, Sharir declined to talk about the March 19 shooting in Cairo in which one Israeli diplomat was murdered and three others wounded. The minister had been in the Egyptian capital the same day and some speculated that he was the intended target.

The attack was the third in 22 months against Israeli diplomats in Cairo. In addition, a security policeman killed seven Israeli tourists in the Sinai last October. Nevertheless, Sharir pointed out, Israeli tourists have not been harassed in the Egyptian capital. "We want Israelis to go there, and we want Egyptians to come to Israel."

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak promised Sharir to make two changes to help increase travel and trade, and Israel offered a concession in return. "Mubarak said Egypt would abolish the exit visa needed to visit Israel. . . and that Israeli goods would receive the same treatment as those from other nations," Sharir told *NER*. In the past, Egyptian businesses placed "many orders" for Israeli products, the minister explained, but government officials did not grant the necessary import licenses. Sharir informed Mubarak that Jerusalem will permit tourists from Egypt to

use Egyptian currency in Israel.

While in Washington the tourism minister agreed in principle with Commerce Secretary Baldrige to begin talks on boosting tourism between the United States and Israel. Tourism last year brought Israel \$1.5 billion, drawing more than 1.4 million people and earning the country more foreign currency than any export product, Sharir noted. And 500,000 of the visitors, who spent \$600 million, came from North America.

Still, Sharir is not satisfied. "It's important for America to have its citizens travel to Israel, to see why their government is supporting us. . . . And I don't believe that American tourists are as well received in any other country, even in England, as they are in Israel." Noting Israel's very high rate of return visitors—40%—Sharir asserted that "it's such an enjoyable experience it can't be compared to any place else. People who don't come miss something important."

He hopes that the talks with the Administration will lead to permitting tax deductions for expenses incurred while attending conventions held in Israel—as is done now for Canada, Mexico, the Philippines and some Caribbean island states. "Many conventions are held on a religious basis, and you cannot substitute the Holy Land for any other place," Sharir said.

In addition, he seeks an agreement on

tourism with the United States like those America has with several other countries. A Commerce Department official said such agreements ease travel by simplifying entry formalities, sharing travel statistics and so on.

Sharir decried the fact that no more than 20% of American Jews have ever visited Israel. "Last year more West Germans came than American Jews. Why do we keep saying 'Next year in Jerusalem?' You can go tomorrow and the prices are not prohibitive. . . . If I lived here and the miracle of Israel happened in my time, after two thousand years . . . I'd like to see it."

Fear of terrorism has caused some Americans to cancel trips to the Middle East—ironically sending American bookings for Communist bloc countries up close to 40%, the minister added. But, referring to bombings in Paris, Melbourne and the crime prevalent in American cities, Sharir said that people who fly El Al Airlines and visit Israel "know how security conscious we are."

It sounded almost as if he had written the statement by an American in Jerusalem, carried by Associated Press on March 28: "There is a sense of fear back in the States" about travel to Israel, said Chicagoan Barbara O'Malley, "but I was impressed by the peace and sense of welcome here."

—E.R.

□

NEWS ANALYSIS

Abbas-Arafat Links

Italian prosecutors asking for an indictment against Mohammed "Abu" Abbas and 12 other Arabs for last October's hijacking of the Achille Lauro cruise ship and murder of American passenger Leon Klinghoffer suggested that Abbas may have acted against, rather than with, PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat. Genoa Deputy Public Prosecutor Luigi Carli charged that Abbas, head of the Palestine Liberation Front (PLF), staged the ship takeover to embarrass the more moderate Arafat. According to the March 23 *New York Times*, PLO officials recently alleged that Abbas had shifted his loyalty away from Arafat before the piracy.

However, just one month before the hijacking, both Abbas and Arafat addressed the PLF's congress in Baghdad. Both praised Iraq's position on the "Palestinian

revolution" and both attacked Syria and Libya, which back anti-Arafat factions of the PLO.

Italian Defense Minister Spadolini said that "we have discovered tapes of telephone calls from Genoa to Tunis, headquarters of the PLO, before the hijacking." During the Achille Lauro piracy Abbas told reporters that he was acting to mediate an end to the episode "at Mr. Arafat's behest." Carli himself outlined a meticulous plot Abbas began planning 10 months before the hijacking. Some analysts believe it is unlikely that Abbas did not at least consult with Arafat, if not get his approval at their meetings during this period.

After the hijacking Arafat told Hungarian television that Abbas led the PLF group loyal to him. Arafat's top aide, Salah Kalaf (also known as Abu Iyad) said on

Radio Monte Carlo that the PLO "will not abandon Abu al-Abbas." At the end of November Abbas reportedly attended the PLO central committee meeting in Baghdad, chaired by Arafat.

Abbas remains a member of the PLO executive committee, a post to which Arafat appointed him.

Four of the suspects are in custody. They were captured after U.S. fighter planes forced the hijackers' Egyptian airliner to land in Sicily. The plane was en route from Cairo, where the four had halted the hijacking. Abbas and another PLF official also on the plane were allowed to leave Italy despite U.S. protests. Italian judges often try defendants *in absentia* and the case could go to court this summer.

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M. J. Rosenberg, Editor Eric Rozenman, Assistant Editor

Abby J. Stavitsky, Associate Editor Esther Chesney, Assistant I. L. Kenen, Editor Emeritus

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HEARD IN WASHINGTON

Peres on Economy, Peace

At a working lunch with Secretary of State George Shultz and American business people involved in the Operation Independence campaign to expand Israel's economy through private sector investment, Prime Minister Shimon Peres said that U.S.-Israel relations "operate in an atmosphere of complete trust." The Prime Minister, in Washington on April 1 for meetings with Shultz and Vice President George Bush, acknowledged the help Shultz and a team of State Department economic experts provided for Israel's economic reform program.

Peres disclosed that in the fiscal year just ended, Israel for the first time in its history did not print money to cover the government deficit. Instead, it registered a surplus and was able to absorb \$353 million from the economy, contributing to the sharp drop in inflation. In addition, exports rose 6.7% and the Prime Minister voiced hope that they would rise by another 7% to 8% next year, leading the way to economic growth.

To encourage private enterprise, Peres noted that the government already has sold two state-owned businesses "and we hope to sell more." In an oblique criticism of previous governments, he claimed that if growth policies had been followed the past eight years, Israel's gross national product would be \$38 billion instead of \$24 billion "and we could maintain everything by our own means." Such an Israel would be freer and prouder, and could forge even stronger ties with the United States by being less dependent, he said.

Shultz praised Peres and the national unity government for the economic turnaround. He said that the Prime Minister understood two years ago that Israel's triple-digit inflation and economic stagnation "could undermine political stability," adding that "economic security is no less important than military security."

At a press conference later, Peres said that he was not asking for additional American financial aid, but came to discuss the Middle East peace process and the fight against international terrorism as well as economic matters. He praised the U.S. action against Libya in the Gulf of Sidra. At the luncheon Peres had said that Muammar Qaddafi "had become a real danger to peace." U.S. reprisal strikes against Libyan naval units and a radar site showed "that the free world, led by the United States, still has character as well as intentions."

Regarding the proposed sale of U.S. anti-aircraft and anti-ship missiles to Saudi Arabia, the Prime Minister noted that "traditionally we did oppose sales of arms to any country that maintains a state of belligerency with Israel. This remains unchanged."

Peres said he had brought some new ideas on the Arab-Israeli peace process for discussion in Washington, "but I believe it is too early to discuss them [publicly]. . . . The basic idea is not to close the doors of peace but to keep them open despite the setback which took place between Jordan and the PLO." He said that an Arab initiative to restart the peace process would be best, but meanwhile the United States con-

tinues as intermediary between "some Arab states not on speaking terms with Israel" and his government. Now "quiet diplomacy is essential to advance the peace process in the Middle East."

Peres repeated his view that King Hussein, after working with Yasir Arafat for a year, discovered that "he is part of the problem, not part of the solution." The Prime Minister charged that Arafat is more interested in keeping the PLO together than in achieving peace for Palestinian Arabs.

He noted that the warlike rhetoric of Syrian President Hafez Assad has become "very worrisome, very extreme," but that Jerusalem would not be drawn into a war of words with Damascus. Meanwhile, Peres said, Israel watches Syrian troop deployments on the Golan Heights and in Lebanon "very carefully, and we will continue to do so."

Egypt and Israel have made progress on the Taba issue, the Prime Minister noted, but "the lawyers are still working on it. If they fail, I'm afraid the politicians will have to come in." Regardless, Israel is interested in keeping the peace with Egypt growing, and "like Egypt, we are basically interested in a comprehensive peace in the region." He also referred to his proposed "Marshall Plan" for the Middle East, whereby the seven leading industrial nations would recycle to countries promoting peace in the region some of the billions of dollars the industrial states recoup as oil prices fall.

□
—E.R.

ANALYSIS

Strategic Oil Reserve Reviewed

The Reagan Administration is reevaluating its decision to halt filling the Strategic Petroleum Reserve (SPR). According to Department of Energy officials, the Administration is taking "a new look" at filling the reserve "as a national security matter and for economic reasons."

The SPR was authorized by Congress in 1975 in an effort to reduce America's vulnerability to foreign oil supply disruptions. The reserve, which is slated to hold 750 million barrels upon completion, currently stores close to 498 million barrels.

Twice in the past two years the Administration has decided to defer funding for SPR fill-up. Officials claimed that this was due to budgetary considerations. Last year, however, Congress passed a measure to override the President's deferral. This

year the measure is pending in the Senate after having gained approval in the House.

Energy Department sources told *NER* that Energy Secretary John Herrington ordered a study of the Administration's position. The study, which is reportedly nearing completion, will look at the rate of fill, purchasing expenses, and maintenance and construction costs. While officials were quick to point out that merely undertaking the study does not "signal a new change" in policy, they said that "the falling price of oil is one of the major factors in that drive."

Department of Energy officials expressed concern about the long-term impact on the U.S. economy of the collapse of the world oil market. In the last three months, the price of oil has plummeted

from \$27 a barrel to less than \$12, and reports indicate the price may go as low as \$8 a barrel.

Cheap foreign oil threatens domestic oil exploration and increases American dependence on imported petroleum—potentially leading to the reemergence of OPEC and a replay of the energy crisis of the 1970's. Oil industry experts blame Saudi Arabia, the world's largest oil exporter, and other Persian Gulf states for triggering the oil-price war as they sought to undercut non-OPEC oil producers. From last July and to this February, the Saudis increased production from their fields more than 100 percent.

—Stephen Silberfarb. □

Silberfarb is the American Israel Public Affairs Committee's senior legislative assistant.

BACK PAGE

The Students' Battle

In many ways, the students' job is tougher. Pro-Israel adults are not, for the most part, subjected to anti-Israel diatribes at the office or the supermarket. They aren't condemned as imperialists or fascists at PTA meetings. Nor are their own meetings broken up by well-educated thugs. It just doesn't happen that way in Highland Park, Chevy Chase or the San Fernando Valley. It has happened that way on campus.

It has never been easy being a pro-Israel campus activist. Back in the late 1960's, I found the job to be a small form of torture. Arab and pro-Arab students would break up our meetings. Anti-Israel Jewish students would disrupt our May 15 Israeli Independence Day celebrations. Flying fists and flying chairs often settled arguments when logic failed.

Worst of all, though, was that our small band of activists received little guidance from the outside. There was no network of pro-Israel students operating nationwide and no organization that saw advancing the pro-Israel cause as its prime role on campus. We were alone.

That has all changed in recent years thanks to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee's Political Leadership Development Program (PLDP) which—together with the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation—is ending the isolation of pro-Israel activists on campus. It is teaching them that they are not alone and that there are tried and true methods of promoting Israel on campus.

In March, AIPAC and Hillel completed a nationwide political training seminar that reached over 1,300 students. Jonathan Kessler, director of AIPAC's student programs, said that the success of the seminar demonstrated that "there is a tremendous resurgence of student activism on campus." Five seminars were held—at Yale, Ohio State, Brandeis, the University of Texas and Stanford. Each was a regional event with students in attendance from neighboring states. Richard Fishman, Kessler's associate and chief organizer of the seminars, points out that at the University of Texas, there were students who came from as far away as Arkansas and Louisiana. At Stanford, he says, students came from Oregon and Washington state as well as from all over northern California.

The programs on each campus were similar. They included a Senator or a House member who discussed the role of Congress in U.S.-Israel relations. AIPAC staff people spoke about developments in the Middle East and in Washington. There were workshops on building pro-Israel campus coalitions, on combatting anti-Israel propaganda, and on using student

power to back pro-Israel candidates for political office.

Encouraging political involvement is a growing part of AIPAC's mission. Dan Mariaschin, director of the AIPAC department which includes the campus program, says that he thinks it is "essential that we do everything we can to get pro-Israel students involved politically. In this democracy, political action is the prime way to influence events. Knowledgeable students can not only fight the pro-Israel battle on campus, they can also help ensure that our government continues to support a secure Israel."

The students themselves agree. James Duell, a student at the University of Arkansas, says that the Texas workshop "helped me feel less isolated. It showed me many ways that I myself could make a difference and it linked my campus to the wider pro-Israel community." Robert Lederman, AIPAC's student organizer at Yale, says that the workshop at his campus "not only helped give me the tools to be effective now, it helped set the stage for a lifetime of involvement."

In fact, it is students like Lederman and Duell who are the most impressive part of the program. AIPAC staffer Jeremy Rabinovitz, a speaker at the Brandeis event, says that "these students are terrific. They get up early on a Sunday morning to listen to speakers, to engage in discussion, to debate and to learn. It is particularly striking when you consider all the talk about the apathetic students of the eighties. The students I saw were anything but apathetic. They were dedicated—for the cause of Israel, to a strong U.S.-Israel relationship and to involvement in the democratic process on a wide variety of issues. It's enough to make you a lot more optimistic about the future."

—M.J.R. □



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EDITORIAL

The PLO Hangs Tough

In February the United States—with the encouragement of Jordan's King Hussein—made the PLO an offer that should have been too tempting to turn down. According to press reports, the Reagan Administration informed Yasir Arafat, through intermediaries, that the PLO would be accepted into the negotiating process if it accepted Security Council Resolution 242, agreed to negotiate with Israel, and renounced terrorism. Incredibly, or so it seemed, the PLO said no. It wouldn't accept the American terms. At that point, a disgusted King Hussein told Arafat to take a hike and the on-again, off-again peace process was back at square one.

On March 21, Farouk Kaddoumi, head of the PLO's Political Department and a key Arafat deputy, explained why the PLO had no choice but to reject the American offer. His answer was rather simple. The PLO doesn't accept 242; it will not negotiate with Israel; and it won't renounce terror.

In an interview with the Dubai *Khaleej Times*, Kaddoumi said that the PLO could not recognize 242 because "we would have been recognizing Israel's right to exist without getting anything in return. It would mean accepting the 1967 boundaries as Israel's boundaries, which we don't." Asked if most Palestinian Arabs would, in fact, accept an Israel within the pre-'67 lines, Kaddoumi said: "I don't think so."

Kaddoumi then said that the PLO would continue "our

struggle on all fronts: the diplomatic front, the political front, the armed struggle." The interviewer reminded Kaddoumi that Arafat, in his so-called Cairo declaration of December 1985, indicated that the PLO would confine the "armed struggle" (i.e. terrorism) to the "occupied territories." Does that still hold, he wanted to know.

Kaddoumi responded that "the armed struggle would be confined to the occupied territories, that's right, *but all Palestine is occupied*, and this means that we continue our struggle in the occupied territories, and this is something exactly right." The interviewer then asked if Kaddoumi meant that he would settle for nothing less than "the whole of Palestine?" Kaddoumi responded in the affirmative. "Whole rights. Self-determination, the independent state of Palestine, and [the] return to Palestine."

In an age (and region) of fine-sounding doubletalk, Kaddoumi's forthrightness represents a welcome change. None of that "half a loaf" rhetoric for him. The PLO wants "the whole of Palestine" and will even fight for "decades, a few decades" to achieve it. If Kaddoumi's honesty is refreshing, his message is dismaying. The PLO is still the PLO. It may alter its rhetoric to suit a particular audience at a particular moment. But its fundamental thrust remains today what it has been since its founding in 1964: the elimination of Israel. That is why those who continue their search for PLO moderation are wasting their time. This is one tiger that will not change its stripes. □

VIEWING THE NEWS

Cairo's Response

Terrorists claiming to be from "Egypt's Revolution" shot and killed Eti Talor and wounded three other Israelis in Cairo on Mar. 20. Talor and her companions were on their way from their assignments at the Israeli exhibition at the Cairo trade fair. It was the third attack on Israeli diplomats in Egypt in the past year (*Kol Yisrael*, March 20).

In contrast to the slow, relatively unsympathetic response shown immediately after the shooting of seven Israeli tourists in the Sinai last fall, Egyptian leaders and major media condemned the killing and expressed condolences. "President Hosni Mubarak told Tourism Minister Avraham Sharir [who was in Egypt at the time] that despite the murderous attack, Egypt will continue to improve ties with Israel" (Israeli Defense Forces Radio, March 20).

Egypt's major newspaper *Al-Ahram* editorialized on March 21 that the shooting "is a criminal, mean act by any definition. Any attempt to give it a political or ideological bearing is a doomed attempt that cannot convince anyone because the victims are innocent civilians who have harmed no one by coming to Cairo and by their contribution to push the peace process between the two countries." The paper added that peace between Egypt and Israel "has the acceptance of the majority of the two peoples. . . ."

On Taba

David Kimche, director-general of Israel's Foreign Ministry, "said that there was still a substantial gap" between the Israeli and Egyptian positions "on the formulation of the 'key' question the Taba arbitrators are to answer."

The sides have also not agreed to the

identity of the other members of the arbitration panel. However, the two sides have so far hammered out a 25-page draft compromise, the agreed document outlining the terms of reference of the arbitration. (*Jerusalem Post*, March 23).

The newspaper reported that following another round of negotiations, one or two draft versions of the compromise would be submitted to Israel's inner cabinet "for political-level ratification."

Cheap Oil

The collapse of oil prices has proved to be an economic boost to Israel. While deflating what Knesset Defense and Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Abba Eban called "Arab extortionary powers," it has already cut Israel's bill for imported crude in half for a budget savings of roughly 10% compared to 1980 costs (*New York Times*, Mar. 24). □

COMMENT

A View from East Jerusalem

At a recent Washington appearance, Hanna Siniora, editor-in-chief of *Al-Fajr*, used the vocabulary of moderation. Unfortunately, Siniora's content did not match his moderate tone.

Last year he was one of two Palestinian Arabs acceptable to both the United States and Israel as a participant in a prospective joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation. His paper is considered to reflect the views of Yasir Arafat's PLO. The group never met with U.S. officials because some potential members had formal ties to the PLO, and the Administration had no guarantee that a session with the joint delegation would lead it to talk with Israel. On his latest Washington trip Siniora did meet with Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, Richard Murphy.

Introduced at the American Enterprise Institute as "nationalist but moderate," Siniora claimed that the Palestinian National Council (PNC), the PLO "parliament-in-exile," "sacrificed a free and independent state and accepted confederation with the state of Jordan." He also claimed that the Palestinian Arabs and the Arab states, by adopting the Fez plan in 1982, "called for a homeland in 20% of Palestine—the West Bank and Gaza—in return for recognition and normal relations with the state of Israel." In exchange, Israel must give "every inch" of the West Bank and Gaza to the Palestinian Arabs.

Siniora maintained that "all parties in the Middle East want a solution. Future wars will be costly and horrible. The solution is accommodation, partition."

But an Arab country with a Palestinian majority already encompasses more than three-quarters of Mandatory Palestine. That country is Jordan. Siniora disparages this inconvenient history as "a crazy idea of [Ariel] Sharon's." Meanwhile, there still is no hard evidence that the PLO accepts a Jewish state on the 17% of the Mandate Israel held after 1948 (see this week's editorial).

One of Arafat's most senior associates, Salah Khalaf (also known as Abu Iyad), has asserted that independence remains a key objective. "We do not under any circumstances accept a West Bank and Gaza ruled by the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan or any Arab state." Although meant to support his claim that the PLO did accept confederation, Siniora's own statement that association must be "on the basis of equality" between the two parts only cast more doubt on the likelihood of a West Bank and Gaza entity tied to Jordan.

His explanation of Arafat's position on U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338—also offered to show PLO moderation—did not help. "Arafat said [to members of the prospective joint delegation] 'you can accept 242 and 338, in return for a statement from the U.S. recognizing self-

determination for the Palestinian people.' This is the bottom line." But both Washington and Jerusalem recognize self-determination as a code for an independent PLO-ruled state.

Siniora's companion statement that the Palestinian leadership abandoned its underlying claims on Israel within the 1948 "green line" when it endorsed the Fez plan also failed to convince. Not only does the plan not even mention Israel by name, but another veteran Arafat adviser, Khalid al-Hassan, has explained the principle of accepting PLO rule on any land Israel withdraws from this way:

"The policy of stages means, in the first stage, the West Bank and Gaza. There is a contradiction between the conscience and the mind, because the conscience immediately asks in fear: what about Palestine of 1948? Proceeding by stages means taking what is possible at this stage and continuing the struggle for the final goal. . . . It is a long struggle which will not be resolved except by liquidating either Arab nationalism or Zionism."

Nevertheless, Siniora said he was "happy that we've reached the stage where it is clear that there is no alternative to the present PLO leadership and that 242 alone is not the way to a solution." In such happiness lies not moderation but the promise of more conflict. □

—E.R.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Looking at Israel's Neighbors

Bellacose speeches by Syrian President Hafez Assad in the past few weeks should be put into context, said an Israeli official who monitors developments in Arab countries. "What else can he say to his people?" the analyst asked. "He has no good news—the economy is in as bad a shape as ever and Lebanon is not healthy" despite the deployment there of approximately 50,000 Syrian troops. Internally, tension between the majority Sunni Moslems and Assad's ruling Alawite minority continues, perhaps fueled by Syria's support of Shi'ite Iran in its war with Iraq.

In addition, the expert said, Assad was probably encouraged by the collapse of the joint diplomatic initiative of PLO Chairman

Yasir Arafat and Jordan's King Hussein. So his speeches, following soon after, let him emphasize his view "that the only thing that counts" in Arab-Israeli relations "is between Israel and Syria." That also enabled Assad to justify once more his massive military build-up—the drive for "strategic parity" with Israel—which hobbles the Syrian economy.

In any case, as of the third week in March, Syria had not changed troop deployments facing Israel despite the sabre-rattling. Nevertheless, the official noted, Damascus has expanded its *standing* army from approximately 300,000 to 450,000 troops [the size of Israel's military when *all* reserves are mobilized] and added a great

deal of advanced Soviet weapons since clashing with Israel in Lebanon three years ago. He found Assad's repeated glorification of martyrdom "unusual for a secular Ba'athist party leader. Maybe he was in a philosophical mood—saying it would be a long struggle."

The succession crisis—which broke into public view after Assad's 1983 heart attack—may be continuing "behind the scenes." His brother, Rifaat—one of three vice presidents—still shuttles from Syria to Europe. "I think [Hafez] Assad is trying to postpone taking a decision in this matter. There may be anarchy after him . . . he's trying to make his brother more desirable

(Continued)

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PERSPECTIVE

Active Middle East Fronts

Combat between U.S. and Libyan forces in the Gulf of Sidra on March 24 and 25 overshadowed other Middle East stories with Washington connections recently. But several deserved attention on their own.

On March 24, the State Department knocked down a renewed claim by Yasir Arafat that the PLO had devised three formulas for advancing the Arab-Israeli peace process and "it is up to the American administration to give us a formal answer. . . ." Deputy Spokesman Charles Redman said "what is happening is that Mr. Arafat is attempting to obfuscate the fact that the current hiatus in the peace process is due to the PLO's failure to meet King Hussein's challenges. The PLO leadership did not accept [U.N. Security Council Resolutions] 242 and 338 with the clarity and lack of ambiguity that the King demanded; did not agree to negotiate with the state of Israel and did not agree to end violence while negotiations were underway."

Perhaps to balance the rebuke to Arafat, the State Department also deflated an observation by its own counselor, Edward Derwinski, that Palestinian Arab refugees still in U.N.-administered camps might be better served by absorption into the host Arab countries. Derwinski said that "there are a number of the Arab governments who don't want to recognize the facts of life that

these people are, in fact, permanent refugees. They prefer to instead debate the non-existent political solutions." He said he found it "upsetting" to think of refugees "as pawns in a political game."

Asserting that neither the PLO nor Arab states would be able to crush Israel, and that peace and a solution to the refugee problems "is not going to be found in the political rhetoric" of the U.N. and other international bodies, Derwinski said "it would be humanitarian, it would be logical, it would be practical . . . if the Palestinians would be accepted as brother Arabs, worthy of citizenship and absorbed across the Arab world. . . ."

Derwinski's observations drew hostile commentaries in the Syrian and Jordanian press. On March 24 a State Department clarification noted that "the counselor made clear that his remarks did not constitute a new American policy. . . . As President Reagan and others have noted, the Palestinian problem is more than a question of refugees."

A week before the U.S.-Libyan clash in the Gulf of Sidra, Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi hosted the second conference of the International Platform for Resisting Imperialism, Zionism, Racism, Reaction and Fascism. Attending from the United States, in violation of a Presidential order

banning travel to Libya, was Louis Farrakhan.

A Justice Department spokesman said that Farrakhan's trip was not being investigated now. He noted that when people return from Libya "we usually talk to them. We've had people come back and demand to be arrested, but we refused to accommodate them."

Last month Vice President George Bush's Task Force on Combatting Terrorism issued its public report. One paragraph in the 34-page document is headed "Alleviating Causes of Terrorism." The only region of the world it specifically identifies is the Middle East, noting that "a cooperative international effort to mitigate the sources of grievances, such as pursuing the peace process in the Middle East, is an essential yet complicated and long-term objective."

This echoes Bush's remark in his 1984 debate with Vice Presidential challenger Geraldine Ferraro that international terror "is very hard to guard against. And the answer, then, really lies in the Middle East—and terror is happening all over the world—is a solution to the Palestine question." But Israel's prime minister, Shimon Peres, noted on March 20 that "the Palestinian tragedy is the result of terrorism, not the other way around." —E.R. □

NEIGHBORS . . . Continued

but I don't think Rifaat's position has changed either vis-a-vis the Sunnis or other high-ranking Alawites in the Army."

Although Syria blamed Iraq for a recent truck bombing in Damascus, the analyst said he would look first "to the local opposition," including the remnants of the Sunni Moslem Brotherhood—crushed by the regime in the 1982 Hama massacres—and pro-Arafat PLO factions. Arafat officially wants to mend relations with Syria but "Assad was very, very concerned, furious, that in the past there was some cooperation between Arafat sympathizers and the Brotherhood."

Although previously Israel pointed to Iraq's large military establishment as a potential threat, "we do not find any comfort in Iran's doing better in spite of militarily inferior weapons," the official said. He termed Iran's threats to Kuwait and Saudi Arabia "serious," although "we don't know if they'll be translated into military steps." Both countries pump oil on Iraq's behalf.

Meanwhile, rumors say that pressure on Iraqi strongman Saddam Hussein has become "very substantial. People are grumbling about the casualties." But Israel does not have a clear assessment of the stability

of Hussein's inner circle.

And despite assertions by some in the United States that Saudi Arabia and other anti-Camp David states have become more moderate toward Israel, the analyst said Jerusalem disagrees. He said that some Israeli experts believe that what is important is how Arab leaders educate their people. In that regard "the Saudis are anti-Israeli, even anti-Semitic. So I don't see any sign of

this moderation."

He said that Jerusalem has not asked Washington for compensation for the proposed \$354 million package of sophisticated anti-aircraft and anti-ship missiles planned for Saudi Arabia. But the sale means an additional burden on Israel's strained defense budget and, on principle, Jerusalem does not want to ease the way for U.S. arms sales to hostile Arab states. □

Saudi Connection

In its March 3 issue, *Time* magazine ran a cover story on "Peddling Influence," dealing with Washington lobbyists. It devoted a long sidebar to Michael Deaver, former Reagan White House deputy chief of staff. *Time* reported that this year as a "public affairs consultant," Deaver "should take home around \$400,000" (at the White House his top salary was \$70,200).

One week after the story appeared, Deaver's firm, Michael K. Deaver and Associates, filed notice of a new client—the Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia. Papers submitted to the Justice Department under the Foreign Agents Registration Act show that Deaver and Associates will receive \$500,000 annually, plus expenses, from their new foreign principal. They will deal with the Ambassador, Prince Bandar bin Sultan.

The filing notes that Deaver's firm "may engage in political activities" on behalf of the Saudis, including contacts with the White House, federal agencies and members of Congress and their staffs. Deaver and Associates will provide their new client with "advice and consultation as to ways to strengthen American understanding and respect for the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia."

The consulting agreement—for one year with three automatic one-year renewals—took effect on Feb. 28 but was not mentioned in the *Time* story. □

BACK PAGE

Coming Home

Our friend, Dan, decided to spend a month in Israel before moving from a Washington law firm to one in his hometown. Joined by Jeff, his friend from the Washington firm, he purchased his El Al tickets, packed one very compact suitcase, and boarded a flight to Tel Aviv.

Dan hadn't been in Israel since he was 16, 12 years ago. We gave him the names and phone number of our Israeli friends, Tod and Minette, and told him to give them a call. Then we dropped them a line telling them when Dan and Jeff would arrive and suggesting that they might look out for them. Tod and Minette had never met Dan but knew that he is a *de facto* member of our family. As for Jeff, they didn't know him and, in fact, neither did we.

But this is Israel we are talking about. So, when Dan and Jeff arrived at Ben-Gurion Airport, Tod and Minette were there waiting. And, with the exception of the days Dan and Jeff spent traveling around the country, they stayed with them at their Jerusalem apartment. "It's no trouble," Minette told me on the phone, "they're terrific guys and we're having a great time with them." Dan told me that "they treat us like long-lost family."

Minette and Tod were not the only Israelis who invited Dan and Jeff into their homes and their lives. The other day I received a letter from Dan telling me about a two-day trip he and Jeff made to the Galilee. He wrote: "I am sitting on the patio of a hotel in Tiberias, watching the sun over the Kineret as it sets on my first Shabbat in Israel in 12 years." He then described the day before. "We arrived yesterday from Jerusalem and decided to spend the night here before traveling to Rosh Hanikra and back to Tel Aviv on Sunday."

"After dinner, we found a bar-discotheque and went in. It was crowded with young Israelis (a lot of women about our age) and we mingled. . . ." But it was the owner of the place who went out of his way to befriend them. "His name is Amnon and he is a 27-year old sabra who fought in the Lebanon war. His family has lived in Tiberias for 400 years. At the end of the evening, Amnon told us to meet him outside our hotel at seven the next morning. After about ten Maccabees [Israeli beer] and little rest, this was no easy task. But we did it."

That morning Amnon picked up the two Americans and drove them to the Golan Heights. He showed them "where the battles were fought in '67 and '73, guided us through an Israeli bunker, and brought us to a military base. . . ." If I did not already know the strategic importance of the Golan before, I do now. Whoever controls those

hills controls all of northern Israel."

But Amnon's personal tour didn't stop there. At the end of the day, he drove Dan and Jeff back to his brother's house "on a mountain overlooking the Kineret." The "entire house was overrun with kids"—Amnon's 10 brothers and sisters and their children. Throughout the evening, the older family members told Dan and Jeff "stories about the October morning in 1973 when Syrian and Jordanian bombers came over the hills and buzzed their house. The grandfather told us how—during the War of Independence—they fought off the invading Arabs with pistols and screwdrivers. These are very brave people."

Amnon had a hard time understanding why Dan and Jeff would leave Israel. "Your're Jews. You belong here," Amnon told them.

Dan told me that he was moved by Amnon's conviction that they make *aliya*. "He didn't want us in Israel just because Israel needed us—although that was part of it. He really believed that we needed Israel, that we would derive even more from living in Israel than Israel would from having two more American lawyers."

So, I asked Dan, was he convinced? His answer was that he would not stay this time but that he felt guilty about it. "I can't explain it. Even though I know that I'll return to Israel often, I feel guilty because this whole trip has convinced me that I have a real place here. That if I ever need Israel, it will be there for me. A refuge, I guess. I feel good knowing that I can always live here but bad knowing that I probably won't—unless I have to. . . ."

He was silent for a few seconds. "But, on the other hand, that is why the state was created. And it is such a beautiful feeling just knowing that it's there." □

—M.J.R.



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EDITORIAL

Riyadh's Record

One of the prime claims being made to support the sale of 2,600 additional missiles to Saudi Arabia is that placing those missiles in Saudi hands "does not represent a threat to Israel's security" (Sen. Lugar's words in a Mar. 14 letter to his colleagues). Underlying that claim is the belief that Saudi Arabia's intentions toward Israel are if not benign at least realistic. The Saudis supposedly know that they will never defeat Israel in a war; accordingly, they have become reconciled to Israel's existence.

That, unfortunately, is not the case. Despite the claims made by pro-Saudi advocates, Riyadh's record speaks for itself. Last summer the London-based Saudi-financed newspaper *Al Sharq al Awsat* (July 15, 1985) set forth the Saudi position. "Let no one deny the fact that our major problem is the destruction of Israel. Yes! We wish to exterminate Israel once and for all, regardless of whether we accept or do not accept U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 and a thousand similar resolutions. . . ."

Then, as if to undermine those who contend that Riyadh considers its main enemy to be the Soviet Union or Iran, the statement says that "our sworn enemy—yesterday, today, and tomorrow—is the State of Israel. Israel's public. Israel's interests. The individual Israeli and Israel's institutions."

Just last month, another article in the same newspaper

urged that Israel be expelled from the United Nations (*Al Sharq al Awsat*, Feb. 15, 1986). It stated that Israel "is not a state but an entity based on plunder and terror."

These articles—supported by Saudi funds—are not aberrations nor are they mere empty rhetoric. On the contrary, Saudi Arabia's actions demonstrate that its rhetoric reflects its policies. The Saudis have joined wars against Israel in 1948, 1967, and 1973. There is no indication whatsoever that they—and all their U.S.-supplied weaponry—would not join the next war, if there is one. In the years since 1973 (and, even more relevantly, since the AWACS sale in 1981) the Saudis have been consistent opponents of Middle East peace efforts. As noted last week, they have *opposed* Camp David, the Reagan plan, and the Hussein-Peres peace initiative while *supporting* Libya, the PLO and Syrian adventurism. Only last week, for example, the Saudis paid the PLO another quarterly installment of \$28.9 million.

The Saudis are natural leaders in the Arab world because of their petro-power and because they are the guardians of Mecca and of mainstream Islam. They could be using this unique position to advance the peace process and to lead their fellow Arabs to acceptance of Israel. Instead, they offer their financial and moral support to rejectionists of every stripe.

They should not be rewarded.

□

VIEWING THE NEWS

On Record

The fourth conference of the Arab Parliamentary Union (APU) reaffirmed "that the conflict between the Arab nation on the one hand and world Zionism and its Israeli protegee on the other is one of existence and destiny. . . ." (*Al-Dustur*, Mar. 14). According to the Amman publication, the resolution added that "Israel's aggressive policy of annexation and gradual expansion is actually aimed at the entire Arab land. . . and means to force 'an Arab surrender with the help of the U.S.-Israeli strategic alliance. . . .'"

On the "Palestinian Arab people" the conference resolved that "it is impermissible for any Arab state to tackle this issue separately outside the Arab community and the PLO" and insisted that any settlement must gain PLO approval. It rejected

any agreements which do not recognize the Palestinian Arabs' "legitimate rights" including self-determination and "establishment of their independent state on their national soil under the leadership of the PLO."

Pakistan's Call

Pakistani President Zia al-Haq called on the PLO to recognize Israel (*The Jerusalem Post*, Mar. 16). In Israel the Foreign Ministry downplayed the statement, noting that Zia "had not urged Jordan or even Syria to open talks with and recognize Israel" and that Jerusalem's policy remains not to negotiate with the PLO.

In Washington an Israeli source called Zia's statement "unusual" and said that it might have been meant to support an ally,

Jordan's King Hussein. Zia, as the leader of a large Moslem state, might have been trying to help Hussein end his isolation.

French Deals?

France will sell Syria advanced Mirage-2000 fighter-bombers, Dobin helicopter gunships and air-launched missiles (*Al-Ray Al-Amm*, Mar. 14). According to the Kuwaiti paper, "France has decided to compensate Israel by lifting the ban it imposed on French arms dispatches to Israel."

Paris will provide Israel with nuclear reactors to generate electrical power and military "designs" for tank guns, missile boats and air-launched missiles, the paper added. A French source in Washington said that the story was unconfirmed.

□

HEARD IN WASHINGTON

Peres To Visit in April

Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres will be in the United States Apr. 1-3 on his second visit in six months. The agenda this time appears less crowded than last fall's, which included a speech to the U.N. General Assembly and a meeting with President Ronald Reagan. Peres' tentative schedule includes probable meetings with Vice President George Bush and Secretary of State George Shultz. President Reagan will be on vacation.

Economic issues—including release of the second and final installment of \$750 million in U.S. supplemental economic aid—likely will dominate Peres' agenda. His Labor Party and the opposition Likud—partners in the national unity government—have clashed recently over the questions of how and when to spur economic growth after long months of anti-inflation austerity. In addition, several major Israeli firms face massive debts. Rescuing them—and implementing all of the new \$450 million “growth” plan—could jeopardize economic stabilization.

Neither major political party wants the other to get credit for an economic recovery after they shared responsibility for the pain of austerity. Both keep an anxious eye on the scheduled rotation in office of Prime

Minister Peres and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir in October. Recently, the tension surfaced as the two parties clashed over Labor's insistence on creation of a Cabinet committee on growth. Labor won and Peres chairs the new panel.

In Senate testimony two weeks ago Shultz said that the \$750 million in supplemental economic aid “obviously needs to be dispersed fairly soon.” He asserted that the Administration has not been delaying the transfer but had chosen not to “dump” the total \$1.5 billion in emergency assistance on Israel all at once. That kept pressure on Israelis “to face up to some of the difficult things they had to do” in cutting the budget, devaluing the shekel, reducing imports and controlling wage and price levels.

Now controls are coming off and inflation is running at 25% annually—down from 440% 18 months ago. There had been fear that the unemployment rate might hit 10% but it apparently peaked at 8% and has dropped back to approximately 6%.

Shultz said that Israel's economic situation is “radically different” from what it was at the start of austerity. “The problems aren't over,” he added, but great progress has been made. The debate on expansion

should recognize that “a lot of growth-oriented changes need to be made.”

An Israeli source said that the Administration “has indicated that it will disperse the supplemental aid, but has not said when.” He noted that Peres would raise the growth issue on his visit, adding that political reasons complemented economic ones: “You cannot prolong austerity without showing light at the end of the tunnel.” Peres used a similar statement—referred to by Shultz in his Capitol Hill testimony—when the economic reforms were begun. The reforms cut Israelis' standard of living but, so far, have received general public support.

The source pointed out that austerity was working even before the plunge in oil prices and the drop in the value of the dollar, although Israel had not implemented all the budget cuts originally planned. Program delays, if not actual cuts, helped keep the deficit and government spending lower than expected. As to restraining inflation, “a lot depends on the [new] wage contract” to be negotiated by the unions and employer representatives and on next year's government budget.

□
—E.R.

HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

Shultz Pushes Foreign Aid

In a recent appearance before the Senate Appropriations Committee's Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Secretary of State George Shultz argued against a “meat-axe” approach to foreign aid cuts which could “badly damage” American interests around the world. Shultz also discussed Egypt in the wake of the police riots and the Administration's Saudi arms package.

He was questioned by panel members about the President's proposed increase for foreign aid at the same time the new budget calls for cuts in domestic programs. The Secretary replied that “we can't continue to run the kind of deficits we've been running—we've got to get the spending down.” But he noted that foreign aid is an important tool to promote U.S. economic and security interests abroad.

Shultz told Sen. DANIEL INOUE (D-Hawaii) that his question whether aid to Egypt had paid off was “much too harsh.”

Inouye had pointed out that U.S. military and economic support for Cairo had grown from approximately \$250 million ten years ago to \$2.3 billion today “yet reports suggest that economic and political stability is still elusive. . . . I know the importance of Egypt . . . but I'm not certain what we've done to date has been the proper path to follow.”

Shultz said that “Egypt has its troubles. What country doesn't? President Mubarak has been trying to move things along. We have made some successes in the subsidies and economic reforms. . . . I was interested to see how firmly President Mubarak put down the problems they had in Cairo recently.”

“I think that Egypt has been a very consistent and strong supporter of the peace process and the efforts to attain more stability in that part of the world,” Shultz said that the United States should continue supporting Egypt and Israel and persevere

with its diplomacy in the region, “hard as it is.”

Sen. ARLEN SPECTER (R-Pa.) brought up the proposed sale of \$354 million worth of U.S. anti-aircraft and anti-ship missiles to Saudi Arabia and asked Shultz to specify one case in which Riyadh has helped support U.S. Middle East peacemaking. Specter noted that the Administration promised the Senate before approval of the 1981 AWACS sale that delivery of the planes—scheduled to begin this fall—would depend on Saudi backing of American diplomacy.

Shultz said that “in my opinion the Saudis have made an effort to be constructive. . . . Mostly what the Saudis do they do as quietly as they can. That's their way.” Specter responded that “there's a lot of concern in the Senate about what the Saudis have done [to promote the peace process]. You say it's been done quietly. It's been inaudible as far as this Senator is concerned.”

—E.R. □

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NEWS ANALYSIS

The Herut Revolt

The collapse of the Herut convention has dramatically increased Israel's political instability. Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir's failure to establish undisputed leadership of the party which dominates the Likud bloc has cast doubt about his replacing Shimon Peres in the prime minister's office next October.

The convention was disfigured—and ultimately disrupted—by ugly clashes between supporters of the “establishment” faction headed by Shamir and Minister-Without-Portfolio Moshe Arens and supporters of the dissident factions led by Deputy Prime Minister David Levy and Minister of Commerce and Industry Ariel Sharon.

Billed as a fight for the “real Herut” or for “party democracy”—depending on one's position—party newcomers dealt a heavy blow to the old party elites. This was made possible by the pre-convention decision of Levy and Sharon to pool their forces against the Shamir-Arens faction. The convention ended indecisively, with the Levy-Sharon insurgents ahead on points and positioned to create a post-convention majority in new party decision-making forums.

What happened to Herut wasn't simply a generational conflict. The Shamir-Arens faction represents Herut (and Likud) as a conservative party, hardline in foreign and defense policy, moderate and cautious in tone, committed to civil discourse and to recognized rules of the Israeli democratic

game.

The Levy faction represents Herut as a populist party, a vehicle for the middle and lower classes, and especially for Jews from Arab lands and their descendants, relatively moderate in foreign and defense policy, strident in tone and playing by whatever rules serve the drive to power.

The Sharon faction represents Herut as a party of the radical right, populist and pro-business (at the same time) in economics, extreme in matters of foreign policy, and quick to urge military solutions to foreign policy problems.

The new Herut majority is largely, although not exclusively, a working class and lower middle class “ethnic” (that is, Sephardic) bloc of voters. These voters identify strongly with Levy and with Sharon, who in turn play heavily on the anti-establishment themes which served Likud so well in running against Labor. The genie of ethnic tensions that Menachem Begin coaxed out of the political lamp has now turned against the veteran Herut leadership.

By convention's end, the verbal clash reached a level of intensity that left most observers unsure how the rival leaders would succeed in putting the party back together again.

Shamir's strongest card is the rotation—no one wants to be tagged as having forced the party into opposition. Shamir has made clear that he “will not be the leader without a majority; I will not be leader if my party

does not choose me.”

Of the major options facing them, a party break-up is the least likely. It is also highly unlikely that one side will capitulate and surrender control of the party. The most likely outcome will be a temporary compromise, which will postpone the inevitable showdown.

Labor has been very reluctant to respond. Peres, for his part, has told his people to speak, if at all, with restraint. Labor Party leaders postponed an internal discussion on breaking up the national unity government until after the Herut convention. “Why steal the show from Herut?” one party leader asked rhetorically.

While Herut factions were busy slugging it out in public, Labor was exploring other political options. If Herut cannot close ranks and agree on a planned merger with their Likud partners—the Liberals—some of the latter might look for other ways to ensure their parliamentary future.

If along with his control of Herut, Shamir has lost the ability to deliver his party to coalition compromises with Peres, Labor might trigger the next coalition crisis over any number of issues. The Herut convention has rearranged Israel's political equation in such a way that the next crisis will probably be the unity government's last.

—David Twersky

Twersky is NER's correspondent in Israel.

COMMENT

Javits Remembered

Even in his last difficult years, he was always referred to as “the Senator”—a reflection of the enormous respect he had for the institution and the unique role he played within it.

To many who mourn the death of Jacob K. Javits, it represents the passing of an era. Some remember Javits the Senator. Others, Javits the intellectual. Still others, Javits the heroic spokesman for the terminally ill.

As a former member of “the Senator's” staff, I will always remember Javits as the outspoken Jewish public figure and, in that role, the model he was to so many of us.

As the child of poor Jewish refugees, Jacob Javits not only “made it” to become a Congressman and then Senator, but he, by virtue of his intellect and compassion, became one of the most influential members of the U.S. Senate. He not only became the Senate's expert on labor law, arms control, and civil rights issues, but was un-

abashedly Jewish in his concerns and in his thinking.

Never a religious man, Jacob Javits nonetheless carried within him the deepest feelings for Judaism, for the Jewish people, and for the state of Israel. His love of Judaism was entwined with a love of that which Judaism represents—justice, caring, compassion—and he carried those ideals with him through all his work in the Senate. He cared deeply about the Jewish people and worked quietly to pass countless pieces of legislation to rectify the wrongs that he felt were imposed upon Jews in this country or abroad, whether it was in the struggle for a secure Israel, the emigration of Soviet Jews, or *kashruth* in U.S. prisons.

To countless Jewish immigrants, he was their voice in Washington and in public life. To numerous aspiring Jewish politicians, he was proof that the American system works—in all its wonders and openness. To Jewish Hill staffers like myself, he demon-

strated the virtues of clear, principled thinking, of devotion to a cause, of integrity, of working to your fullest potential. There was always a special feeling about working for “the best.” More things got done than you ever expected.

Senator Javits was everyone's great man but especially so for the Jews of this country. Nowhere was that more clearly shown than in the reverence with which he was held when he went back—one week before his last election—to the street where he grew up on the Lower East Side. Javits, rarely emotional, was caught up in the emotion of that day and, for a few hours, forgot the campaign polls. He had come home. I'll never forget the hundreds of people who jammed the already crowded streets to shake his hand. He was one of them. He had made it, and he would always be their Senator.

—Ester Kurz
Kurz, AIPAC's Deputy Legislative Director, was Sen. Javits' legislative assistant.

BACK PAGE

Assad 2

Remember the promo for the film JAWS 2. It read: "Just when you thought it was safe to go back into the water. . . ." It was a reminder that there are still sharks out there and still horror films about them.

The line could apply, although without any humor whatsoever, to the growing threat emanating from the shark on Israel's northern border, Hafez Assad. Israel's security situation has not appeared especially perilous lately. The security zone in south Lebanon has held up better than many expected. Jordan is not permitting terrorists to use the Hashemite kingdom as a base for attacks on Israel. The peace treaty with Egypt remains the cornerstone of Israel's foreign policy. In short, all's quiet on the western, southern, and eastern fronts.

That leaves the Syrian front, where the situation appears to be deteriorating. In a speech delivered on Mar. 8 and broadcast on Syrian television, Assad called on the Syrian people to prepare themselves for "martyrdom" in the battle against "rapacious, aggressive" Israel. He then cited the examples of four Syrian suicide bombers as "examples for every young girl and boy." In a particularly bizarre passage, Assad referred to a young girl who had blown herself up as attending "a wedding which [was] different from any other wedding and to a ceremony which is different from any other ceremony." Interesting. In the United States the White House is concerned about the wave of teenage suicides. In Syria, the President calls on kids to realize that "life is meaningless without martyrdom."

Unfortunately, there is more brewing on the Syrian front than mere rhetoric. In an analysis in the *Jerusalem Post* (Mar. 15 international edition), defense correspondent Hirsh Goodman writes that "the assumption of impending conflict is not based on words alone. For the past three years Assad has been building up his army systematically, thoroughly, and relentlessly—despite Syria's dire economic situation and the pressures of its continued debilitating military involvement in Lebanon."

Goodman believes that Syria may be preparing for a limited assault on Israel—a "land grab on the Golan Heights and the injection of enough forces into the area to preserve it from Israeli counterattack until a ceasefire has been imposed by a nervous world." He says that Israel might be forced to accept such a ceasefire "given Syria's ability to unleash volleys of SS-21" rockets against Israeli military emplacements "and its ability to reach major Israeli . . . civilian targets by means of artillery, rocketry, and aircraft. . . ."

It is an ugly scenario but, as Goodman

points out, it is one that might not play out on Syria's terms. "Syria would not be allowed to dictate the dimensions of the conflict." Israel could respond "with disproportionate means to even a limited provocation. . . . Damascus could be threatened." Moreover, Goodman writes, "in no circumstances will Israel be taken by surprise. Even the slightest hint of war could spark a preemptive response."

Another Israeli reporter, Moshe Zak of *Ma'ariv*, would agree with Goodman that the best way to avert war with Syria is for Israel to make Assad understand that there is no way that he will score any gains in a limited (or unlimited) war with Israel. He argues that *de facto* peace on the Syrian border only exists because "Syria is sure that Israel is strategically superior. As soon as Assad reaches the conclusion that he has achieved strategic parity . . . the danger of war would grow." He believes that Assad is threatening war to divert domestic attention from the economic austerity program which he is trying to impose in Syria. "There is no reason whatsoever for Jerusalem to serve as Damascus' national loud-speaker." In other words, Israel should ignore Assad's threats while watching his military moves very, very carefully.

Shimon Peres agrees. Speaking in Ashdod on Mar. 11, he said that Israel "is prepared to sit down and discuss peace with the Syrians." As for Assad's threats, "we will not counter them with our own threats. However, if someone threatens to harm us, we will fight back. Our tone may be restrained but our might is great." Let's hope that Assad is paying attention and that he recalls that the soft-spoken Peres was the architect of both the modern Israeli air force and the stunning Entebbe rescue. He is not one to be trifled with. □

—M.J.R.

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NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

VOL XXX NO. 11 MARCH 17, 1986

EDITORIAL

Where's the Rationale?

It is certainly no surprise that a \$354 million missile sale to Saudi Arabia has been proposed to Congress. This Administration—like the Carter Administration that preceded it—seems to believe that arming the Saudis enhances U.S. interests in the Middle East. That is why it has permitted Saudi Arabia to become the single largest purchaser of U.S. defense goods and services in the world—receiving 25% of all U.S. arms sales. Since 1950, Saudi Arabia has received \$50 billion in military assistance (another \$20 billion is yet to be delivered). No other country in the world has received more than \$12 billion over that same period.

Thanks to the United States, the Saudis already have the best supplied armed forces that money can buy.

But "thanks to the United States" is about the last thing the Saudis have provided in return for all this largesse. In 1981, when the Reagan Administration provided Riyadh with five AWACS surveillance planes, President Reagan assured the Senate that the Saudis would reciprocate by providing "substantial assistance" toward "the peaceful resolution" of the Arab-Israeli conflict. However, during the past five years, the Saudis have done quite the opposite. They have *opposed* the Camp David peace process, the 1982 Reagan peace plan, the 1983 U.S.-backed Lebanon-Israel pact, U.S. action against Libya's Qaddafi, and the current Peres-Hussein peace initiative. They have *supported* the PLO (financially and diplomatically), Syrian domination of Lebanon, and the Arab world's continuing ostracism of Egypt. They continue to lead the Arab boycott of Israel and are among the leading opponents of any Arab moves toward accommodation with Israel.

In short, you can predict Saudi Arabia's position on almost any issue involving the Middle East by looking at the U.S. position. If we're for it, they're against it. And *vice versa*.

The question begs itself. Why would the Administration even consider providing Saudi Arabia with another 2,600 missiles? It might respond that the Saudis need the additional weaponry to defend themselves against Iran or against internal subversion. But the Saudis already have more than enough missiles to deal with any Iranian threat. They have more than 30 Sidewinder missiles for every Iranian combat aircraft. The proposed sale would increase that ratio from 30:1 to 47:1. However, all the anti-aircraft missiles in the world wouldn't protect the Saudis from the human wave infantry attacks that the Iranians have employed so effectively against Iraq. As for the internal threat, that is an argument against the sale rather than for it. If Saudi Arabia is on the verge of falling to radicals or fanatics, Sidewinders and Stingers won't save it. Remember the Shah? He had a U.S.-supplied arsenal too. Ayatollah Khomeini has enjoyed using it.

The Administration should face the facts. There is no legitimate rationale for the proposed arms sale. It won't lead the Saudis to support U.S. policy goals and it won't protect them from any of the threats that may jeopardize the Riyadh regime's survival. As for appeasing the Saudis because they have the oil and we don't (an argument that is rarely made but is always just beneath the surface), that argument lies buried in the wreckage that was OPEC. 1986 is not 1974. The oil weapon is not very intimidating anymore—or, at least, it shouldn't be.

The Administration should reconsider. It has an arms sale but it has no rationale for one. It just won't work. □

VIEWING THE NEWS

Syria Threatens

In a speech opening "the sixth general conference of the Syrian Peasants Federation," President Hafez Assad claimed that Israel had designs on Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, the Gulf states and Egypt. He praised anti-Israel suicide bombers in south Lebanon and said, "Let us teach our children to love martyrdom, because martyrdom is the highest moral principle and the most precious value" (Damascus Radio, Mar. 8). Assad also praised the Syrian military and said "we will meet our sons in Golan, Palestine, and southern Lebanon

tomorrow in our victory, with God's will."

The address echoed Assad's speech to the Syrian "People's Assembly" in which he stressed the "heightened struggle" of "our brothers in the occupied Palestinian territory" and told residents of the Golan Heights that "12 million Syrian citizens are capable of regaining the Golan. . . . If the Israelis work to put the Golan within their borders, we will work to put the Golan in the middle of Syria and not on its borders" (Syrian Radio, Feb. 27). Some Israeli sources said the speeches sounded like those by Assad in the months before the

1973 Yom Kippur War.

PLO Reply

The PLO executive committee finally issued a formal response to King Hussein's Feb. 19 speech in which Jordan suspended political cooperation with the organization. The PLO "expresses deep regret" that Jordan blamed it instead of the United States for the failure of the Hussein-Arafat initiative. Nevertheless, the PLO is eager "to overcome any negative aspects in its relations with Jordan" (Amman Television, Mar. 8).

PERSPECTIVE

Jews from Arab Lands

Despite all the attention given to the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the Arab-Israeli conflict is not primarily about real estate, said Prof. Maurice Roumani. Instead, "it is based on religious, political and psychological beliefs of the Arabs throughout the ages toward the Jews and Christians."

These beliefs are rooted in the concept of the *dhimmi*, said the Libyan-born Roumani, director of the Center for Studies in Sephardi Heritage at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev and visiting professor at George Washington University. In theory, *dhimmi* peoples—Jews and Christians—receive "protection" of personal and property rights in exchange for accepting second-class status under Islamic rule. Religious law and the cultural climate it supports bar the *dhimmi* from exercising sovereignty over Muslims or lands held to belong to Muslims.

This outlook underlies the hatred Islamic fundamentalists feel toward the West, according to Roumani. But since Christians have not carved for themselves a place in the Middle East—except in Lebanon, where they are besieged—hostility toward the *dhimmi* centers on Israel and the Jews. To Arab Moslem believers, the Israelis have rebelled against their ordained subservience. Their success has inflicted on the Arab nation a trauma "not equalled since

Napoleon landed in Egypt in 1798. The reverberations are similar."

"If [the conflict] was about real estate, the Arabs have 21 states with the land and resources to settle 200 million more people. In terms of culture, religion, history and so on, the Palestinians have an affinity" to the existing Arab countries, Roumani pointed out. One, Jordan, was created from more than 70% of Palestine. He said that even PLO leaders have acknowledged that Palestinian Arabs "are part of the Arab nation, one people"—but stress their separateness for political purposes in their fight against Israel.

If real estate was central to the dispute "the West Bank would not be enough. . . . It's not the real estate but the attitude. How could the Arabs in this generation live [as equals] with people who had been under them for so many centuries? I don't know if there has been a change of heart by Muslims vis-a-vis the Jews. I am waiting for that reformation. . . . Then the Arab-Israeli conflict will be solved," Roumani said.

The influence of the *dhimmi* concept keeps majority-minority relations in the Arab Islamic world troublesome. In the West the effects of the Reformation, Enlightenment and political upheaval like the French Revolution opened the way toward solving the problem of majority and minority relations. New circumstances led the

Christian and Jewish religions to incorporate a degree of adaptability, Roumani said.

But Islam "adapted itself to the time when its expansion stopped in France in the 8th century. . . . The reforms that have been advocated have been to go back to the roots." This longing for an idealized past prevented, among other things, development of separation of church and state. So "despite the . . . continuing struggle of intellectuals to look for answers to the Western [cultural] onslaught, they are not able to penetrate to the man in the street."

And Arab intellectuals undermined their own efforts by trying to explain reform "in terms of what the masses know," Roumani said that even Egypt's Nasser "had different ideas, and wanted to reform, but saw that it was impossible with his masses and sort of gave up."

This "ossification" of the religio-political culture also helps explain the crisis of succession in Arab governments, a constant since the time of Mohammed. Peaceful, legitimate transfers of power continue to be "a fundamental problem," Roumani stated. Aside from Ataturk in Turkey early in this century, Middle Eastern "governments and statesmen have not been sufficiently strong to impose reform. . . ." Leaders like Syria's Assad or Libya's Qaddafi rule by coercion without solving these fundamental problems. □-E. R.

HEARD IN WASHINGTON

Reagan on Israel

Speaking to the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations at the White House on Mar. 5, President Reagan drew a parallel between Soviet interest in Central America and the Middle East. He noted that some Nicaraguan Sandinistas—including Interior Minister Tomas Borge—trained "in PLO camps in Lebanon and Syria and Libya" and that Borge and Yasir Arafat have expressed support for each other's movements. The President then called Israel "that lonely outpost of democracy in the Middle East."

He stressed that "the moral foundation of our support for Israel is our support for freedom and democracy. . . . A small, far-away country, some say, but all people that struggle for freedom are close to America's

heart."

In an oblique reference to the Administration's Saudi arms sale, Reagan vowed that Washington "will never allow Israel to lose its qualitative or quantitative edge by anything we do in that regard." Previous promises by several administrations dealt only with "qualitative superiority" and Administration officials said later that the President's remarks referred to the "qualitative edge" only.

Addendum

The Mar. 10 issue of *NER* omitted the names of some participants in the Fifth National Prayer Breakfast for Israel, which attracted more than 850 people to the Washington Sheraton Hotel early in February. Also speaking at the event, this year an

official part of the annual convention of the National Religious Broadcasters, were Rev. Charlie Mims, pastor of the Tabernacle of Faith Baptist Church in Watts, Calif.; Sen. Albert Gore (D-Tenn.); Rep. Mark Siljander (R-Mich.); Rev. Demond Wilson (formerly of television's "Sanford and Son"); Dr. Ben Armstrong, President of the National Religious Broadcasters; Rabbi Joshua Haberman, Washington Hebrew Congregation; and Rev. Jimmy Swaggart, Baton Rouge, La.

E. E. "Ed" McAteer, founder of the Breakfast and President of the Religious Roundtable, served as master of ceremonies. Yosef Yaakov, an Israeli diplomat and adviser on relations with the churches, acknowledged the evangelicals' steady support and urged travel to Israel as one way to defeat terrorist intimidation.

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M. J. Rosenberg, Editor Eric Rozenman, Assistant Editor

Abby J. Stavitsky, Associate Editor Esther Chesney, Assistant I. L. Kenen, Editor Emeritus

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NEWS ANALYSIS

Middle East Wrap-Up

Before heading for Tunisia, Egypt and Israel last week, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy gave the Europe and Middle East Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee a closed-door update on regional developments. Congressional and other sources said that Murphy discussed the Iran-Iraq war, the status of the Arab-Israeli peace process, Egypt in the wake of the police riots, and the Administration's proposed \$354 million Saudi arms sale.

According to these sources, Murphy repeated the State Department formulation ~~that the peace process is in a period of reflection by all parties~~ after the collapse of Jordan's effort to bring the PLO to the negotiating table.

A PLO attempt to blame Washington for the failure of the Hussein-Arafat joint effort brought a two-sentence denial by the Department. Deputy Spokesman Charles Redman told reporters last week that King Hussein's Feb. 19 speech makes "clear where responsibility lies for the state of the peace process. . . . The PLO leadership has failed to seize the opportunity offered." Murphy's latest trip to the region was to focus mainly on bilateral relations, not any new U.S. push toward negotiations.

His testimony made it plain that Iran's success in two February offensives on Iraqi

territory troubles the United States. The Administration feels that Iraq's soldiers lack the motivation to drive Iranian troops from salients at the mouth of the Shatt al-Arab waterway on the Persian Gulf and in Iraqi Kurdistan in the north.

A few days before Murphy's committee appearance, Iraq's ambassador in Washington, Nizar Hamdoun, took the unusual step of holding a joint press conference with the National Association of Arab Americans. He urged "all governments, organizations and individuals" to support a U.N. Security Council resolution which calls on both sides to negotiate an end to the war. Iraq accepts the resolution but Iran refuses, insisting on the ouster and trial of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein for starting the conflict.

The committee also heard that Iran recently cautioned Saudi Arabia and Kuwait about continuing to sell oil on Iraq's behalf and about their policies of reducing oil prices to maintain their share of the market during a period of falling prices. Sources describe Iran as a "price hawk," arguing for production cutbacks instead of price reductions. Oil income supports the war machines of both Iraq and Iran, and subsidies from neighboring Arab states are vital to Baghdad. Murphy was said to have informed the subcommittee that Tehran had

warned Saudi Arabia and Kuwait that because they support Iraq it would "deal with them."

[Helping Saudi Arabia defend itself and other Gulf oil sheikdoms from Iran is one Administration justification for the Saudi arms sale. Congress was notified of the proposal on Mar. 11.]

Murphy said the Administration believes that the Egyptian military, headed by Defense Minister Mohammed Abu Ghazallah, gained stature by its handling of the rioting led by thousands of Egypt's conscript security police. Abu Ghazallah and the army are seen as still loyal to President Hosni Mubarak.

But Egypt's economic problems are manifold. Egypt relies on four main sources for income—oil, remittances from Egyptians working abroad, Suez Canal tolls and tourism. The first three have dropped as oil prices plunged, and fear of terrorism apparently has slashed tourist income. The Mubarak government receives \$2.3 billion in U.S. foreign aid, second only to Israel, and now faces \$30 billion in foreign debts. Murphy said that Washington believes Mubarak will continue with economic reforms—Cairo heavily subsidizes some staple items—despite the riots.

—E. R.

HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

Glickman on Boycott

During his recent visit to Tokyo, Rep. DAN GLICKMAN (D-Kans.) urged Japanese leaders to end compliance with the Arab economic boycott of Israel. Glickman specifically asked Kiichi Miyazawa, chairman of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, to encourage the Mazda Motor Corporation to end its compliance with the boycott. Glickman was disturbed about a press release issued by Mazda which stated that Mazda would strengthen its ties with the Ford Motor Company because Ford is no longer on the list of boycotted companies. Mazda had been reluctant to deal with Ford as long as Ford was on the list.

Glickman asked Miyazawa to use his "great influence within your party" to further the goal of a strong Japanese-Israeli relationship "unencumbered by any boycott."

Glickman discussed the boycott with numerous Japanese government and business leaders. He told *NER* that he is pleased to see evidence of an improving relationship between Israel and Japan. He believes that

Japanese compliance with the boycott is one obstacle to a good working relationship between the two countries. Glickman said that his views on the boycott are shared "by a clear bipartisan majority of the House and Senate."

Dornan's Remark

Speaking on the House floor on Feb. 27, Rep. ROBERT DORNAN (R-Calif.) blasted ABC News for permitting a Soviet spokesman to respond to a speech by President Reagan. In his attack, Dornan referred to the Soviet official, Vladimir Posner, as a "disloyal, betraying, little Jew." Daniel Thurst, executive vice president of B'nai B'rith International, quickly responded to Dornan's outburst by calling it a "classic anti-Semitic slander which should never befool the chambers of Congress."

At a news conference the next day, Dornan was contrite. He said that he was unaware of using the offensive phrase until a colleague pointed it out to him. Dornan, who has an excellent record on matters

relating to Israel and Soviet Jews, apologized for his remark.

Posner, incidentally, is of Jewish background. His parents, however, converted to the Russian Orthodox religion.

Peres Lauded

Over 100 Representatives have sent a letter to Israeli Premier Shimon Peres commending Israel's voluntary offer to return \$51.6 million in economic aid. The letter, initiated by House Budget Committee members CONNIE MACK (R-Fla.) and MARTIN FROST (D-Tex.), praises Israel's "selfless deed" and notes that "as we develop our foreign aid priorities, we will look to those who have acted as friends and allies. . . . Your action reflects well on our special relationship."

Israel had received its economic assistance prior to passage of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings bill and was not required to return the funds. However, Israeli officials decided to return \$51.6 million, which represents the sequestered amount called for by Gramm-Rudman.

BACK PAGE

Mubarak's Troubles

In an interview with the Paris daily *Le Matin* (Feb. 28), Prime Minister Shimon Peres said that he hoped that President Hosni Mubarak "overcomes his current problems." Asked if he would send Mubarak a message of support, Peres implied that he doubted such a message would do Mubarak much good. But he added that he had confidence that "Mubarak will win this battle for Egypt and for peace."

If anything, Peres was understating Israel's support for the embattled Mubarak. In the eight years since the Camp David peace treaty went into effect, it has become all too easy for us to take it for granted. But Peres doesn't—and we shouldn't.

On Mar. 8, the *Jerusalem Post's* Hirsh Goodman reported on the opening of a new road that runs 120 miles along the Israel-Egypt border to Eilat, Israel's Red Sea port. The road "traverses a wonderland of dunes and canyons, desert vistas, and great open plains—all ablaze with a profusion of colors and hues that leave one mesmerized, almost overpowered by the beauty of it all."

The most beautiful part, however, has more to do with politics than with topography. Nine miles from the point where the road begins, the barbed wire that separates Egypt and Israel disappears. Goodman writes: "You are left with white, undulating, virgin dunes on either side, punctuated only by an occasional reminder that you are driving along a border dividing two countries at uneasy peace. There are some places where there is no fence at all—the border being delineated by numbered concrete blocks—and others where the fence is so low that with an effortless hop you could be in Egypt."

Goodman says that "with the watch-towers and fences behind you, you have a sense of vastness. Suddenly Israel doesn't feel small anymore."

Goodman paints a wonderful picture of an Egyptian-Israeli border that is like the U.S.-Canadian one, a border of peace—without barbed wire or sentry posts. Of course, that is only part of the picture. The Egyptians continue to keep their ambassador far from the Tel Aviv embassy. Normalization remains at a standstill. There is the ugly and frightening matter of the Sinai murders of seven Israeli tourists who were gunned down last October at Ras Burqa. Still, the new Eilat road (called Kveesh Ha-Shalom or Road of Peace) holds out the tantalizing vision of all the miracles which can be achieved if the peace treaty survives and the peace deepens.

It is that vision which keeps Shimon Peres from criticizing Mubarak and which leads him to make concessions over Tabá. He has not forgotten that the Yom Kippur

War—which Mubarak's predecessor Anwar Sadat initiated prior to embarking on his mission of peace—cost Israel 3,000 young lives. Those who contend that the Camp David peace treaty is a mere "piece of paper" would do well to note that if such a piece of paper had been signed in 1971 rather than in 1978, 3,000 Israelis (and how many Egyptians?) would have lived rather than been killed in the desert sands. The Nobel peace prize which was presented to Sadat and then-Prime Minister Menachem Begin in 1980 was well-earned. Fortunately, neither of their successors wants to return it.

That is why Peres will do everything he can to assist Mubarak. But that isn't much. Egypt's problems are, primarily, economic. The country's population is soaring while national income declines. Plummeting oil prices not only reduce the value of Egypt's petroleum but also cut into Suez Canal revenues. (There are fewer oil tankers paying to use the waterway.) The three million Egyptians living in the Gulf States are sending back less and less money because of the oil depression. In recent months that source of foreign capital has started to dry up and Egypt has already lost as much as \$4 billion. On top of all that, Mubarak has to confront Islamic fundamentalism which has even greater appeal during hard times.

In short, things don't look good for Mubarak. That is why Peres and the Reagan Administration are worried. They understand that the "frozen peace" is far from ideal—but that it is preferable to the alternatives that might be offered by any of Mubarak's potential successors. They also know that if Mubarak goes, Egypt's close relationship with Washington would probably go with him. This is one situation that is worth worrying about. —M.J.R. □

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EDITORIAL

The Politics of Murder

Prime Minister Shimon Peres says that the killing of Mayor Zafer al-Masri—the man he chose to serve as mayor of Nablus—will not deter him from appointing other Palestinians to governing posts in West Bank cities. Peres is determined to institute what he calls “devolution”—the transfer of municipal and other civilian authority from Israeli to Palestinian hands.

At this point, however, it is an open question as to whether devolution or autonomy will ever get off the ground. The killing of Masri was a warning to Palestinians not to work with Israelis and not to accept any authority conferred by them. Masri himself had his doubts. He told Reuters on Feb. 21 that although he thought that his appointment as mayor was a “tactical and cosmetic” move by Israel, he believed that Palestinians “are getting much more than [Israel] by getting some authority.”

That is exactly what Masri’s assassin (and those who gave the order to kill) were trying to abort. They don’t want West Bank Palestinians to achieve control over their own lives. Their desire is to continue their own control of the population—a tyranny enforced by murder and by payoffs. Their worst fear is a solution to the Palestinian problem that will allow no role for terrorists and extortion artists.

At this rate, there will not be one. These are days during which rejectionists of every stripe can rejoice. Palestinian and Syrian hardliners can cheer the death of a man—and perhaps of a process. Jewish fanatics—like the tiny minority of Israelis who support Meir Kahane—can join their ideological opposites (and sometimes soulmates) at the celebration.

But there is a big difference between the mouthing off of

Kahane and some of the Jewish settlers on the West Bank and the politics of murder practiced by Palestinian terrorists and Syrians. In its Mar. 3 editorial on Masri’s murder, the *New York Times* equated Israeli and Arab extremism. Speaking of the Palestinians, the editorial said that they will never have “accommodation” with Israel and Jordan “if their most promising leaders are periodically gunned down, as they have been both by Israelis and, now, by Arabs.” Hold on a minute. Palestinian moderates have been “gunned down” repeatedly and tragically for over 50 years. The Mufti, Yasir Arafat, George Habash, Abu Nidal and other terrorist leaders have the blood of hundreds—if not thousands—of Palestinian moderates on their hands. The killing of Masri is the latest in a long, bloody pattern.

No one will deny that there are Israeli extremists. A band of Israeli terrorists—whose goal was murder—was captured and imprisoned in 1984. Unlike their Arab counterparts, they did not succeed in killing the Palestinians’ “most promising leaders.” And, unlike their Arab counterparts, they were prosecuted and imprisoned. In the Arab world, men of their ilk are considered heroes. As for Masri, let’s not forget that it was the Israelis who appointed him and Arab extremists who killed him.

But the *Times* editorial is a side issue. The real story is that once again the politics of murder have intervened and interrupted a process that could have improved lives for Palestinians and for Israelis. It is good news that Shimon Peres promises that he will not diminish his commitment to that process. But the question remains—as it has for 50 years. Will he have Palestinian partners in power sharing and in negotiating? If not, the gunman will have succeeded and the stalemate will continue.

□

VIEWING THE NEWS

Syrian Intent

Israel’s new commander of the northern region, Maj. Gen. Yosi Peled, “believes that Syria is currently preparing for a possible full-scale confrontation with Israel” (*Kol Yisrael*, Mar. 3). “In his opinion, Israel in the next war will have to overcome fortifications which it has not come across in the past, including minefields and anti-tank ditches. . . . Long-range sophisticated weapons have been deployed” which can hit rear areas not previously in range of the enemy, Peled told the radio.

A day earlier a broadcast reported Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir’s accusation that Syrian President Hafez Assad, “under

the guise of talk about a strategic balance,” was striving to achieve superiority over Israel. Another Mar. 2 report noted that Israel Defense Forces (IDF) officials saw Syria as responsible for the latest attempt by a terrorist squad from the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine to infiltrate from Lebanon. Two terrorists killed by Israeli troops carried IDF arms and wore IDF-style uniforms.

Hussein Reinforces

Jordan’s King Hussein added to remarks made in his Feb. 19 speech halting political cooperation with the PLO in a more recent interview with a Kuwaiti newspaper. In

talks with the PLO and with American officials, Hussein asserted that “we opened all the doors for them [the PLO] but they continued to move in empty circles” (*Al-Siyasah*, Mar. 1). Apparently referring to American concessions on an international conference and PLO participation, Hussein said that “we succeeded in convincing the world to accept difficult concepts.”

Then, alluding to Jordan’s interest “to liberate the territory and the people in it” versus the PLO’s demand first to secure “self-determination,” the King said that “matters with the PLO did not move as they were supposed to. We reached a point where we could not continue with this Palestinian leadership.”

□

COMMENT

Media War on Israel

No doubt people familiar with the Middle East stared in disbelief at their television sets and newspapers last week as the media paired slain Nablus Mayor Zafer al-Masri and the "mainstream" PLO, setting both against "radicals" like Abu Nidal and George Habash of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. This allowed Yasir Arafat to be portrayed again as a moderate. It repeated coverage given him after last December's airport massacres in Rome and Vienna in which he played "good cop" to Abu Nidal's "bad cop." Those looking for an explanation of this tortuous reporting can turn to *The Media's War Against Israel*, edited by Stephen Karetzky and Peter Goldman, Shapolsky/Steimatzky Publishers.

The book's focus on American news coverage of Israel's 1982 war against the PLO in Lebanon does not make it any less valuable. By recalling the endless video tape of Arafat kissing babies while reporters bemoaned the "Israeli destruction of Lebanon" the book helps reveal media biases, omissions and distortions which still make it possible for the PLO to be seen as part of the solution, not part of the problem.

The heart of the anthology is Karetzky's lengthy "The New York Times' Propaganda War Against Israel." He shows that the paper's Middle East coverage from February through April 1982 clearly foreshadowed the general barrage aimed at Jerusalem after the Lebanon invasion began in June. Citing example after example, Ka-

retzky found omission of vital facts, highly selective choice of sources, lack of balance in editorials and Op-Ed pieces, distorted use of photos—all fingerprints of bias.

Edward Alexander, in the chapter "NBC's War in Lebanon," goes beyond the fingerprints of media bias to the blunt instrument itself. Once Israel struck at the PLO in Lebanon and pushed on to Beirut, the network's nightly news shows became the vehicle for an unrelenting anti-Israel campaign—sometimes in disregard of the facts. More than once NBC News executive Reuven Frank, confronted with abuses, discounted or rejected the evidence. He told one interviewer that "political context" for NBC's emotional action shots of war would only "rationalize" Israel's action.

Several other chapters are reprints, including Norman Podhoretz's "J'Accuse" from *Commentary*; Ze'ev Chafetz's "Beirut and the Great Media Cover-Up" from his book, *Double Vision: How the Press Distorts America's View of the Middle East*, and Frank Gervasi's "The War in Lebanon," which appeared in 1982 as a booklet by the Washington-based Center for International Security. All of them are well worth having, especially in one collection.

A passage from Gervasi describes what happened to coverage of Lebanon long before the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) besieged Beirut: "Knowledgeable Lebanese newsmen, able to speak freely after the

Israelis had expelled Arafat and his trigger-happy followers from Beirut . . . said that most of the capital's press corps—national and foreign—entered into a 'conspiracy of silence' during the long occupation by the 'Palestinian Mafia.' " The American public inevitably was misled. Syria and the PLO got off lightly; Israel found itself skewered by the free press it protected.

Several of the chapters touch on the ideological and professional energy invested since the 1967 Six-Day War to transform the Israeli David into the Middle East's Goliath, to make Israel the villain and the Arabs, especially the Palestinians and their PLO, the victims. David Bar-Illan highlights them in his essay, "The Hijacking of Flight 847: The Media Blames Israel." Another reprint from *Commentary*, this section calls attention to the symbiotic relationship between the Shi'ite hijackers and the media—with the American hostages as pawns of both.

Bar-Illan concluded; "Whatever reasons for the media's conduct . . . there is no doubt that the tragic spectacle of an impotent, bewildered and helpless America venting its frustration and rage on Israel instead of on the terrorists, was largely brought about by journalists, particularly those in American television." Such coverage, as recent stories out of Nablus illustrated, continues like a soap opera.

—E.R.

□

HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

Prayer Breakfast

Former U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Jeane Kirkpatrick, keynoted the recent Fifth National Prayer Breakfast in Honor of Israel which drew more than 850 people to the Washington Sheraton Hotel. Kirkpatrick recalled an early speech in which Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi called for the destruction of Israel "at any cost." She said that Libya, Syria and Iran constitute an "unholy alliance," and contrasted such "diabolic convictions" with the "will to peace" of Israel's founders and consecutive governments.

The other featured speaker, Rev. M. G. "Pat" Robertson, stressed the participation of American evangelicals in the pro-Israel

community. He cited the strategic importance of Israel to the United States and the two countries' shared values. Robertson is president of the Christian Broadcasting Network, which this year sponsored the Breakfast as an official part of the annual convention.

Berman-Hyde Bill

Rep. HOWARD BERMAN (D-Calif.) and Rep. HENRY HYDE (R-Ill.) have introduced legislation banning arms exports—including dual-use goods—to countries that support international terrorism.

Berman and Hyde, both members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, declared that "if we are serious about fighting

international terrorism . . . (we can) apply pressure on the few countries of the world that provide sanctuary, bases and training for terrorists."

The Berman-Hyde bill subjects those countries on the State Department list of countries supporting terrorism to a comprehensive arms embargo, including munitions, all aircraft, and dual-use goods and technology.

Since his election to Congress in 1982, Berman has fought to strengthen U.S. anti-terrorist policies. In 1983, he introduced legislation to restore Iraq to the list of countries supporting terrorism, and last December Berman wrote to Secretary of State George Shultz expressing concern about reports of renewed Iraqi backing for it. □

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M. J. Rosenberg, Editor Eric Rozenman, Assistant Editor

Abby J. Stavitsky, Associate Editor Esther Chesney, Assistant I. L. Kenen, Editor Emeritus

Postmaster: Address changes to Near East Report, 500 N. Capitol St., N.W., Suite 307, Washington, D.C. 20001

HEARD IN WASHINGTON

Middle East Human Rights

(Second of two parts.)

Egypt and Jordan are among 10 Arab countries listed as "partly free" by the Freedom House human rights monitoring organization and cited in the State Department's new *Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 1985*. Eleven other Arab states are described as "not free." Only Israel of all Middle East states is ranked as "free," while the West Bank and Gaza Strip are categorized as "partly free."

Touching on Egyptian problems which apparently fueled recent rioting, the report referred to the strains placed on the economy by population growth and limited resources and to activity, closely-monitored by the government, of Islamic fundamentalists. It noted that President Hosni Mubarak and his National Democratic Party (NDP) "are the major political forces. . . but opposition parties play an important role." Emergency powers invoked after Anwar Sadat's 1981 assassination were in force before the riots but sparingly invoked.

The press is freer under Mubarak than ever before, but "the government occasionally exercises influence" and editors are appointed and can be dismissed by the NDP-dominated upper chamber of Parliament. Islamic militants pursue their cause

through legitimate channels such as the assembly, the courts and the press.

In Jordan, King Hussein holds "broad powers," forming and dissolving governments and making final decisions on policy. According to the State Department report, martial law—in force since the end of the 1967 Six-Day War—generally does not affect Jordanians' civil rights. "The absence of political parties, [presence of] martial law and broad powers exercised by the police are areas of concern but recent trends have been favorable."

The government owns and controls radio and television and provides guidance to editors of the privately-owned newspapers "on key foreign policy and security matters." Public demonstrations "require a permit, rarely granted," and "government surveillance of public meetings, university activities and organization gatherings is routine."

Israel, the report comments, "is a parliamentary democracy which guarantees by law and reflects in practice the civil, political, and religious rights of its citizens. . . . Israeli society is characterized by its openness and by its wide-ranging and lively public debate of all issues of popular concern." Cabinet ministers answerable to the Knesset control police and internal security

ty matters. A "vigorous free press" scrutinizes government performance.

However, "the strained relations between the Israeli authorities and the Arab inhabitants" of what the report calls "the occupied territories" led to human rights problems again last year. The separate section on the territories—in itself as long as those given to many Arab states—noted that Israel's national police, which includes some Palestinian Arabs, "is seldom the target for criticism." However, West Bank and Gaza residents make "frequent complaints" about Israel's border police, security services and the army, which also assist in administering the areas.

The report said that although "freedom of expression is restricted on security grounds. . . the Arabic press, most of which is located in east Jerusalem, remains outspoken in its criticism of Israeli policies and actions." Religious freedom is protected and freedom of travel both within and outside the territories—except for some security considerations—is relatively unrestricted. Almost in passing the report noted that "most Arab residents of the West Bank are Jordanian citizens and as such are represented by two senators and 30 members of the Jordanian parliament." —E. R. □

HEARD IN WASHINGTON

Saudi Sale Readied

Administration sources said they planned to notify Congress on Mar. 11 of their decision to go ahead with the \$354 million Saudi Arabian arms sale [NER, Mar. 3]. They will argue that the additional Sidewinder air-to-air missiles, Stinger ground-to-air missiles and Harpoon ship-to-ship missiles are necessary because Iran's recent offensives in Iraq threaten Saudi Arabia and smaller Arab oil states on the Persian Gulf. In addition, the Administration is expected to claim that the recent civil war in Soviet-allied South Yemen renews a potential threat on Saudi Arabia's southern border. Finally, supporters may argue that the sale should go through since the Saudis have made direct, very high level appeals for it.

The Administration also is expected to claim that the sale will not threaten Israel's "qualitative military edge" and that it is better for the United States to sell such weapons to the Saudis than other Western states because Washington puts restrictions on their use, limiting their anti-Israel

potential. Delaying the sale would only lessen "the perception that we stand behind Saudi Arabia in defense of common interests," according to proponents' preliminary arguments.

Opponents of the sale are expected to point out that the real threat to the Saudis from Iran is that of subversion and terrorism and that the additional advanced missiles in the proposed package could not prevent either. Saudi Arabia already has quantities of Sidewinders, Stingers and Harpoons.

Instead of deterring terrorism, the handheld Stinger would make an ideal weapon for terrorists to use against civilian aircraft. Saudi Arabia supports the PLO—Riyadh contributed \$28.5 million to the organization last year—and a number of Palestinians work with the Saudi military. The Saudi defense minister told a PLO audience last year that "the Saudi Army is a Palestinian army," and King Fahd, after meeting with President Reagan, told Arab ambassadors in Washington that "armed struggle

against Israel is still an existing necessity."

Opponents also will make the argument that large transfers of advanced weapons do affect adversely the Arab-Israeli military balance. Israel must spend more to develop and install counter-measures, adding to its defense burden.

Already members of Congress—including Sens. ALAN CRANSTON (D-Calif.), ROBERT PACKWOOD (R-Ore.) and Rep. MEL LEVINE (D-Calif.)—question whether the Saudis met the terms of the 1981 \$8.5 billion AWACS sale, which among other things required them to assist in promoting Middle East peace efforts. Riyadh recently condemned U.S. efforts to isolate Libya after the terrorist attacks on the Rome and Vienna airports, even pledging to replenish any losses the Qaddafi regime sustained due to American sanctions. The Saudis also have threatened to impose their own economic sanctions against Jordan if King Hussein enters direct negotiations with Israel. □

BACK PAGE

Fanatics' Field Day

It was another great day for Middle East fanatics when Nablus Mayor Zafer al-Masri was shot down while walking home from City Hall. Masri had been appointed by Prime Minister Shimon Peres—supposedly with the approval of King Hussein and the Arafat wing of the PLO. It was thought that if anyone could foster indigenous *non-terrorist* West Bank Palestinian leadership, Masri could.

That is why they killed him. At this point, we don't know precisely who "they" were but the Abu Nidal terror organization has claimed responsibility for the killing as has the Damascus-based Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (the George Habash group).

The killing of Masri represents a serious blow to Palestinian moderates, to Shimon Peres and to that majority of the Israeli public that wants to reach accommodation with West Bank Arabs. Of course, there are Israelis who don't. Benny Katzover, leader of a West Bank Jewish settlement group, said that "the assassination puts an end to the development of local Arab leadership." He believes that in "the long run, it's good for us."

"In the long run," the murder of Masri is good for no one—although fanatics on both sides may think so. The "mainstream" Arafat wing of the PLO claims to understand that. Its Palestine Press Service condemned the murder and correctly pointed out that "those who committed this act serve the interests of the enemies of the Palestinian people." Hannah Siniora, editor of the pro-PLO Jerusalem daily *Al Fajr*—and someone who is close to Arafat—said that "whoever is responsible for this, they should hang . . . and not only him but those who led him to it."

That is what Siniora said after the murder. But ten days earlier, he wrote an editorial (*Al Fajr*, Feb. 21) which called on Palestinians to reject any direct dealings with the Israeli authorities. Siniora wrote that any Israelis who believe that they can end run the PLO and negotiate with Palestinians directly will see their efforts "backfire. . . . The local population will rush to rally behind the PLO with more unity and momentum than before."

There is, then, an element of hypocrisy in some of the laments over Masri's death. Would Siniora and Arafat have denounced Masri as a turncoat if the Mayor had been allowed to live? Would they have accepted his call for the PLO to allow Palestinians to vote democratically on whether or not the organization should renounce terrorism and accept Israel? Would they have supported his attempt to work with Israelis rather than curse them as usurpers?

None of that seems likely. Palestinian history during the past half-century has been the story of rejecting Israel and spurning opportunities for peace. In the years prior to Israeli independence, the roles of Abu Nidal, Habash and Arafat were played by Jerusalem's notorious Mufti—Haj Amin el-Husseini—and his hit men. They killed hundreds of Palestinians as part of a reign of terror that succeeded in preventing Palestinian Arabs from accepting Palestinian Jews.

The absurd heights to which assassin-enforced rejection reached can be seen in the Mufti-dictated Palestinian refusal to accept the British White Paper of 1939. That policy paper—which represented Britain's attempt to appease Arab extremists by betraying its commitments to the Jews—ended Jewish immigration to Palestine, banned Jewish land purchases, and made clear that Britain would never accept a Jewish state in Palestine. In essence, it condemned hundreds of thousands of Jews to death at the hour they most needed refuge and condemned the Jewish people to permanent statelessness.

The British had accepted all the Mufti's demands except one—they did not grant *immediate* Palestinian statehood. So the Mufti said no and ran off to spend World War II in Berlin with the Nazis. The Jews did everything they could to fight the White Paper while still backing the overall British cause. Nine years later, the Jews had their state and the Palestinians still had the Mufti. And then Arafat. And Habash. And the Syrian-backed enforcers. Now one of them has had Masri killed because he agreed to deal with Jews. It is a tragedy—for Israelis, for Palestinians, and for all of us who care.

—M. J. R.

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NEAR EAST REPORT

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EDITORIAL

The PLO's Decision

It would have appeared that the Reagan Administration made the PLO an offer that it could not refuse. According to King Hussein, the Administration informed Yasir Arafat that the PLO would be accepted into the negotiating process if it accepted Security Council Resolution 242, agreed to negotiate with Israel, and renounced terrorism. The Administration suggested that Arafat's agreement on those three points would override its longstanding (and statutory) refusal to undertake its own "dialogue" with the PLO. All Arafat had to do was say "yes."

He wouldn't do it. Pressured by the Soviets, by PLO extremists, and yielding to his own inclinations, Arafat—in the words of a *Washington Post* editorial—"kicked it away." The Feb. 23 editorial pointed out that Arafat "foolishly demanded that, before a conference, the United States accept a Palestinian right of self-determination," in other words, a Palestinian state.

At that point, Hussein called it quits. In a three-hour address to the Jordanian parliament, Hussein said that he was suspending his dealings with the PLO. Unlike those State Department officials who gave away the store in their flirtation with Arafat, Hussein decided that Arafat could not be trusted—that he is too much the prisoner of the Soviets and Arab rejectionists to take the necessary steps toward

peace through negotiations.

Hussein has learned a useful lesson about the PLO—and it is one that should not be lost on its advocates in Washington. There is no consensus for peace within the organization. Even in return for a relationship with Washington and for a long-sought invitation to the negotiating table, the PLO will not give up its goal of an independent state or renounce terror as a means of achieving it.

The PLO's rejection of the State Department's needlessly generous terms is not really a surprise. Arafat and his organization appear to have no interest in a peace agreement that will benefit the Palestinian people but leave the PLO without a *raison d'être*. This is not the first opportunity they have let pass. And it won't be the last either.

So let's get on with it. The peace process is not dead. In fact, the King's courageous decision to walk away from the PLO has breathed new life into it. The requirement now is for West Bank Palestinians to come forward and agree to join Hussein and the Israeli government in peace negotiations. Israel has made major concessions in pursuit of the "Jordan option" and peace. King Hussein has taken his own steps in that direction. It is now the Palestinians' turn. They can either join the process or do nothing and later look back on 1986 as another 1947—a missed opportunity. □

VIEWING THE NEWS

Egyptian Unrest

A curfew was imposed for "the greater Cairo area" after rioting led by several thousand conscript security police (Middle East News Agency, Feb. 26). At least two tourist hotels were burned and "heavy gunfire" was reported in the area of the pyramids after the conscripts stormed out of their camps, incited by a rumor that their three-year service would be extended (Agence France Presse, Feb. 26). Other wires said that more than 30 people were killed and 300 wounded as army troops moved in to restore order, and that rioting spread from the capital to at least three other cities.

"The riots are the first serious domestic violence since . . . the assassination of . . . Anwar Sadat, and it resembles violence in the streets over economic issues" that broke out in 1977 (*Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 26). "The forces that went on a rampage are

part of a special unit established, in part, to help control Moslem fundamentalists, and government officials have suspected fundamentalist groups infiltrated the forces."

Saudi Coup

Mideast Markets (a biweekly published by *The Financial Times* of London) reports in its Oct. 14 issue that last fall—coinciding with the 54th anniversary of the founding of Saudi Arabia—"there was an attempted coup to overthrow the regime of King Fahd."

The publication reported that Saudi sources said "the coup attempt took place in Riyadh and was led by two minor princes who are also army officers. . . . The two princes were summarily executed with two other army officers." Arms caches were found in the capital. The bi-weekly noted that "crucial aspects" of the story were confirmed by both British and American officials.

PLO Unity

King Hussein's decision to suspend the Jordanian-PLO diplomatic initiative apparently has spurred PLO reunification efforts, especially at the urging of the Soviet Union (Reuters, Feb. 26). PLO "foreign minister" Farouk Kaddoumi led a delegation to the 27th Communist Party Congress in Moscow which included leaders of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. These two groups opposed Arafat's dealings with Egypt and Jordan.

In addition, "the PLO command is exerting intensive efforts on opposition factions before replying to King Hussein's decision . . . several secret contacts have taken place between the Fatah movement and the DFLP in Prague and other contacts will take place in Moscow. . . . (Radio Monte Carlo, Feb. 24). □

ANALYSIS

Competing Arab Claims

Israel's "right to exist"—that offensive diplomatic phrase used in regard to no other country—is non-negotiable. And its historic, religious and strategic connections to the territories gained in the 1967 Six-Day War are deep and undeniable. But in addition to Israel and the Palestinian Arabs of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, other Arab and Islamic parties lay claim to the land, according to Prof. Daniel Pipes, associate professor of history at the Naval War College.

Pipes, author of *In the Path of God: Islam and Political Power*, said that these competing claims are part of the background to the recent collapse of the Hussein-Arafat initiative. "The Palestinian national movement... sees Palestine as a separate nation," Pipes said. That makes it "distinct from the Arab national movement, which sees Palestine as part of a larger whole."

In the pan-Arab view the West Bank is to the Arab world as Maryland is to the United States. And among Arabs "Palestine" can mean different things, from just the West Bank and Gaza to those areas plus Israel within pre-1967 lines, or all of Mandatory Palestine, which also included Jordan.

Jordan—which occupied the West Bank

from 1948 to 1967—and Syria, also assert claims on the territories. Iran champions a pan-Islamic interest, evidenced in its war slogan that "the road to Jerusalem leads through Baghdad" and in its support of anti-Israel Shi'ite fundamentalists in Lebanon.

"The three key claims are the Palestinian, Jordanian and Syrian," Pipes said, each with a strength and a weakness. The Palestinian claim has "legitimacy bestowed by the Arab states and the general support of the inhabitants" of the territories. Countering this is the structure and extremism of Palestinian leadership and its inability to make decisions, which goes back to the origins of Palestinian Arab nationalism in the 1920's.

The strength of Jordan's claim lies in the fact that "Israel prefers to deal with it." That is also its weakness, Pipes noted, compromising the Hashemite Kingdom in the eyes of the Arab world. As for Syria, military power backs its claim, but the Arab world does not perceive Syria as possessing a genuine role in Palestinian affairs.

Meanwhile, Arafat needs the power of an existing state behind him and so he turns alternately to Syria and Jordan. Hussein needs Palestinian legitimacy, which the

PLO can confer. For the same reason Syrian President Hafez Assad set up an alternative Palestinian establishment called the Palestine National Salvation Front. "These are not just stooges," Pipes noted. "Assad is building all this to say eventually that Arafat is just a factional leader, that most of the fighters are in Damascus."

While Hussein would like a West Bank-Gaza confederation with Jordan, Assad "would have a Palestinian government in the West Bank or all of Palestine related to Syria as Czechoslovakia is to the Soviet Union," Pipes explained. Assad hopes to fashion the same arrangement in Lebanon and would like a puppet in Jordan as well.

Since the Arab claimants "have mutual claims on each other," even in the unlikely event of an Israeli-PLO agreement "the Arab-Israeli conflict would continue. But if Syria and Israel reached an accommodation, Jordan would leap to follow" and that would in actuality end the Arab-Israeli conflict, leaving the PLO in the cold.

However, "Syria has aggressive interests" and "Jordan on its own is weak," unable to reach a deal with Israel. Although the diplomatic "peace process" has a life of its own, Pipes noted, a resolution of the overall problem is not in sight.—E. R. □

HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

Saudi Arms Sale Plan

The Reagan Administration reportedly intends to notify Congress shortly of a \$350-million missile package for Saudi Arabia that will give that Gulf kingdom more advanced air-to-air Sidewinder missiles per fighter plane than any country in the world.

If the sale goes through, the Saudis will have a ratio of 37 AIM-9-L Sidewinders for each of the U.S.-built F-15s (the only Saudi aircraft currently able to fire the missile), compared to fewer than 10 per advanced fighter for America's other customers.

Israel, by comparison, has in stock and on order only about six advanced Sidewinders for each of its fleet of F-15 and F-16 aircraft. Greece has approximately five per plane and the Netherlands nine.

The Saudi missile package is expected to contain nearly 1,700 Sidewinders, including 1,000 of the advanced L model, for a

total of about \$160 million. Also in the package will be 800 Stinger hand-held anti-aircraft missiles and 200 launchers worth \$86 million plus 100 Harpoon anti-ship missiles valued at over \$100 million.

Saudi Arabia already has substantial inventories of these missiles. Previous sales have given the Saudis more than 3,000 Sidewinders (including nearly 1,200 of the L model), 400 Stingers and in excess of 100 Harpoons. A new sale would give Saudi Arabia weapons stocks far greater than any reasonable requirement and raise serious questions about possible stockpiling for other countries' use.

The already heavily-armed sheikdom has no security requirement for such enormous stockpiles. These weapons would do little to strengthen Saudi Arabia further against Iran, which has fewer than 100 op-

erational combat aircraft, giving Saudi Arabia more than 30 Sidewinders for every Iranian combat target right now. Sidewinders cannot counter internal subversion instigated by the Iranians nor could they halt the massed infantry attacks employed by the Iranian military.

Questions have been raised in the past about the supply of Stinger missiles to Saudi Arabia in view of their utility as a terrorist weapon and Saudi Arabia's role as a principal backer of the PLO.

Supplying additional weaponry in such massive quantities to Saudi Arabia will not enhance Saudi security, but could make it easier for the kingdom to transfer missiles to other countries. Delivery of these missiles would not contribute to a Middle East peace process but would likely heighten tensions in the region and fuel another costly round in the arms race. □

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HEARD IN WASHINGTON

Middle East Human Rights

One item from the Middle East stands out among all others in the State Department's new *Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 1985*. Citing the listings of Freedom House, a New York-based human rights monitoring organization, the report ranks 11 members of the Arab League as "not free" and 10—plus non-member Egypt—as "partly free." As in past reports, in 1985 the only Middle Eastern state described as "free" is Israel.

Of Israel's neighbors, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Iraq fall into the "not free" category. Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and what the report called Israel's "occupied territories" are classified as "partly free."

In Syria, "Hafez Assad, as President, Commander-in-Chief . . . and Secretary General of the Syrian Ba'ath Party, wields virtually absolute power." The party functions mainly to legitimize Assad's dictatorship.

The "ferocity" with which Assad's minority Alawite regime repressed the Sunni Moslem Brotherhood in Hama in 1982—killing as many as 20,000 residents—"remains ever-present in the minds of the Syrian people and has apparently succeeded in discouraging anti-regime activi-

ty." Police and security officials pervade Syrian society; the regime permits no public criticism. Detention without charge or trial and torture and disappearance of suspects apparently is routine.

Similar conditions prevail in Iraq. President Saddam Hussein "holds decisive power as President of the Republic, Chairman of the Council and Secretary General" of the Iraqi branch of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party. Tight domestic controls imposed for security reasons as a result of the war with Iran help keep political and individual rights "sharply limited."

Iraqi news media are censored. "To control the dissemination of political leaflets, typewriters and photocopying machines must be registered." In addition, "anti-regime activity is dealt with harshly, often by extralegal means employed by a large and feared internal security police force and the intelligence services. . . . Execution has been an established method" for dealing with those Hussein sees as opponents.

Saudi Arabia continues to be ruled by the sons of its founder, King Abd Al Aziz (Ibn Saud). They "have preponderant influence" in choosing a new monarch when a vacancy occurs. "There are no elected as-

semblies or political parties, and non-religious public assembly and demonstrations are not permitted."

The systemic brutality of the Syrian and Iraqi police states is absent from Saudi Arabia. However, the Saudis follow Islamic law (Shari'a) which "makes no provision for bail or habeas corpus. Prisoners may be held for months while an investigation proceeds before being either charged or released." Saudi Arabia "imposes capital punishment for the crimes of premeditated murder, adultery, apostasy from Islam and, depending on the circumstances, rape and armed robbery." Last year executions in the first nine months rose to 34 from no more than five for the same period in 1984. Public flogging can be ordered for infringement of some Islamic precepts, amputation of a hand for thieves convicted of repeat offenses.

Riyadh is believed to employ "a wide network of informants Criticism of Islam and the ruling family is not allowed." The press is privately owned but in practice is under government control. By religious and social custom, "women do not enjoy equality with men."

—E. R.
(Next: Israel, Egypt and Jordan.) □

FILE FOR THE RECORD

Assad Views the Region

Syrian President Hafez Assad, in a rare and lengthy interview with a Western publication, reiterated his claim that "Israel is not interested in a real peace. We are convinced that Israel is seriously working to establish a state from the Nile to the Euphrates." The Feb. 14 interview with the Paris newspaper *Liberation* was broadcast in Damascus on Feb. 18.

Assad asserted that all Arab countries should support "the Palestinian strugglers" and give them freedom of movement against the Jewish state. Israel would have no grounds for complaint according to the Syrian dictator, "because it occupies the land of Palestine and parts of the other Arab countries and is trying to expand."

Asked about a recent meeting between his brother, Vice President Rifa'at Assad, and a top PLO official, Salah Khalaf [also known as Abu Iyad], President Assad disclosed that he too met recently with a senior associate of Yasir Arafat's, Farouk Kaddoumi. The Syrian leader claimed that the conflict is not a personal one between him and Arafat—as most observers maintain—but "between Yasir Arafat and his

brothers in the Palestinian arena."

He will continue to oppose Egypt's return to the Arab world "as long as it is tied to Camp David. We believe that Egypt will return at some time without Camp David because the current situation does not satisfy the Egyptian citizen in general."

Assad stressed that despite the Syrian-Jordanian rapprochement, he has always opposed the Feb. 11, 1985 accord between King Hussein and Arafat. However, Assad added that he and Hussein "are in agreement on rejecting direct negotiations and separate solutions"—the Syrian description of the Egypt-Israel treaty and any possible Jordan-Israel accord. Assad added that the Fez plan, adopted by the 1982 Arab League summit, "is the peace we want." He said the plan calls for an international conference, including the Soviet Union and other members of the U.N. Security Council, to establish an independent Palestinian state under the PLO.

Such a peace with Israel "will be difficult to achieve" until Damascus reaches "strategic balance" with Jerusalem. This requires rapid progress in several fields—

military, economic and political—Assad explained.

Assad acknowledged differences with the Iranian-backed Hezbollah "Party of God" in Lebanon. But he said that "we are still very far from the stage of challenge. The most important thing is that this party takes a firm stand" against Israel.

Hezbollah and Iran opposed the January accord arranged by Syria between the Christian, Shi'ite Amal and Druze militia in Lebanon. □

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BACK PAGE

The Terrorist Sideshow

Not everyone is convinced that mindless terrorism was behind the outrages at Rome and Vienna airports last December. In fact, one California-based Middle East analyst, Peter Borden, argues that the airport attacks were strategically staged "to provoke a confrontation between Israeli-operated U.S. weapons systems and Soviet SAMs" in Lebanon's Bekaa valley. In his view, the goal of the terrorists was to ignite an Israeli-Syrian war rather than to merely stage a spectacular act of mass murder.

Borden makes a persuasive case. He says that the "seeds" for the recent acts of terror were sown during the first days of the 1982 Lebanon war. At that time, Israel confronted a network of Syrian anti-aircraft missile batteries in the Bekaa. "In the resulting battle," he writes, "Israel destroyed 19 batteries, severely damaged four, and downed 86 MiG fighters without the loss of a single plane. . . . Simply put, the Soviet air defense systems and tactics were proven totally inadequate, which placed great pressure on the Soviets to modify and re-test them under similar conditions." A terrorist-provoked war could provide the test conditions the Soviets and Syrians may want.

Borden asserts that this is not the first time that Moscow and Damascus have attempted to use diversionary attacks to either instigate a war or to draw attention from war plans already made. In September 1973, three weeks before the Yom Kippur War, Syria engaged Israeli pilots in an air battle during which the Israelis downed 13 MiG's. He notes that "the press and Israeli intelligence incorrectly interpreted increased Syrian military moves—which were actually final war preparations—as a response to this air battle. Then, 16 days later, two terrorists belonging to the Syrian-controlled Saiqa branch of the PLO hijacked a train carrying Soviet Jewish refugees from Moscow to Vienna." Prime Minister Golda Meir flew to Austria and, like most other Israelis, was preoccupied with a hostage drama while the Syrians and Egyptians finalized their war plans. She returned to Israel on Oct. 3—just in time for the surprise attack that almost destroyed the Jewish state. The Syrian diversion had paid off handsomely.

Borden points out that last December's attacks—like 1973's—were carried out by Syrian-backed terrorists. Italian authorities testify that they flew to their European destinations from Damascus. Borden plays down the Libyan connection, believing that it is Syria—not the largely irrelevant Libya—that calls most of the radical shots in the Middle East. He believes that Syria expected Israel to retaliate against Syrian

missile sites in the Bekaa, thereby revealing the "state-of-the-art" of Israeli technology vis-a-vis Soviet air defense systems.

It didn't happen. In Borden's view, war was averted by two decisions. "First, whether intended or not, the Reagan Administration's early threats of a military response against Libya—and reports of naval movements in the Mediterranean—diverted public pressure for a quick response by Israel." Second, the Israelis understood the Syrians' strategy and were determined not to play into their hands. It will deal with the Syrian missile threat at a time of its choosing, not of Syria's. Borden believes that both the U.S. response to Libya (itself diversionary) and Israel's restraint were appropriate. They reduced tension and averted war.

However, neither Israel's problem—nor Washington's—is over. Both the Soviets and Syrians still need to test their air systems against "competently-handled Western weapons. Since the Middle East is the only possible locale for this test, the Syrians and Soviets can be expected to press Israel and the United States until one occurs." He concludes that it "would be naive to think that because terrorism did not achieve its aims this one time, Syria and the Soviets will drop it from their bag of future options."

Borden's view can be described as depressing or even cynical. But a better word is realistic. In any event, cynicism about the Soviets and the Syrians is warranted by 40 years of their Middle East trouble-making. One can only hope that this time the cynical view will be proven overly pessimistic. Not likely though.

—M.J.R.

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NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

VOL XXX NO. 8 FEBRUARY 24, 1986

EDITORIAL

Historic Opportunity

King Hussein appears to have finally had it with the PLO. After a two-year attempt to persuade Yasir Arafat to accept United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and to renounce terrorism, the King has concluded that he is "unable to coordinate politically with the PLO leadership until such time as their word becomes their bond, characterized by commitment, credibility, and constancy."

In Israel, Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin said that Hussein's decision to break with the PLO presents an "historic opportunity." He said that "if, indeed, the residents of the territories will understand that this is the hour of truth, and they take the initiative to get together with Hussein, then this may be the opening for a renewed chance for a dialogue."

That is a big "if." For over 50 years the Arabs of Israel and the West Bank have been terrorized into acquiescence with the goals of various terrorist factions. First there was the Mufti and his gunmen. Now there are the PLO terrorists—mainstream and fringe. It will require real courage for West Bank Palestinians to step forward and join peace talks with Israel.

The same applies to Hussein. Can anyone be glib enough to suggest that it would be easy for the King to step forward alone and join West Bank Palestinians and Israel in negotiations? Can anyone be certain about what they would do if,

like Hussein, they governed a nation that is more than half Palestinian, riddled with terrorists, and bordered by terror-backing, expansionist Syria?

No, it will not be easy for Hussein to come forward and start talking to the Israelis. He may even think that his best bet might be to pursue his expanding relationship with Syria. Although, in that regard, he should recall the proverb about the man who sought power and security by riding on the back of the tiger only to end up inside.

Hussein has no simple alternatives from which to choose. But statesmanship is rarely simple or clear-cut. It wasn't easy for Israel to return the Sinai to Egypt in return for a peace treaty, or for Shimon Peres to accept Jordan's demand for peace negotiations under international auspices along with virtually any Palestinian who is not a *bonafide* member of the PLO.

King Hussein must recognize that there is only one option that is worth the accompanying risks. That is for Jordan to enter direct negotiations with Israel. If the King does that, he will confront an Israeli delegation ready to listen to his case and anxious to meet him halfway. It is quite possible that negotiations would break down. But they are worth a try. For Israel, for Jordan, and for the Palestinians peace is the only solution worth pursuing. Ultimately it will come and Israel's reluctant neighbors will accept reality and Israel's right to security. Why wait? □

VIEWING THE NEWS

Peres' Plan

In an videotaped interview broadcast in Arabic, Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres detailed his proposal for "devolution" of considerable local government responsibility to Palestinian residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. He also commented on the collapse of talks between King Hussein and Yasir Arafat.

Peres said that Israel's "efforts to establish a dialogue with King Hussein have not failed, the negotiations with Hussein have not stopped" but that "what has truly failed is the dialogue between Hussein and Arafat. . . ." (Israel Television, Feb. 13). The Prime Minister said that the PLO now is "trying to make people in the territories believe that the dialogue is continuing" but in reality "Arafat has once again blocked the path to peace. . . ."

Peres said the PLO leadership still "wants to destroy the state of Israel more than it wants to find a solution to the prob-

lem of the territories." Peres charged that Arafat "simply does not know what to do. . . . he kills, his people are being killed; it is all just violence. . . without a plan, the plan is violence."

If the residents of the territories want "to take their fate into their own hands," they should stop looking to others, Peres said. "We have no interest in either running the municipalities or their education or agriculture; we want to help. . . . The only restriction is terrorism; we will not allow arms or violence. . . ."

In Lebanon

Hundreds of Israeli troops, using armored personnel carriers, tanks and helicopters are searching the area immediately north of the security zone in south Lebanon for two Israeli soldiers kidnapped by terrorists from the Islamic Resistance Front (Associated Press, Feb. 19). At least

five terrorists and one Israeli were reported killed.

Meanwhile, terrorists in Beirut claimed to have murdered a fourth Lebanese Jewish hostage, Elie Hallak (United Press International, Feb. 19). The body of Ibrahim Benesti, the third victim, was found tortured and shot three days earlier. Hallak was the head of the tiny Lebanese Jewish community. The kidnappers, the Shi'ite "Organization of the Oppressed on Earth," alleged that Hallak, a physician, "confessed that he was running special Mossad networks in Lebanon. . . . The verdict of God has been carried out against this spy and Mossad agent. . . ."

Different Drum

The Saudi Arabian newspaper *Al-Jazirah* (Feb. 13) said that the "true reason" for the anti-Soviet dissent of people spotlighted "by Western propaganda, such as
(Continued)

PERSPECTIVE

U.S. Shift on Palestinians?

P rime Minister Shimon Peres did not see anything alarming in the statement issued by the State Department on Feb. 10 that "the Palestinian problem is more than a refugee problem." The statement, by deputy spokesman Charles Redman, went on to say that "beyond that, there should be no confusion between Resolution 242 and the legitimate rights of the Palestinians." Peres said that Redman's statement reflected "what is written in the Camp David Accords."

Peres' view, however, was not shared by many in the Arab world who—like observers elsewhere—examine virtually every State Department proclamation for changes in nuance or emphasis.

In an interview with the London *Al Sharq al Awsat*, Jordanian minister Dr. Tahir Kanan called Redman's linkage of Resolution 242 and Palestinian "rights" "a positive turn." He said that it meant that the Reagan Administration "is no longer ignoring international resolutions on the Palestinian people's inalienable national rights, particularly the right to self-determination. . . ."

The Baghdad-based "Voice of the PLO" also praised Redman's statement although it asserted that it didn't go far enough. "The U.S. Administration," it said, "did not provide any concept of the final form that a solution to the Palestine question may take." Even Syria, in an official broadcast (Feb. 13), proclaimed that "from time to time, the United States comes up with new old ideas (sic) and plans to show that it has begun to partly relinquish its full commitment to Israel. . . ." Like the PLO, the Syrians didn't believe that Redman's statement went far enough but beneath the rhetoric was a clear hint that Damascus was pleased at what it saw as America's shift.

But was it a shift? Peres is correct in

stating that the phrase "legitimate rights of the Palestinians" was used both at Camp David and in the 1982 Reagan plan. There is, however, a major difference in how Americans and Arabs interpret that phrase. The central difference is that successive American administrations have emphasized that the phrase "legitimate rights of the Palestinians" did not imply recognition of the Palestinians' rights to a state. The Arabs believe that it does.

In his 1982 speech announcing his peace plan, President Reagan—like President Carter before him—stated his commitment to the Palestinians' "legitimate rights" but added that the "United States will not support the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. . . ." He said that Washington's preferred solution would involve some sort of federation between an autonomous Palestinian West Bank and Jordan. But he noted that the United States would accept no West Bank arrangement which would "interfere with Israel's security requirements." The Reagan plan remains the Administration's central statement of Middle East policy.

However, there is another major aspect of American Middle East policy—one that has been official policy since Lyndon Johnson's administration. It is the commitment to direct negotiations between the parties under the framework of Security Council Resolution 242 (and later 338 which restates 242). Those resolutions require the "termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state (emphasis ours) in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force." The Palestinians are offered "a

just settlement of the refugee problem" but neither statehood nor direct involvement in peace negotiations.

The U.S. commitment to a solution under the 242 and 338 framework—a solution negotiated by states—is compatible with Palestinian autonomy as envisioned in the Camp David Accords and the Reagan plan. However, that commitment is incompatible with the idea of a Palestinian state. The Security Council's concern was to end a conflict between states, not to create a third state—in addition to Israel and Jordan—in the territory of former mandate Palestine.

That is why the PLO and other Arab hardliners have repeatedly advocated revising 242 and 338 to make provision for Palestinian involvement in negotiations and for an independent state. That is also why they will seize on a remark like Redman's which suggest that 242 and 338 are incomplete and must be supplemented by a commitment to the Palestinians' legitimate rights.

In fact, Redman's was only the most forthright of a number of indications that the Administration may be considering a shift in its policy toward the Palestinians. To an extent, the State Department can argue that this change in nuance is in step with the Israeli government, which now welcomes non-PLO Palestinian involvement in the peace process and favors Palestinian autonomy. However, it will not be able to make that claim if it moves toward Palestinian "self-determination" (which means statehood) or toward recognition of the PLO. If it does, it will be breaking with past policy and will virtually guarantee the demise of the Israel-Jordan peace initiative, particularly now that King Hussein has decided to end coordination with the PLO. —M.J.R. □

VIEWING . . . Continued

Sakharov and Shcharansky. . . is because they are Zionist Jews who believe in the idea of a Jewish state in the land of Israel, which is the occupied Arab Palestine." [Sakharov is not Jewish.] The "only aim" of Soviet dissidents demanding emigration to Israel is to support "Zionist strategy."

According to the broadcast, the paper stressed that "the Zionist Jewish dissidents who arrive in Israel from the USSR repre-

sent the most dangerous foreign aid for maintaining Israel on the Arab land of Palestine and for achieving the expansionist greed of the Zionist Jews."

Gorbachev Speaks

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev said more than he meant recently when he asserted that "the Jews in our country are just as free and enjoy as equal rights as people of any other nationality" (*Pravda*, Feb. 8).

Gorbachev charged that Western concern about the status of Russian Jewry was "part of a frenzied anti-Soviet campaign, a veritable psychological war against the USSR."

Lumping Zionism with anti-Semitism and racism, he asserted that "civilized society in general should have no place" for them. Gorbachev said that "the question of the eradication of these evils on a global scale is very topical." □

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COMMENT

Israel's Peace with Egypt

As prospects for peace negotiations with Jordan and West Bank Arabs dim, Israel has refocused on its relations with Egypt under the 1979 Egypt-Israel treaty. Even before Yasir Arafat's latest "no" to King Hussein's request for diplomatic progress, Israeli officials had been stressing the need to warm the cold peace with Egypt. Jerusalem describes improved relations with Cairo as a prerequisite for peace with Jordan and any final deal involving the Palestinians.

Israel's Ambassador to the United States, Meir Rosenne, repeated last week that peace with Egypt—despite the problems—remains "the most important development" in recent Middle East diplomacy. But other observers say that disappointment with the deterioration of relations, symbolized by the three-and-a-half year absence of the Egyptian ambassador from Israel, spans the Israeli political spectrum. The murder last fall of Israeli tourists in the Sinai by an Egyptian security officer, and muted initial responses from Cairo, not only killed seven people but wounded Israel's trust as well.

In this view—denied by Egyptian offi-

cials who claim they initiated the peace process—Cairo tried to circumvent some of the normalization agreements almost immediately. Trade—except for Israel's purchase of Egyptian oil from Sinai fields it had developed—never became significant. Tourism went mostly one way—from Israel to Egypt. While Egypt opened a consulate in Eilat, as agreed, negotiations could not be completed for an Israeli consulate in Sharm el-Sheik.

Whatever Anwar Sadat had in mind for relations between the two countries, his assassination in October 1981 left its mark. As their trial indicated, extremists killed Sadat primarily because of his crackdown on Islamic fundamentalists—not because of the treaty with Israel. Nevertheless, under his successor, Hosni Mubarak, Egypt assigned priority to normalizing relations with the rest of the Arab world, not with Israel.

Ostracized for its peace with Israel, Egypt under Mubarak improved bilateral ties with most Arab states. It officially renewed diplomatic relations with Jordan and regained much of its earlier status within the "non-aligned" world. But reentry to the

Arab League—formerly headquartered in Cairo—remains blocked by radicals such as Syria and Libya.

When Shimon Peres took office last year as Prime Minister, Israel noted some positive statements by Mubarak. But in the past year ambivalence in Cairo seems to have won out over initiative. Although progress has been reported in the latest talks on the disputed Taba parcel, Israelis see no breakthrough. New hints on normalization echo the old ones.

Israel rates the danger to Mubarak's government from fundamentalists lower than does the United States. Nevertheless, it sees little positive coverage of peace in the state-controlled press; the opposition press made the Sinai killer something of a folk-hero.

The bedrock Egyptian attitude remains hard to measure. Numerous Israeli tourists travel freely in Egypt without harassment. Despite Egypt's burgeoning population and worsening economic situation, Mubarak seems strong enough to survive a return of the ambassador and the normalization of relations with Israel promised at Camp David. —E.R. □

HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

Genocide Convention Ratified

After nearly four decades of stalemate, the Senate last week overwhelmingly ratified the Genocide Convention. The 83-11 vote demonstrated wide bipartisan support for the treaty and served as a triumphant conclusion to 37 years of debate and stalemate.

Sen. WILLIAM PROXMIRE (D-Wis.), who has spoken out in support of the Genocide Convention every day the Senate has been in session, led the push to ratify the treaty. The convention was opposed by a handful of conservative Senators, led by STEVE SYMMS (R-Idaho), who had previously blocked its consideration because of concerns they had over constitutional and jurisdictional aspects of the treaty.

Most of these concerns were bridged last year as the Senate Foreign Relations Committee unanimously reported the bill with a series of clarifying "reservations" to the treaty. Additionally, President Reagan and Secretary of State Shultz publicly proclaimed their support for the treaty. Although Sen. JESSE HELMS (R-N.C.) and some of his fellow conservatives voted against ratification, the compromise that had been reached satisfied most of their objections and allowed the historic vote to take place. The active and persistent sup-

port of Senate majority leader ROBERT DOLE (R-Kans.), Foreign Relations Committee Chairman RICHARD LUGAR (R-Ind.), Senators ORRIN HATCH (R-Utah), CLAIBORNE PELL (D-R.I.), and HOWARD METZENBAUM (D-Ohio) also helped make final Senate approval a reality.

Proxmire told *NER* afterward, "This is a great day for the United States. Forty years after the United States voted in the General Assembly to draft the Genocide Convention we are at long last a party to this most important of human rights treaties."

The treaty, which has been accepted by 96 nations, including Israel, and supported by the American Bar Association and virtually every human rights, Jewish and other religious group in the United States, makes it an international crime to kill or injure national, racial, religious or ethnic groups. The Genocide Convention was devised in the late 1940's as a response to the Nazi slaughter of six million Jews.

Senators supporting ratification:

JAMES ABDNOR (R-S.D.)	RUDY BOSCHWITZ (R-Minn.)
MARK ANDREWS (R-N.D.)	BILL BRADLEY (D-N.J.)
WILLIAM ARMSTRONG (R-Colo.)	DALE BUMPERS (D-Ark.)
MAX BAUCUS (D-Mont.)	QUENTIN BURDICK (D-N.D.)
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JOSEPH BIDEN (D-Del.)	JOHN CHAFFEE (R-R.I.)
JEFF BINGAMAN (D-N.M.)	LAWTON CHILES (D-Fla.)
DAVID BOREN (D-Okla.)	THAD COCHRAN (R-Miss.)

WILLIAM COHEN (R-Maine)	RUSSELL LONG (D-La.)
ALAN CRANSTON (R-Calif.)	RICHARD LUGAR (R-Ind.)
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DENNIS DECONCINI (D-Ariz.)	MITCH MCCONNELL (D-Ky.)
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CHRIS DODD (D-Conn.)	HOWARD METZENBAUM (D-Ohio)
ROBERT DOLE (R-Kansas)	DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN (D-N.Y.)
PETE DOMENICI (R-N.M.)	FRANK MURKOWSKI (R-Alaska)
TOM EAGLETON (D-Mo.)	DON NICKLES (R-Okla.)
DAN EVANS (R-Wash.)	SAM NUNN (D-Ga.)
WENDELL FORD (D-Ky.)	ROBERT PACKWOOD (R-Ore.)
AL GORE (D-Tenn.)	CLAIBORNE PELL (D-R.I.)
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TOM HARKIN (D-Iowa)	DAVID PRYOR (D-Ark.)
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PATRICK LEAHY (D-Vt.)	ED ZORINSKY (D-Neb.)
CARL LEVIN (D-Mich.)	

Senators voting against ratification:

JEREMIAH DENTON (R-Ala.)	JESSE HELMS (R-N.C.)
JOHN EAST (R-N.C.)	JAMES MCCLURE (R-Idaho)
JAKE GARN (R-Utah)	WILLIAM ROTH (R-Del.)
BARRY GOLDWATER (R-Ariz.)	STEVE SYMMS (R-Idaho)
CHARLES GRASSLEY (R-Iowa)	STROM THURMOND (R-S.C.)
	MALCOLM WALLOP (R-Wyo.)

Not Present for Vote:

DAVID DURENBERGER (R-Minn.)	DANIEL INOUE (D-Hawaii)
JAMES EXON (D-Nebr.)	CHARLES MAC MATHIAS (R-Md.)
JOHN GLENN (D-Ohio)	GEORGE MITCHELL (D-Me.)

BACK PAGE

Democracies and Travesties

The Philippine election should help convince skeptics the world over that the word democracy still has meaning. Americans, in particular, take for granted the right to vote and—its obvious corollary—that the candidate with the most votes wins the office. It didn't happen that way in the Philippines where Corazon Aquino won more votes and Ferdinand Marcos holds on to power—at least temporarily.

That cannot happen here. Nor could it happen in Israel where the Labor alignment relinquished power to the Likud in 1977 after 29 consecutive years in power. Then, in 1984, the Likud yielded the prime minister's office back to Labor. That is democracy, majority rule. But, sadly, the Philippines travesty of it is still infinitely more common worldwide than the authentic American version. That is one important reason why America values Israel. The key factor in looking at the government of Israel is not the party that is running it but the simple fact that it is democratically elected. That is one of many characteristics which distinguish Israel from most of its neighbors, for whom even a Marcos-style ballot stuffing election would represent progress after decades—and centuries—without free elections at all.

Speaking of nations without free elections, the Soviet Union is reported to have played a key role in the collapse of the Hussein-Arafat "accord." According to *New York Times* correspondent Bernard Gwertzman (Feb. 17, 1986), the State Department believes that it was the Soviets who convinced PLO chief Yasir Arafat not to accept King Hussein's terms for joining the peace process. The King had asked Arafat to accept Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, the existence of Israel within its pre-1967 borders, and to renounce "armed struggle" or terrorism. A positive response from Arafat might have gained the PLO a ticket to the negotiating table even over Israel's opposition. But Arafat, stiffened in his opposition to any compromise by the Soviets, yielded to his ever-present inclination to say no.

The disturbing part of Gwertzman's report is not that Moscow told the PLO not to accept peace with Israel. That is standard operating procedure for the Soviets who believe—and they're right—that Middle East peace would benefit the United States more than it would them. The disturbing aspect was another Gwertzman revelation—that certain State Department officials are still trying to come up with a formula that would expedite U.S.-PLO negotiations despite the law prohibiting them. Gwertzman cites a State Department offi-

cial who said that Arafat's acceptance of Hussein's conditions would allow the United States "to go ahead with its often-stated willingness to meet with the PLO. . . ."

It's difficult to understand why anyone in the Reagan Administration would want to meet with Arafat's crew. During the last year, the PLO has repeatedly demonstrated that it remains a terror organization, one that pulled off the Achille Lauro hijacking as well as other murderous attacks on civilians in Israel and Europe. It sabotaged the British-engineered fall peace initiative and now the Jordanian-Israeli one. Its prestige accordingly could not be lower.

One has to wonder why certain U.S. government officials persist in their attempts to resuscitate a fading terrorist organization. Perhaps it is only force of habit. For more than a decade, a clique of officials have believed in the chimera of PLO moderation. No amount of bombings or hijackings have disabused them from the notion that the PLO is part of the solution and not the problem.

Ironically, however, it is the PLO leadership which refuses to play along with this game. Despite the apologies made for them by friends in Washington and elsewhere, they refuse to make things easier by mouthing some empty formula. Each time they seem about to be dragged to the brink of acceptability, they either endorse "armed struggle" or present the world with one more bloody example of it. You have to give them credit. They may be terrorists; but they are consistent. To their own selves they are true.

—M.J.R.

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NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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EDITORIALS

Anatoly Shcharansky

There are moments in history when politics and diplomacy recede from significance in the face of human dramas—tragedies and triumphs. One of these moments occurred last month when the Challenger disappeared in the skies over Florida. It will be a long time before any of us recover from the shock, horror, and grief at losing those seven heroic Americans. The moment one realized that they were gone—that a teacher and mother from New Hampshire had died along with her astronaut colleagues—is forever engraved in our memories.

Last week there was another moment during which politics paled. This time it was a moment of triumph, not tragedy. Anatoly Shcharansky set foot in Israel where he was reunited with his wife, Avital, and his people. This time there were tears of joy and—in the Jewish tradition—prayers thanking God for allowing the Shcharanskys and all of us to see the day.

The Shcharanskys are true heroes. Neither one ever gave up or surrendered to despair. They both remained convinced that they would be reunited and that “next year” they would be in Jerusalem.

“Next year” is here. And Shcharansky is in Israel. In future weeks, we can contemplate the politics of it all. For today, it is enough to thank President Reagan, General Secretary Gorbachev and those tireless Soviet Jewry activists who never let Shcharansky disappear into the gulag of the forgotten.

But most important let us be grateful for the State of Israel. There have always been Shcharanskys—heroic and innocent Jews who suffered for their beliefs or Jewish origins. The difference today is that now there is a Jewish state to labor for a Shcharansky’s release and offer him a place

called home. That state has demonstrated once again that the Zionist dream is alive and well. Ask Shcharansky. He’s in Jerusalem. A free man. At home.

Going Nowhere?

It has now been a year since—on Feb. 11, 1985—King Hussein and PLO chief Yasir Arafat signed an agreement to pursue a joint peace initiative. During that year Prime Minister Shimon Peres has progressively modified Israel’s conditions for negotiations, accepting Hussein’s demand for an international peace conference. He has also indicated that although Israel will not negotiate with Palestinians linked to the PLO, it will not examine the Palestinian delegates’ credentials with a magnifying glass.

Nevertheless, King Hussein has been unable to convince Arafat to accept U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338, renounce terror and accept Israel’s right to exist. In short, the PLO remains dedicated to Israel’s destruction and will not even mouth the probably meaningless formula that might—but shouldn’t—win it a place at the negotiating table. It is just as well. The PLO’s terrorist actions speak louder than its words. Even if Arafat were to orally accept Resolutions 242 and 338, it would not change anything. As long as it remains a terrorist organization, the PLO remains an unfit partner for negotiations.

The depressing aspect of the collapse of the Hussein-Arafat accord is that it may mean that the Jordanian King will end his somewhat fitful attempt to initiate negotiations with Israel. If so, it is incumbent upon the Israeli government to act alone to help the Palestinians of the West Bank achieve more control over their own lives—at least as an interim step. That is exactly what Shimon Peres intends to do. □

VIEWING THE NEWS

Worried Saudis

The leaders of Arab states including Egypt, Jordan and Kuwait telephoned Iraq’s President Saddam Hussein for a report after a large Iranian offensive reportedly pushed through Iraqi lines near the southern city of Basra and the Kuwaiti border (Iraq News Agency, Feb. 10). Iraq’s President Hussein reassured them, emphasizing “Iraq’s ability to repulse and foil the Iranian aggression.”

The Saudi Arabian Cabinet “reviewed with regret and pain” news of the offensive “which might lead to the escalation of the

situation in a way that would threaten the peace and security of the whole region . . .” (Saudi Press Agency, Feb. 10). □

“Devolution” As Policy

Israel’s Prime Minister Shimon Peres “stated this evening that King Hussein’s attempt to establish a dialogue with Arafat has suffered a devastating failure [and] the situation is back to square one. . . .” (*Kol Yisrael*, Feb. 8). Peres then “outlined to Parliament [the Knesset] a plan to reduce Israeli control over the day-to-day life of Palestinians in the . . . West Bank and Gaza Strip. The plan would give Palestin-

ians authority over health, education, welfare and municipal services” (*The Philadelphia Inquirer*, Feb. 13).

Peres said that Israel did not plan to pull any troops from the strategically located areas. He explained that the plan was an interim “devolution” of certain responsibilities, not imposed autonomy. “It is not a permanent solution but a way to live until there are negotiations” for a peace treaty with Jordan. Peres again invited King Hussein to begin talks and urged Palestinian Arabs to drop PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat as a representative in any discussions with Israel. □

PERSPECTIVE

A Problem 'Beyond Diplomacy'

Watching all the diplomatic motion of the "peace process," the uninitiated conclude that something must be going on says Meron Benvenisti, leader of the controversial West Bank Data Base Project and former deputy mayor of Jerusalem. But, he adds, the problem of Arabs and Jews living together west of the Jordan River—epitomized by the 1.3 million Palestinian Arabs and the 52,000 Israeli settlers on the West Bank and Gaza Strip—may now be beyond the power of diplomacy to solve.

He told an American Enterprise Institute audience last week that the 1986 report of the Data Base Project saw changes in two areas. One had nothing to do with Israeli policy. It was the dramatic drop in Arab emigration from the West Bank and Gaza, a result mostly of shrinking job markets in the oil states of the Persian Gulf and in Jordan.

Whereas earlier editions of the report predicted that the ratio of Jews-to-Arabs west of the Jordan would remain constant at 63% to 36%, the new trends could change the ratio to 61%–39% in 1991 and under 55%–45% at the end of the first decade of the 21st century. Complicating the problem for Israel is the fact that only 53% of those under 15 years of age are Jews; 47% are Arabs.

The second major area of change has been "the development of grassroots Palestinian resistance in the territories . . . usually not connected with PLO cells originating abroad." Benvenisti asserted that more than half the acts of terrorist violence against Jews in the territories and Israel are now initiated by Arab residents. He suggested that the conflict is again becoming a communal one, as it was before 1948.

These developments, plus "self-destructive acts of the Palestinians in the last year" help push the problem out of the range of international diplomacy and back to an internal political struggle between Jews and Arabs west of the river, Benvenisti claimed. "Even sympathetic Israelis . . . are not ready to rely on the Palestinians' ability to ensure peaceful coexistence." He said that the "peace camp" in Israel "is very tired now of the whole problem," and the general public, disillusioned over the unfulfilled peace with Egypt, "is exhausted over the West Bank."

Benvenisti stressed that "one of the most dramatic events of the last year had nothing to do with the West Bank. It was the killing of seven Israeli tourists in the Sinai" by an Egyptian policeman. It emphasized "the shortcomings of peace treaties" and undermined the premise of the peace process

based on U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338 of "trading land for peace."

Although "there is no peace process," Benvenisti said that a mutual problem—the presence of large numbers of Palestinian Arabs under Israeli authority—compels Israel's Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Jordan's King Hussein to try for one. "Both know that their system of control can't be counted on indefinitely. And the problem [of so many Palestinian Arabs] can mutilate their systems from within."

Benvenisti discounted a peace process dependent on agreement by either the PLO or the extreme right in Israel and he opposed annexation of the territories and their Arab populations by Israel. Instead, he suggested incremental, local steps which might take a long time. He distinguished these from "old stories" like interim agreements or limited autonomy because in these situations Jordan figured as "senior partner."

"Perhaps we have to look for different healers, communal leaders" who understand that the conflict is both "primordial" and "internal. . . . They have to find a way out because there is not going to be an external solution. . . . You can't deal with such things at a Geneva conference."

—E.R. □

HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

Arafat Letter

Forty-four Senators signed a letter sent to Attorney-General Edwin Meese last week, urging him to give top priority to a Justice Department review of material reportedly implicating PLO Chairman Yash Arafat in the 1973 murders of two U.S. diplomats.

Senators FRANK LAUTENBERG (D-N.J.) and CHARLES GRASSLEY (R-IOWA), the authors of the letter, referred to news media accounts indicating that the brutal beatings and murders of Ambassador Cleo Noel, Chargé d'Affaires G. Curtis Moore, and Belgian diplomat Guy Eid were carried out by members of Arafat's Fatah group. The stories also said that Arafat later congratulated the terrorists.

The letter points out that "Sudanese President Nimeiri went public at once with evidence showing that the operation had been run out of the Khartoum office of Fatah. One month after the slayings, the

Washington Post reported that . . . Arafat was in the Black September radio command center in Beirut when the message to execute three Western diplomats was sent out." State Department cables and a rumored tape recording of radio contact between the terrorists in Khartoum and PLO Beirut offices may confirm that Arafat himself gave the order for the killings—or that an assistant gave the command in Arafat's presence.

According to the signers—including 13 of the 17 members of the Senate Judiciary Committee—"these allegations, if substantiated, leave little doubt that a warrant for Arafat's arrest should be issued and a criminal indictment filed against him." In an apparent rebuttal to claims that such action could upset prospects for talks between Israel and a Jordanian-Palestinian Arab delegation, the signers added that "to allow other factors to enter into this decision is to

make a mockery of our laws and our stated commitment to eradicate terrorism."

Lautenberg's office said that Meese was expected to decide soon whether to seek an indictment. The following Senators signed the letter to Meese:

MARK ANDREWS (R-N.D.)	PAULA HAWKINS (R-FLA.)
MAX BAUCUS (D-MONT.)	CHIC HECHT (R-NEV.)
JOSEPH BIDEN (D-DE.)	TED KENNEDY (D-MASS.)
JEFF BINGAMAN (D-N.M.)	JOHN KERRY (D-MASS.)
QUENTIN BURDICK (D-N.D.)	FRANK LAUTENBERG (D-N.J.)
LAWTON CHILES (D-FLA.)	PAUL LAXALT (R-NEV.)
ALAN CRANSTON (D-CALIF.)	PATRICK LEAHY (D-VT.)
ALFONSO D'AMATO (R-N.Y.)	CARL LEVIN (D-MICH.)
DENNIS DECONCINI (D-ARIZ.)	MACK MATTINGLY (R-GA.)
JEREMIAH DENTON (R-ALA.)	MITCH MCCONNELL (R-KY.)
ALAN DIXON (D-ILL.)	HOWARD METZENBAUM (D-OHIO)
CHRIS DODD (D-CONN.)	PAT MOYNIHAN (D-N.Y.)
JOHN EAST (R-N.C.)	FRANK MURKOWSKI (R-ALASKA)
JOHN GLENN (D-OHIO)	DON NICKLES (R-OKLA.)
AL GORE (D-TENN.)	CLAIBORNE PELL (D-R.I.)
CHARLES GRASSLEY (R-IOWA)	WILLIAM PROXMIRE (D-WIS.)
TOM HARKIN (D-IOWA)	DAN QUAYLE (R-IND.)
GARY HART (D-COLO.)	DON RIEGLE (D-MICH.)
ORRIN HATCH (R-UTAH)	JAY ROCKEFELLER (D-N.H.)
	PAUL SARBANES (D-MD.)
	JIM SASSER (D-TENN.)
	PAUL SIMON (D-ILL.)
	ARLEN SPECTER (R-PA.)
	STEVE SYMMS (D-IDAH.)
	PAUL TRIBLE (R-VA.)

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M. J. Rosenberg, Editor Eric Rozenman, Assistant Editor

Abby J. Stavitsky, Associate Editor Esther Chesney, Assistant I. L. Kenen, Editor Emeritus

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PERSPECTIVE

Milson Views the Territories

"Nothing has undermined the political efficacy of Israeli moderates more than the absence of counterparts on the Palestinian side." It also has contributed to Arab-Israeli violence in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Israel proper. That is the view of Menahem Milson, former head of the civil administration of Judea and Samaria and a professor of Arabic Literature at Hebrew University.

Milson, now finishing a stint at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars at the Smithsonian Institution, told *NER* that "the urban elite of the West Bank—that group with both the economic power and the political say—while certainly politically frustrated is not willing to take initiative and responsibility." Instead, it prefers to have a peripheral role in Palestinian and Arab politics and to follow the "Arab consensus" formed outside the area.

"There is still on the Arab and the PLO side—especially the PLO side—the notion that Israel is illegitimate. In practice, most of the Palestinians living in the territories realize that Israel is a reality and will continue to exist. Some even privately believe it isn't such a bad country." But, Milson explained, "that is politically unutterable

and therefore not effective."

The local elite does not contradict the outside consensus. It thereby safeguards itself, its large investments in the Arab world and its role as chief beneficiary of PLO-controlled funds funneled into the West Bank. The secretary of the joint Jordanian-PLO committee for the territories recently announced that PLO money is being transferred into the area unimpeded, \$438 million in the past five years. "There is sympathy for the PLO as a symbol of Palestinian nationalism, but we are talking not just about symbols but the PLO's ability to keep people in line and prevent any deviation," Milson added.

"Therefore, unfortunately, diplomatic efforts made against this background will inevitably remain sterile—a lot of talk about process which becomes a euphemism for moving in circles." Improvement can come, Milson believes, through emergence of Palestinian spokesmen from the territories who are ready openly to join peace negotiations with Israel—preferably in association with Jordan—or through unequivocal public change in the PLO's position on Israel, or a combination of the two.

Such changes "will have great effect on

the Israeli public and on Israel's readiness to make compromises which involve both strategic risks and painful concessions. But unless there is such a palpable change on the Palestinian side there is not going to be that readiness for taking risks and for concessions on the Israeli side."

Milson recognized that Israel may have to live without a peace agreement for a long time. But this, he argued, should be all the more reason why Israel should encourage the emergence of moderate Palestinian Arab leaders in the territories. This is essential to help reduce tension and violence and to support peace efforts.

Growing Moslem fundamentalism in the Arab world "adds yet another element of incitement and possible provocation." It—and the appearance of Jewish millenarianism—aggravates the situation. But so far Islamic fundamentalism has not supplanted Palestinian Arab nationalism as a source of tension, Milson said. "The only way in which there can be coexistence between the 3.5 million Jews and the 1.9 million Arabs living side-by-side" west of the Jordan River is through a political compromise.

—E.R. □

NEWS ANALYSIS

Israel Opposes UNIFIL Renewal

Some Israeli officials hope the U.N. Security Council ends the eight-year mission of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) this spring. (The mandate of the 5,800 UNIFIL troops expires in April.) Jerusalem has long been critical of UNIFIL's performance as a peacekeeper in southern Lebanon and along Israel's northern border.

"It's no secret that Israel has not been happy with some of the things going on in south Lebanon," said a State Department source. "It would always rather rely on itself or a force it controls—like the South Lebanon Army (SLA)—for its own security."

In recent months Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin and former Defense Minister Moshe Arens (now a minister-without-portfolio), have gone beyond criticism of UNIFIL's performance to calls for its demise. An Israeli official in Washington said that one reason is the constant potential for anti-Israel publicity stemming from disputes between UNIFIL and the SLA or between the U.N. soldiers and troops of the IDF (Israel Defense Forces).

Some U.S. observers see other possible

reasons. One is Jerusalem's desire to gain more freedom of action for the SLA and IDF against a possible build-up of terrorists in southern Lebanon. The second would be to signal Syria—by just calling for an end to UNIFIL—that changes in southern Lebanon could create uncertainties for it as well as for Israel. Syria, through its proxies, wants to eliminate the security zone.

UNIFIL was established by the Security Council in 1978 following Israel's Litani operation, a large-scale strike against the PLO in south Lebanon after the Haifa-to-Tel Aviv coastal road massacre. But Israel did not agree to UNIFIL deployment all the way to the Lebanese-Israeli border and helped establish the forerunner of the SLA, a largely-Christian militia under Maj. Saad Haddad, to help stop terrorist infiltration into Israel and keep order in southernmost Lebanon.

After Israel's 1982 war against the PLO in Lebanon—and its withdrawal last spring—Gen. Antoine Lahd, Haddad's successor, and the 1,500-man SLA have patrolled the 6-to-10-mile-wide security zone north of Israel's border. Lahd's forces are backed by at least several hundred IDF

personnel in southern Lebanon and can call on additional aid from the Israeli side of the border if necessary.

The security zone and Israel itself have faced repeated assaults by Shi'ite Amal members, pro- and anti-Arafat PLO forces, more radical Shi'ite splinter groups like Hezbollah, and others, many acting as Syrian proxies. There have been recent Katyusha rocket attacks across the zone into the northern Galilee, and IDF sources have warned against attempts by Palestinian Arab terrorists to re-infiltrate the border area. Late last year Rabin rejected Lebanese and U.N. proposals to eliminate the security zone and station UNIFIL all the way to the border.

Meanwhile, Congress has cut \$21.6 million from the original \$51 million requested for the U.S. contribution to U.N. forces on the Golan Heights and UNIFIL. A Senate source said the action was due more to tardy State Department staff work in support of the request than to Congressional opposition to UNIFIL. State says that it still supports UNIFIL.

□

BACK PAGE

Real Understanding

It has become rare to find a newspaper columnist or television correspondent who approaches Israel with any real understanding of what it is all about. Most reporters and pundits write as if the history of Israel began in 1967 and is mainly about who should control the West Bank.

That is why a Dec. 16 column by syndicated columnist Charley Reese (appearing in the *San Francisco Examiner* and other major papers) is such a pleasant surprise. Reese writes that "on a superficial level Israel is no different than any of our [other] allies" although he notes that "we spend ten times more defending Western Europe than we do on Israel [and] the Europeans never hesitate to stick it to us when it suits them."

But it is Israel's uniqueness that Reese is concerned about. He says that "what makes Israel unique is the Holocaust." He concedes that Americans "get tired of hearing about it because it is so depressing and difficult to understand." But he asserts that understanding it is essential to an understanding of Israel.

"It was as if a mad government decided to murder everyone who had been born into a family in which at least one parent was a Baptist and began to murder women, children, old people and babies without any regard for their politics or for even if they actually practiced the Baptist religion. Try to imagine what it would be like to know that someone had murdered not just your wife and children but also your parents, in-laws, grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins. For one thing, you would know what it is like to be alone—really alone."

Reese explains that while this mass murder of Jews was taking place "the rest of the world turned its back. The U.S. rejected Jewish immigrants. The British forcibly captured those trying to flee to Palestine and returned them to Nazi hands. The Nazis offered to exchange Jews for trucks. No takers."

It was out of this "furnace" that Israel was born. "When [the survivors] straggled ashore in Palestine, they found not rest but another war, another group vowing to exterminate them. Again, the world turned its head while they died. Against staggering odds, they fought like wild furies and held on. And for 37 years they have had to fight to hold on. Survivors who had seen their loved ones die in Europe, married and saw their new children die" in Israel.

Reese's conclusion is that "Israel is simply not a normal state of normal, complacent, comfortable people. It is what the world made it. The Israelis will fight any battle, go to any length, do whatever it

takes—to survive." He says that he may not always agree with the Israelis and that he would not "give an inch if it came to a clash between their interest and the true interest of my country." But, he adds, "even if we clash and even when I disagree with what they do, I love them. God, what a daring, brave, and magnificent people they are."

• • •

There are all kinds of columnists though. The just-published letters of Walter Lippmann, widely considered the greatest of them all, confirm that he had a major blind spot. Deeply ashamed of his Jewish ancestry, Lippmann—who was at the height of his influence during the 1940's—never offered a word of protest about the Nazi murder of six million Jews. He was apparently afraid that offering even sympathy to European Jews would bring attention to his background and perhaps interfere with his assimilation into high society.

His biographers—and reviewers of his biographies and letters—note Lippmann's embarrassed indifference to the Holocaust and his Jewish self-hatred but treat it as a minor defect. He was still "great," they point out. He just had this quirk.

It's rather odd. It seems obvious that neither racists nor anti-Semites nor anyone who turns their back to human suffering are great. It was Dante who said that the "hottest places in hell" are reserved for those who in times of great moral crisis maintain their neutrality. Lippmann maintained his neutrality and his silence. A great writer, perhaps; a great man, no.

—M.J.R.

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EDITORIALS

Peace First; Arms Later

The Reagan Administration's decision not to go ahead with an arms sale to Jordan is a welcome one. There was never much of a rationale for a sale. In fact, the closest thing the Administration had to a rationale—that Jordan needed sophisticated new weapons to stand up to the threat from Damascus—was blown out of the water when King Hussein decided that his approach to Syria would be to make love, not war.

There are those in Washington, Amman and elsewhere who argue that the decision not to proceed with a Jordan arms sale will retard the peace process. They have it backwards. Supplying U.S. weaponry to Jordan might make sense as a reward to Jordan for negotiating a peace treaty with Israel. Selling the arms first—in hopes that they would encourage King Hussein to go to the peace table—would represent an almost literal definition of putting the cart before the horse. Peace first; arms later.

Accordingly, it is foolish—or, at least, overly pessimistic—for anyone to argue that the peace process is now dead because the Jordan arms deal is. On the contrary, the on-again, off-again arms sale only deflected attention from where it belonged: on the peace process.

Fortunately, nothing much was lost by the arms sale diversion. Prime Minister Shimon Peres is still anxious to meet King Hussein and non-PLO Palestinians at the negotiating table. Secretary of State George Shultz says that the Administration remains dedicated to direct negotiations and will

use its offices to advance them. The missing ingredient is King Hussein's willingness to negotiate without the PLO, but there remains hope that he is about to move in that direction. If he does, the peace process will begin in earnest. If he doesn't it will remain nothing more than a dream of what might have been. We'll know soon enough.

Frozen Peace

The latest word from Cairo is that the Mubarak government is having second thoughts about the Taba arbitration process. Not only that, some Egyptian officials are saying that even resolution of the Taba dispute won't necessarily lead to normalization of relations with Israel. One official said that there must first be major improvements on the West Bank. Another mentioned unhappiness about Israel's administration of Moslem holy places in Jerusalem.

In short, Egypt is still finding excuses for not living up to the terms of the Camp David peace treaty. It has now been more than three years since Egypt removed its ambassador from Tel Aviv. At that time Cairo said that the ambassador would return when Israeli troops left Lebanon. Israel withdrew from Lebanon last spring but there is still no ambassador at Egypt's embassy in Israel. Each time it appears that Cairo will have no choice but to send him back—that its conditions have been met—it finds another reason not to. And slowly, slowly Israel's belief in Egypt's good will is dissipating—and along with it the Camp David dream. □

VIEWING THE NEWS

PLO-Soviets

Farouk Kaddoumi, head of the PLO's political department, "has reiterated the PLO's rejection of U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338" (Baghdad Voice of the PLO, Feb. 1). According to the station, Kaddoumi said that "it is impossible to recognize these two resolutions as long as they ignore the Palestinian people's inalienable rights."

An Arab "diplomatic source in Amman" said that "the Soviet Union encouraged Yasir Arafat to reject" 242 and 338 in exchange for Moscow's promise to assist a reconciliation among the splinter PLO factions (Radio Monte Carlo, Jan. 31).

A top Jordanian source admitted that discussions with Arafat's delegation "have gone nowhere," but asserted that Jordan

and the PLO "do not have any problem. The problem is between the PLO and the Americans" (*Jordan Times*, Feb. 3). The paper said that the Jordan-PLO talks "floundered (sic) over U.S. insistence that the PLO accept U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 without accepting the Palestinians' right to self-determination." For the PLO, self-determination means a state on the West Bank and Gaza Strip—at least as a starting point.

Basic Difference

The recent talks between Prime Minister Peres and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy revealed "a basic difference between the Americans and Israelis on the character and function of the inter-

national sponsorship" under discussion for talks between Israel and a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation (*Jerusalem Post*, Feb. 3). Peres stressed the Israeli view that any international conference or "auspices" would meet to kick off, and perhaps conclude, direct Israeli-Arab negotiations but would not "accompany" the talks through-out.

"Murphy, it appears, represented the U.S. view that the forum or conference should 'accompany,' and perhaps monitor or interact with the direct bilateral negotiations."

The paper also reported that Jordan's King Hussein and Syrian President Hafez Assad are to meet in a few days. Then "Jerusalem and Washington expect Jordan to decide whether it will start negotiations

(Continued)

PERSPECTIVE

Jordan Arms Sale Shelved

The Reagan Administration has decided not to go ahead with its \$1.5 billion arms sale to Jordan. It had been planning to notify Congress of its intent to make the sale on Mar. 1. Instead, it backed down in the face of strong Congressional opposition.

Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole (R-Kans.) and Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman Richard Lugar (R-Ind.) were key figures in convincing the Administration that a resolution opposing the sale would have had the backing of at least 80 Senators. The Administration was persuaded that going ahead with an unpopular sale—and perhaps being defeated on the Hill—would have harmed both the Administration and Republicans running for the House and Senate in this year's election. In a letter to the Senate and House leadership, Secretary of State George Shultz wrote that the Administration will only "proceed with the Jordan arms sale after affording Congress adequate time" to review "the issues involved."

Dole said that "the Administration's decision not to proceed with the sale at this time is both wise and necessary—wise because it preserves one of the most important points of leverage we have at our disposal to encourage Jordan . . . to work toward good-faith negotiations; necessary because it was clear that there was overwhelming skepticism in the Congress—skepticism which, frankly, I share about the impact of a sale at this time."

Dole seemed to be suggesting that while shelving the sale is a good thing, the lack of progress on the Jordan peace front is not. It has now been one year since King Hussein and PLO chief Yasir Arafat reached their

famous Feb. 11 "accord," one that supposedly included a go-ahead for Israeli-Jordanian-Palestinian negotiations. Nevertheless, despite the hoopla, nothing substantial has happened. Both Prime Minister Shimon Peres and King Hussein have made optimistic statements. But the Jordanian position has altered very little. The King will not join talks without Arafat's approval and, so far, Arafat is hanging tough.

The postponement of the Jordan arms deal will allow all parties to focus on what the peace process is supposed to be about: negotiations, not weaponry. If the King's real goal was (as many in Israel believe) arms from Washington rather than peace with Jerusalem, this round of the peace process will die quickly and he will continue to snuggle up to Damascus. If peace is his ultimate goal, there is no reason for him not to join negotiations with Peres, especially since Peres has accepted Jordan's demand for negotiations under international auspices.

In Israel attention is shifting away from the still-theoretical peace with Jordan to the supposedly real peace with Egypt. A few weeks ago it appeared that Egypt and Israel had agreed on a common approach to the Taba border dispute. There was talk about a summit between President Hosni Mubarak and Shimon Peres and the return of Egypt's ambassador to Tel Aviv.

It isn't happening. Instead, Egypt has found reasons to object to the proposed conciliation-arbitration procedure which would resolve the dispute over the 1,000-yard Taba beach. More important, however, is that Egypt continues to cite reasons for not living up to the Camp David peace even if the Taba question is resolved. In an

interview on Israel radio, Egypt's Charge d'Affaires in Israel, Mohammed Bassiouni, said that there are many obstacles to normalization. "The Lebanese war had a very negative effect on Egyptian-Israeli relations. The practices on the West Bank and Gaza, especially what is taking place in Al-Aksa mosque are also considered negative factors affecting Egyptian-Israeli relations." He said that only "the removal of these obstacles" would "restore normal Egyptian-Israeli relations." As for Taba, it is a "major obstacle" but far from the only one.

Israelis are becoming increasingly frustrated with Egypt as they watch Cairo raise the ante for resuming full ties over and over again. It's almost hard to recall that there was a time—back in 1983—when Cairo suggested that it would resume the Camp David process when Israel pulled out of Lebanon. That is now ancient history as Egyptians indicate that even the Palestinian problem may have to be resolved before they live up to the terms of Camp David.

On Feb. 3, Tom Friedman reported in the *New York Times* that Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir had received a warm reception a day earlier when he blasted Egypt for seeking to improve its Arab ties at the expense of the Israel-Egypt peace. The surprising thing was not that the Likud leader met a favorable response for his attack on Cairo. The surprise was that his audience was a left-wing kibbutz in the Negev. This only attests to the fact that Egypt's retreat from Camp David is disillusioning all Israelis—left and right—about the nature of Arab-Israel peace. This hardly bodes well for the future.

M.J.R.

HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

Sale Shelved

Secretary of State George Shultz has informed Congressional leaders that the Administration has shelved plans to sell Jordan \$1.9-billion worth of sophisticated weapons. As a result, Congress is expected not to proceed with a resolution to disapprove the sale.

In a letter to House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman DANTE FASCELL (D-Fla.) and Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman RICHARD LUGAR (R-Ind.), Shultz wrote that the U.S. "will actively pursue

opportunities to advance the peace process . . . (but will) only proceed with the Jordan arms sale after affording Congress adequate time to further review and debate fully the issues involved."

Congress last year passed a compromise resolution delaying the sale until Mar. 1 or until "direct and meaningful" negotiations are under way between Jordan and Israel. At that time the delaying resolution averted an outright Congressional disapproval. Certain the arms package would again face defeat, the Administration reached an agreement with Congressional opponents

of the sale not to proceed with the sale without formally notifying Congress in writing at least 30 days in advance.

Sens. JOHN HEINZ (R-Pa.), TED KENNEDY (D-Mass.), RUDY BOSCHWITZ (R-Minn.), HOWARD METZENBAUM (D-Ohio), ARLEN SPECTER (R-Pa.), ROBERT DOLE (R-Kans.), DANIEL INOUE (D-Hawaii), BOB KASTEN (R-Wis.), ALAN CRANSTON (D-Calif.), and RICHARD LUGAR (R-Ind.), along with Reps. DANTE FASCELL (D-Fla.), LARRY SMITH (D-Fla.) and VIN WEBER (R-Minn.) led the successful efforts to stop the sale.

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HEARD IN WASHINGTON

Shultz on Aid, Peace Process

Aid for Israel and the health of the U.S.-promoted Middle East "peace process" were on the minds of House Foreign Affairs Committee members last week as Secretary of State George Shultz presented a global preview for the coming year.

In welcoming Shultz, Committee Chairman Dante Fascell (D-Fla.) said that the Administration's budget envisions much more for international programs than Congress has authorized already for fiscal 1987. Fascell noted that one of his subcommittee chairmen "has warned that the [Gramm-Rudman-Hollings] balanced budget legislation could mean between a 25% and a 50% reduction in foreign aid. . . ."

Shultz was asked what would happen if the White House and Congress could not agree on specific cuts to comply with Gramm-Rudman-Hollings. Would aid to Israel, Egypt, and countries in which the U.S. holds rights to bases, such as Greece, Turkey, Pakistan, Portugal, the Philippines and Oman, be protected from required across-the-board reductions? If it is, he was told, little or no funds would be left for approximately 40 other countries.

"I suppose that's the purpose of the . . . Act," the Secretary said. "To confront us all with something clearly of great difficulty if not unacceptability. . . . We will, somehow or other, put together a reasonable plan so that that doesn't come into effect." Pressed to clarify his position on foreign

aid cuts if Congress and the Administration do fail to reach a budget compromise—a failure many observers expect—Shultz said, "I don't want to respond to 'iffy' questions."

He did note that by agreeing to return \$51.6 million in economic aid for fiscal 1986 so that other countries would not suffer larger cuts, Israel already has chosen "in a sense not to single itself out. . . . The point of all this is to try to work out the problems in a sensible way so a process that doesn't make as much sense [across-the-board slashes] does not come into effect."

Rep. Lee Hamilton (D-Ind.), chairman of the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, observed that "it has been four years since there have been any Middle East peace talks." He said that 1985 showed some hopeful signs, but that after Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres' encouraging U.N. speech in October and some positive statements by King Hussein, "my perception is that the leading actors in the Middle East are backing away" from diplomatic initiatives.

Shultz replied that "whether the situation looks immediately promising or not, we need to keep the effort going. . . . There is still very much alive a strong effort and I think it is up to us to keep pushing it. I don't think we should ever get in the position of saying well, the odds are against something constructive happening and therefore we

might as well turn our attention elsewhere."

In response to a question from Rep. Ben Gilman (R-N.Y.), the Secretary did not give details but said American willingness to make arms sales to Saudi Arabia "is very much in our interest. . . . We believe that being willing to make sales to Jordan to help King Hussein support his own security is also of great importance." He suggested that Congressional opposition which forced the Administration to back away from its latest Jordan arms sale "is a major detriment to our efforts to move the peace process along."

Shultz said that on the whole Saudi Arabia has been helpful in U.S. peace efforts in the Middle East. In the past, members of the Committee have charged that Saudi financial support for the PLO and Syria and continued opposition to Egypt's return to the Arab League prove that Riyadh obstructs U.S. diplomacy in the region.

Capitol Hill sources told *NER* that the failure of Arafat and Hussein to reach agreement on PLO acceptance of U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 after days of intense talks meant that their Feb. 11, 1985 "accord" was dead. "Coordination will continue," predicted one analyst, "but they just can't produce anything."

□
—E.R.

VIEWING . . . Continued

with Israel without the PLO." A "no" answer is anticipated "based on the likelihood that Assad will follow PLO chief Yasir Arafat in seeking to block Jordan's joining the peace process."

Egypt Okay

President Hosni Mubarak and other senior Egyptian officials told Israeli Minister Ezer Weizman and Avraham Tamir, director-general of the Prime Minister's office, "that the Egyptian government is not in any danger, and that such Western assessments are groundless. Mubarak said that these assessments evolved from the fact that he permits a vocal opposition to exist, something which was totally forbidden during the rule of Nasser and Sadat" (*Kol Yisrael*, Feb. 3).

In a speech to Egyptian scientists, Mubarak took note of warnings "that what is now taking place in the opposition press [including rumors of government personnel changes] is a serious, demagogical prece-

dent. . . . Around us and in the Arab region there are clear examples of the catastrophes and disasters that can be caused by the absence of democratic life. . . . Why do certain people seek to ruin this life [in Egypt] through Egyptian hands?" (*Radio Cairo*, Feb. 2).

Peres Visit

Israel's Prime Minister, Shimon Peres, "has been invited to the United States in April and will confer with President Ronald Reagan. . . ." Peres tentatively has accepted an invitation from the World Jewish Congress "to take part in a gala assembly" and will hold political talks in Washington (*Ha'aretz*, Feb. 3).

Interception

At a U.N. Security Council session called to hear a complaint against Israel's

interception of a Libyan executive jet, Israel's Ambassador Benjamin Netanyahu argued that "international law allows the interception of ships or planes if they are suspected of carrying terrorists or criminals. There is no better way of fighting international terrorism than to catch the perpetrators" (United Press International, Feb. 4). The crew and passengers—Syrian and Lebanese politicians returning from a meeting of terrorist groups in Libya—resumed their flight after Israel found that the suspects it sought were not on the plane. Netanyahu noted that no nation had requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council after attacks by terrorists on airports in Rome and Vienna.

Saudi Arabia's King Fahd telephoned Syrian President Hafez Assad to express his "deep resentment of this act of air piracy, perpetrated by our common enemy" (Associated Press, Feb. 5). Syria's Chief of Staff, Gen. Heikmat Chahabi, vowed to "answer this crime by teaching those who committed it a lesson they will not forget."

BACK PAGE

Not Just a Film

Sitting through the 9½ hour film *Shoah* (Hebrew for holocaust) is an excruciating experience. An hour into the film—which is being called the definitive documentary about the Holocaust—I wanted to escape. But walking out of *Shoah* seems like a betrayal. One can't help but feel that if the six million had to live the Holocaust—and die in it—the least we can do is watch a film.

It isn't easy though. Director and producer Claude Lanzmann subjects his viewers to horrifying images. They are not of the dead. The entire film was made in the 1980's and no archival footage is included. Its horrifying images are of people in Poland and Germany today who seem as if they would perpetrate another mass murder now—if they had the chance and if a sizable Jewish population could still be found in eastern Europe.

Other jarring images are of the places where the Holocaust took place. Lanzmann takes the viewer to railway stations and death camps. A train pulling into the Auschwitz station is shown again and again. This particular shot leaves the viewer with the sickening sensation that he is on the train. The image—and its seemingly endless repetition—has the feeling of a nightmare. You want to wake up. You want to get out of that theater. But you can't.

Shoah is not, by any stretch of the imagination, entertainment. It is, rather, entertainment's opposite. It is oppressive. It takes the almost meaningless term "Holocaust" and breaks it down into its component parts. Six million people were not just whooshed away by a storm. No, they were killed in a mechanized, almost industrial process. *Shoah* shows how it was done. And it shows that the hatred that made it possible still exists. See it. But don't expect even the satisfaction of easy tears.

One of *Shoah's* main points is that the Holocaust was unique. After seeing it, one cannot casually compare other tragedies to what befell European Jews between 1933 and 1945. In the Feb. 17 *New Republic*, writer and survivor Primo Levi explains that uniqueness. He says that he would not even compare Stalin's Gulag to the Nazi death camps. The Nazi camps were "gigantic death machines. Gas chambers and crematories were deliberately planned to destroy lives and human bodies on a scale of millions. The appalling record belongs to Auschwitz with 24,000 dead in a single day, in August 1944."

The Soviet camps represent different "models of hell." The "principal difference lies in the finality." Levi writes that "one entered the German camps . . . never to emerge. No outcome but death was foreseen." In the Soviet camps, the death of

prisoners was not "expressly sought. It was a very frequent occurrence, and it was tolerated with brutal indifference, but basically it was not expressly intended. It was a by-product, rather, of hunger, cold, infections, hard labor." He says that it is this difference that led to a 30% mortality figure in the Soviet camps but to a 98% death rate in the Nazi camps.

Levi makes an important distinction. Nazi Germany's slaughter of the Jews was not a war atrocity; nor was it similar to the mass incarcerations common in other totalitarian states. For the Nazis, the slaughter of the Jews was an end in itself. Jews were not imprisoned to silence them or to stop them from opposing the system. Jews were incarcerated as a prelude to their mass extermination. There was nothing Jews could do—no religious practice they could renounce or ideology they might adopt—that would save them or their children from the gas chambers. This is where the Holocaust, the *Shoah*, differs from most of the century's other horrors. The Jews of the Holocaust sought no "human rights" except to live—and that is the right that was denied them.

But, of course, we know all that. Why would we need to see a 9½ hour film like *Shoah*? For Primo Levi, the answer is simple: so that we don't forget. "Because what happened could happen again." Another murderous force "with its trail of intolerance, abuse, and servitude, can be born outside our country and imported into it, walking on tiptoes and calling itself by other names. . . . At that point, wise counsel no longer serves, and one must find the strength to resist. But then, too, the memory of what happened in the heart of Europe, not very long ago, can serve as support and warning." At this point, all we can do is remember. □

—M.J.R.

N.E.R.

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EDITORIAL

Warning Shot

Every so often something happens in the Middle East to send a warning shot screeching over the heads of those who believe that the Arab world has come to terms—implicitly if not explicitly—with Israel. A warning salvo was fired again last month, although it passed with little notice in the Western press.

After joining the Common Market, Spain ended years of hesitation and became the last Western European state to establish diplomatic relations with Israel. This overdue, routine development triggered a round of denunciations from Arab rejectionist states and relative moderates alike. Reaction from Jordan—whose King speaks in the West about making peace with Israel—and from Syria—whose president rejects anything but a *pax* Damascus—sounded interchangeable. Commentaries from Iraq, Saudi Arabia and the smaller Gulf states alike all spoke of a “betrayal” of Arab interests, of a victory for the “Zionist enemy.” And they hinted none-too-subtly of damage to Madrid’s sizeable interests in the Middle East.

In Jordan, the newspaper *Ad-Dustur* called Spanish-Israeli ties “a painful political fact,” adding that “we cannot but express our deep regret. . . .” The paper blamed “the weak Arab situation” for allowing Spain’s “retreat” and similar actions by African states which renewed relations with Israel. And it saw the move as a reward to the Peres government, which it described as “more aggressive, extremist, and opposed to the just and permanent peace than before.”

From Syria, Damascus Radio reported that the Secretary

General of the Arab Parliamentary Union (APU) “vehemently denounced” Spain’s action. Abdal Rahman Burawi “said that this Spanish decision is a great setback to Arab-Spanish relations, and has taken place at a time when the Zionist enemy’s racist and hostile trend is escalating inside and outside the occupied territories.” Burawi called for a pan-Arab stand “that will contain Zionist-U.S. efforts seeking to remove Israel from its isolation. . . .”

Iraq’s *Al-Thawrah* seemed to suggest blackmail. Spain, it warned, “has not taken into account its economic trade relations with the Arab countries. Its decision to establish relations with the Zionist entity will weaken its relations with the Arab countries.” The United Arab Emirates (UAE) “expressed sorrow,” according to a foreign ministry statement; local newspapers termed the Spanish decision “hostile to the Arab people and a stab in the back of the historical relations between the Arabs and Spaniards.” A commentary on Saudi Arabian Radio noted past Arab efforts “to persuade Spain not to establish diplomatic relations with the enemy.”

All this despite Spain’s statement that it did not recognize Israel’s annexation of the territories administered since 1967, that it wanted Israel to dismantle West Bank and Gaza Strip settlements and supported inclusion of the PLO in Arab-Israeli negotiations. What is really troubling the Arabs—if they indeed have come to grips with Israel as a neighbor? One paper in the UAE worried that the Spanish decision “will back the ‘legitimacy’ of the ‘illegitimate’ Zionist presence on the Arab land of Palestine. . . .” If that is the attitude behind all the outcries, then Arab rejectionists and “moderates” are clearly not so far apart after all. □

VIEWING THE NEWS

Border Attack

Two Israeli soldiers were killed and two wounded by a gunman who crossed the Jordan River and ambushed a patrol on Jan. 29 and then was killed by Israeli troops. But Prime Minister Shimon Peres said that he did not think the murders would affect efforts toward peace between Israel and Jordan (UPI, Jan. 30).

Israeli officials believe that the teenager—who carried Jordanian army papers—penetrated the border unobserved by Jordanian troops, who generally act to prevent such crossings. Peres’ office said that an “indirect message” was received from King Hussein apologizing for the shootings (Deutsche Presse Agentur, Jan. 30).

The attack was apparently unrelated to the Israeli bombing an hour earlier of three

buildings in southern Lebanon used by PLO factions opposed to Chairman Yasir Arafat. Israeli spokesmen said that the raid was in retaliation for recent Katyusha rocket attacks and attempted infiltrations into the Galilee (*New York Times*, Jan. 30).

Re-infiltration

According to a highly-placed Israeli official, “many Palestinians have recently returned to Sidon and are infiltrating the [south Lebanon] security strip from there” (*Kol Yisrael*, Jan. 27). In addition, “there is a noticeably greater involvement of Iranian elements, who are providing the local population with economic aid, and this is aimed at getting a foothold among them.”

A commentary by Moshe Zak (*Ma’ariv*, Jan. 22) asserted that PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat loyalists “are now fortifying” a base

in Sidon so that Arafat can “renew the threat to the Galilee.” His purpose would be to “curb the political process if it develops in a way not to his liking.” Zak argued that Arafat would not cut ties with Jordan’s King Hussein yet because he hopes that after the Communist Party congress this month “the Soviet Union will want to step in and impose peace between him and [Syrian President Hafez] Assad.”

Crossroads

Relations between Israel and Egypt “are at a dangerous crossroads and urgent action is needed to prevent a deterioration” (*Jerusalem Post*, Jan. 28). The paper urged an early summit meeting between Prime Minister Shimon Peres and President

(Continued)

PERSPECTIVE

Peres Visits Europe

Prime Minister Shimon Peres is completing a 10-day swing through Europe with both friends and adversaries agreeing that his fence-building mission has been successful. It has been almost 19 years since most European countries shifted toward the Arab side of the Arab-Israeli conflict but Peres is turning things around. Israel has established diplomatic ties with Spain and has warmed relations with Great Britain and West Germany, two states which tilted heavily away from Israel in recent years.

Peres' success is not based entirely on his powers of persuasion or his generally favorable image on the continent. Peres, and Israel, are the beneficiaries of the continued decline in demand for petroleum—the one thing the Arab world can offer the Europeans. Last week petroleum that had sold for \$30 a barrel in late January was selling at just above \$20. Unseasonably cold weather in Europe and the eastern United States slowed the decline in prices but it was still a buyers' market. Peres' friendly dealings with the Europeans were a direct product of the oil glut.

In Great Britain, aswim in North Sea oil, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher gave Peres a warm reception. Thatcher has cooled toward the PLO ever since it rejected a British-brokered Jordanian-Palestinian communique last fall which called

for a Palestinian state and recognition of Israel. After meeting Thatcher, Peres said that he expected a "gradual improvement" in Israeli-British relations. Speaking on Jan. 23, Peres noted that Britain is already the world's leading purchaser of Israeli goods and indicated that he expects more trade.

He also said—and this was later confirmed by Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir—that London would soon stop assisting the Arab boycott of Israel. On the political front, Peres said he believes British "enthusiasm toward the PLO is on the downswing." He added that Britain is playing a helpful role in promoting peace talks between Israel and London's traditional ally, Jordan. However, later reports from London indicated that the Thatcher government would not pressure Hussein on direct negotiations.

Peres left Britain for a three-day visit to the German Federal Republic. Saying that no trip by an Israeli leader to Germany could be a "simple, routine visit," Peres made his first stop at the Bergen-Belsen death camp where he prayed. The main topics on Peres' agenda while in Germany were said to be convincing the Germans not to sell arms to the Arabs, encouraging German anti-terrorist efforts, increasing cooperation on security matters and protecting Israeli imports to the Common Market.

A Bonn government spokesman welcomed Peres' visit and said that West Germany will always feel a "moral obligation" to Israel. According to Israel radio on Jan. 25, he added that Germany also wants to continue to have good ties with the Arabs.

The *New York Times* reported on Jan. 29 that a top aide to Peres said that "one of the most striking features" of the prime minister's trip was the Europeans' "declining interest in a role for the PLO in future talks." The adviser also said that the prime ministers of Spain, Great Britain, The Netherlands and Chancellor Kohl of West Germany praised Peres' efforts to seek direct negotiations with Jordan and non-PLO Palestinians.

The Jordanian newspaper *Sawat Al-Shab*, commenting on Spain's establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel and Peres' trip, lamented that "the European stand on our issues is on the retreat, and the prevailing atmosphere encourages Peres to push this retreat even further to the point where the European stand comes closer to the U.S. stand. The only Arab presence left in Europe these days is terrorism and what is left of the oil influence." The paper urged the Arab League to convene an Arab-European conference to keep Israel from "penetrating our European lines. . . ."

—M.J.R.

VIEWING . . . Continued

Hosni Mubarak.

However, Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin said that the real question for Israel and Egypt was not a summit but "how successful they are in reaching a package deal on the border demarcation, on Taba, and on the normalization of relations" (Israel Defense Forces Radio, Jan. 28). He reiterated his view that "strengthening the peace with Egypt should be the first and foremost priority."

Refusal

The Lebanese Shi'ite "Organization of the Oppressed of the Earth" refused to negotiate with Nazi-hunter Beate Klarsfeld for the release of five kidnapped Lebanese Jews (*Al-Nahar*, Jan. 23). The group pre-

viously claimed responsibility for the murder of two other Jewish kidnap victims. It announced, "We hold the terrorist league known as the Israeli government responsible for the fate of the strugglers [Lebanese Shi'ites held by the Israeli-backed South Lebanon Army] and confirm that the spies will be executed in public if the enemy procrastinates in releasing our strugglers. . . ."

The statement also proclaimed: "In the name of Almighty God: To adopt a stand is to take up arms; to negotiate is to recognize."

Opposition View

Egyptian officials initially described as positive the Israeli Cabinet decision to send the Taba issue to conciliation-arbitra-

tion as part of an overall agreement aimed at improving relations. But opposition papers in Cairo have taken another view. "Israel has made an offer regarding Taba that, on the surface, accepts the principle of arbitration called for by Cairo; however, it is actually an exploitation of the Taba dispute in order to rekindle the Camp David spirit and to unconditionally commit Egypt to the treaty provisions" (*Al-Ahali*, Jan. 22).

"Israel is still using Taba to persuade Egypt to establish special relations with it. . . . Furthermore, and this is the more dangerous aspect . . . Israel wants to ensure Israeli economic, cultural and political infiltration of Egypt, and it wants to obstruct restoration of Arab-Egyptian ties and prevent improvement of Egyptian-Palestinian relations" (*Al-Shab*, Jan. 21).

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M. J. Rosenberg, Editor Eric Rozenman, Assistant Editor

Abby J. Stavitsky, Associate Editor Esther Chesney, Assistant I. L. Kenen, Editor Emeritus

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HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

Congress Questions Murphy

Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, Richard Murphy, told Congress last week that during his recent shuttle between Jordan's King Hussein and Israel's Prime Minister Shimon Peres "progress was made toward our shared goal of achieving direct negotiations between the parties." Murphy, who traveled from England to The Netherlands and back while both Hussein and Peres were in Europe, said "exchanges among the parties reached a new level of detail and specifics on key issues. . . ."

But Murphy refused to go into detail about his talks with the two leaders in his report to an open session of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East. His optimistic tone echoed his assessment after last October's Middle East shuttle that the Administration had gained "a better understanding of the questions." Despite what he termed "growing convergence" between Hussein and Peres and their "sensitivity" to each other's problems, two sticking points remained. They are the nature of Palestinian representation in any talks and the structure of an international conference or auspices. Murphy did repeat Administration warnings against expecting any "break-through."

Murphy denied that U.S. envoys had discussed with the PLO a plan to endorse

"Palestinian self-determination" in exchange for PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat's approval of U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. He noted President Reagan's support—expressed in the 1982 Reagan Plan—for a Palestinian entity on the West Bank and Gaza Strip in confederation with Jordan. In what some observers saw as a hint of possible U.S. wavering, Murphy said he would not discuss "self-determination" further in open session.

Asked whether "the King is prepared to come in [to negotiations] without a prior understanding with Arafat and the PLO," Murphy said the situation still was not clear and that Hussein has always said he will not negotiate with Israel without credible Palestinian representation.

Hussein and Jordanian spokesmen have made it plain that by Palestinian representatives they meant the PLO. The Assistant Secretary said Jordan needed at least PLO "acquiescence," but one Committee member pointed out that—given that organization's refusal to accept Resolutions 242 and 338—"if it's not possible for the King to make peace without the PLO, it might not be possible to make peace with the PLO."

Arafat held several days of long-delayed talks with Hussein last week. Murphy called those discussions—and others Hussein is to have with Syrian President Hafez Assad, a foe of both Arafat and direct Jor-

danian-Israeli negotiations—"essential." He said Hussein approached both with a "high level of urgency."

Rep. Larry Smith (D-Fla.) suggested that the only reason there had been any apparent movement in the peace process in recent weeks was the desire of both Amman and Washington to improve prospects for the planned \$1.9 billion Jordan arms sale. Majorities in both Houses oppose the sale unless "meaningful direct" negotiations between Israel and Jordan are under way. Congress faces a Mar. 1 deadline for rejecting the deal.

Murphy replied that he did not engage in his recent mission "to stoke up the fires for an arms sale." But he argued that the sale "would be a help" and would fit into overall U.S.-Jordanian relations and Jordan's need to modernize its forces as well as encourage the peace process. Lantos and Rep. Mark Siljander (R-Mich.) questioned the need for the sale, given the Administration's original justification—a Syrian threat to Jordan. Subsequently the two countries undertook a partial rapprochement.

Smith charged that Hussein had expressed no appreciation for a special increase of \$250 million in economic aid for Jordan last year while continuing to demand U.S. arms. Smith called this a failure of the "carrot-and-stick" approach. □

—E.R.

HEARD IN WASHINGTON

Israeli View of Murphy Mission

An Israeli diplomat in Washington described Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy's latest shuttle as an effort "to keep the peace wagon moving after Hussein has been stalling." The official said that the Jordanian King "wants to be covered on all flanks—with the PLO, Syria and Russia, and this can hardly work. . . . Hussein has to make up his mind" to take risks if the process is to advance.

Israel still insists on dealing only with non-PLO Palestinians. It believes there are Palestinian Arabs who could join prospective negotiations—if freed from PLO intimidation. "Let no one fool himself. Israel is not going to accept the PLO. We would not take [Chairman Yasir] Arafat's word about accepting 242 and 338," the diplomat asserted. Endorsement of the U.N. resolutions one day would not prevent Arafat from claiming the next day that he meant something else.

"What would be the reason for Arafat to accept 242—a Palestinian state? For most

Israelis that would be the beginning of the end," the official added.

Meanwhile, "the Russians have not played up to any reasonable expectations" regarding either Soviet Jewish emigration or restoring diplomatic relations with Israel, the official said. As for the Syrians, they still do not want peace. "Syria's main aim is to . . . smash any Israeli [peace] requirements not acceptable to them." President Hafez Assad does want Jordan to join him in a "full-fledged international conference. This would give Syria, the Soviets and all these jackals veto power over our own negotiations" with Hussein.

Jerusalem would accept "some kind of international forum giving a cover to the Jordanians" for direct negotiations with Israel. The international forum should not have the ability to veto the results of any direct negotiations, a point the U.S. also stressed again last week. Otherwise, "everyone on the Arab side looks to the extremists for guidance."

Like Murphy, the diplomat said that he was "not highly optimistic about a breakthrough." He said U.S. officials "want to see if Hussein can deliver something" to promote the Administration's arms sale. The plan to sell Jordan up to \$1.9 billion in planes and air defense items faces strong Congressional opposition without genuine Jordanian-Israeli talks. Meanwhile, Israeli spending cuts—continued in the latest budget—have reached the area of "cutting muscle, not fat," for the military.

While Israel "has been forthcoming, real boldness, not false boldness, is needed on Hussein's part. . . . I don't want to sound apocalyptic, but in the Middle East you have the craziness of some leaders, like Qaddafi. You have Assad arming himself to the teeth. There is inter-Arab strife . . . so you can't easily rule out the possibility of war. But we shouldn't be wringing our hands, either." To inject life into the peace process "you need patience." □

—E.R.

BACK PAGE

Revised Expectations

Tom Friedman, the *New York Times* Jerusalem correspondent—and probably the best foreign correspondent in Israel—has written a landmark piece about the Middle East peace process. “No Illusions: Israel Reassesses Its Chances for Peace” (*New York Times Magazine*, Jan. 26) provides a crash course in the new realism of the Middle East conflict.

Prior to being posted in Israel, Friedman, like most distant observers of the Israeli scene, believed that any solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict would be territorial. Israel would exchange land—the West Bank and Gaza—for peace.

Now, however, after a few years in Israel, Friedman sees that the territorial option is dying if not dead. In June, Israel will have been in control of the West Bank for 19 years, half the life of the state and exactly as long as Jordan possessed the territory. No fence separates pre- and post-1967 Israel. In fact, many Israelis have little sense of where pre-'67 Israel ends and the West Bank begins. Dotted lines exist only on maps.

Friedman believes that it is the experience with Egypt after Camp David that seriously dampened Israeli enthusiasm for dividing the West Bank with Jordan and the Palestinians. Friedman quotes one Israeli as saying that Jerusalem expected peace with Egypt to be something akin to the U.S. relationship with its neighbors. “But with Egypt . . . Israelis discovered that the opposite of making war was not making war. And that ‘peace’ was the relationship the United States has with the Soviet Union, not with Canada.”

That has been a rude awakening for Israelis. Few would trade the state of “not making war” with Egypt for its alternative. Nevertheless, it is not surprising that—in light of that example—Israelis are very skeptical about what “peace” with Jordan would mean.

And there is an important difference between Jordan and Egypt, one that makes an Egyptian-style settlement with Jordan even less appealing. Writes Friedman: “With Egypt, Israel can afford to have a cold peace. There is the vast Sinai Desert separating the two countries and serving as a buffer between armies and peoples. But on the West Bank there can be no cold peace; it has to be a peace based on some kind of real relations, or nothing at all. The distances are too small; there will be no Sinai for both sides to sulk behind.”

He adds that few Israelis will agree to a withdrawal from the West Bank that does not allow for continued access to the area. “It is precisely for this reason that the negative precedent being set between Israel and Egypt is so dangerous, and why the

word ‘peace’ for most Israelis has to be re-endowed with some content and sense of joy before people can even begin to consider a new initiative that deals with Jordan and the West Bank.”

But what sort of “new initiative” if territorial compromise is ruled out? Friedman’s answer is similar to one that Shimon Peres has been hinting at. In a speech in London on Jan. 23, Peres said that if King Hussein does not take advantage of the chance for peace “he might awaken one day to the fact that the territories have been given self-administration” without him.

Peres was referring to the concept of “functional autonomy”—an arrangement under which Israel holds on to the territories for the foreseeable future but permits the Palestinians to assume all the aspects of self-rule except the military. Functional autonomy was first proposed under Camp David but, according to Friedman, it had one major flaw. Under Camp David, West Bank autonomy would only have been a five year transitional phase after which the territories’ final disposition would have been determined. This caused some Arabs and Israelis who “might have accepted some form of autonomy” to block it “because they did not want to deal with the ultimate disposition that was to come at its conclusion.” Friedman favors “open-ended” autonomy, under which West Bank Arabs and Israelis might slowly work out a *modus vivendi*. Then, at some point, an accommodation satisfactory to both sides could be worked out.

Friedman would not argue that functional autonomy is the ultimate solution. On the contrary, he realizes that it would not satisfy the maximum desires of either side. . . . But it would be a first step. And it would be one in the right direction. In today’s Middle East even that would be positively utopian. —M.J.R. □

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EDITORIAL

Still Waiting

Regular readers of *Near East Report* may note that this is not the first time that an NER editorial has carried the headline "Still Waiting." We don't use it again today because it is a catchy phrase—it isn't—but rather because it expresses our continuing frustration over King Hussein's reluctance to sit down and negotiate with Israel.

Perhaps the latest round of meetings in Europe will result in an announcement of the King's determination to join Israel in negotiations. But, so far, there is no evidence to that effect. On the contrary, the King seems to be continuing along the path toward *rapprochement* with Syria rather than Israel. We still do not know what transpired during that meeting last month between Hussein and Hafez Assad. We do know, however, that Damascus was not dismayed about its outcome. That in itself is a reason for pessimism.

Nevertheless, Israel's Prime Minister Shimon Peres remains committed to the Jordan-Israel peace process. Speaking on television on Jan. 17, Peres was upbeat. He conceded that King Hussein has not committed himself to peace but asserted that he would continue to work with the United States to bring Hussein around. Asked if Hussein was incapable of making peace, Peres said: "Such statements were made about all sorts of people including Sadat, but it turned out that he hedged until the moment that he stood up on his own two feet and walked." He said that he would not give up on Hussein or peace. "I will pursue this," he said.

It surely has not escaped Hussein's notice that, in Shimon Peres, Israel has a prime minister who is dogged in pursuit of a peace settlement with Jordan and is ready to make conces-

sions to achieve it. On Oct. 1, however, Peres' term as prime minister will end. He will be replaced by Vice Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir—as committed to peace as Peres but far more skeptical about the "Jordan option" and Hussein's intentions. Moreover, he and Peres have very different views about the future of the West Bank. For Hussein then, this is the moment for some hard choices. He can come forward now or he can let the months go by and then try to blame Shamir's alleged "inflexibility" for stalling the peace process.

One can see the old pattern re-emerging. In 1947 the Arabs rejected the United Nations Partition Plan which would have created both a Jewish and a Palestinian Arab state. After 1947, Arab spokesmen indicated that they should have accepted that plan, as the Jews did. Today, Arab leaders think that they are making major concessions when they hint at accepting Israel in its "pre-'67" borders. Their claim is that they *only* want the "occupied territories" back. They pass over the fact that they vehemently refused to accept Israel or peace back in those pre-1967 days when they controlled the West Bank, Gaza, and east Jerusalem. For the Arabs the grass has always been greener a decade ago, or maybe two. They seem unable to recognize opportunity when it still exists in the present tense.

This, then, is a moment of opportunity and it is one that King Hussein should seize now. If he refuses to do so he will be left with nothing but nostalgia about those hopeful days of 1986 when peaceful compromise with Israel seemed a possible dream. It is his choice. Shimon Peres, joined by Yitzhak Shamir and the National Unity Government—as well as the Reagan Administration—await his response. □

VIEWING THE NEWS

Israel Refunds Aid

Israel's decision to refund \$51.6 million in U.S. economic assistance to help the United States reduce its budget deficit met a strongly positive response in Washington. Under the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings budget balancing act, Israel would have had to absorb a \$51.6 million cut in economic aid (in addition to a \$77 million reduction in military assistance). However, Israel had already received its economic aid for fiscal 1986 and was not required to return any of it. Nevertheless, because of the budget-cutting constraints of the legislation and the impact it would have on other foreign aid recipients, Prime Minister Shimon Peres personally offered to return

the \$51.6 million.

Both the Senate and House chairmen of the Appropriations Subcommittees on Foreign Operations applauded Israel's move. Sen. Bob Kasten (R-Wis.) said that Israel's action "was one of true friendship. While other nations carp about not receiving enough aid, Israel—which was under no obligation to return the money—voluntarily returned the funds. Once again, we see who our real friends are." Rep. David Obey (D-Wis.) said that Israel's decision indicates "a sensitivity to the additional squeeze mandatory budget cuts would have made on other countries if Israel did not offer to return the money."

Sen. Carl Levin (D-Mich.) said that Isra-

el's action "only confirmed what I always knew about this uncommon ally. Israel has demonstrated once again that it takes its responsibilities as a U.S. ally seriously. At a time when so many of our other allies are distancing themselves from the United States and its policies, it is refreshing indeed to see Israel in our corner—although I'm certainly not surprised."

New Budget

Finance Minister Yitzhak Modai formally presented Israel's new \$21.6 billion budget to the Knesset (*Kol Yisrael*, Jan.

(Continued)

ANALYSIS

Behind the Veil

Discussions of terrorism—like terror itself—have become commonplace. Unfortunately, according to one expert, much of the talk is still “somewhat muddled.”

To help remedy that, the analyst, Ray S. Cline, and another expert, Yonah Alexander, both of Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies, have published a new book, *Terrorism as State-Sponsored Covert Warfare*.

“We are concentrating here not on random acts of violence but on the specific phenomenon of terrorism as a state-sponsored form of covert warfare,” Cline explained at a press conference last week. “It's time for the United States . . . to make up its mind about the way to deal with what, in my mind, is a more urgent threat to our national security than the more celebrated and dramatic weapons like the ICBM.”

Debates over nuclear arms may not add or subtract a great deal from U.S. security, Cline argued, but state-sponsored terrorism—intended to strike U.S. citizens, diminish Washington's influence abroad and destabilize America's allies—is a matter of great strategic significance.” The reason, the new book notes, is the “Andropov legacy.” When Yuri Andropov took over as

head of the KGB in the late 1960's the Soviets began to train, fund and arm the PLO—and through it anti-Western terrorists around the world.”

The authors argue that Andropov's policy, begun with help from East Germany and North Korea, expanded to include working relationships with Syria, Libya, Iran, South Yemen, Iraq, Cuba and others. Despite ideological differences, Syria, Libya and Iran “take in each other's [terrorist] laundry,” Cline noted. The U.S. and Israel top their target lists.

Transnational terrorism, Alexander said, includes elements of propaganda and psychological warfare. Displaying a PLO poster of a small boy holding a revolver and an Iranian poster of a man bleeding on an American flag drawn as a bed of spikes, Alexander warned that terrorism “will stay with us well into the 21st century.”

He favored doing whatever possible to promote the Arab-Israeli peace process, but noted that relatively moderate Palestinian Arabs often have been assassinated by those more radical. A Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip would not eliminate the Arab-Israeli conflict as a source of terrorism, Alexander added. Extremists would oppose such a solution

and—in the Middle East and elsewhere—the Soviet Union, its allies and surrogates would continue to exploit local grievances.

Cline observed that organized terrorism “seeks to capture the attention of the [news] media.” It is hard for the press to resist, “since terrorism essentially provides entertainment. . . . What I want is a greater sophistication when terrorist claims are broadcast.” Cline said sympathy for terrorists as idealists driven to violence is misplaced. The media need to be more analytical about the terrorists’ “inexcusable crimes” and do less justifying or repeating of their claims.

The Reagan Administration may be on the right track, Cline and Alexander believe. The recognition that counter-intelligence still needs to be improved, that legal measures are worth pursuing, and that in some cases force will be used—overtly or covertly—are among their suggestions for counter-terrorism. But the United States will have to persevere, both to bring along reluctant Western European allies and to make sure the public sees the “forest” of covert warfare, not the “trees” of solitary terrorist crimes.

—E.R.

HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

Levine's Warning

Rep. MEL LEVINE (D-Calif.) has introduced a resolution which calls on the Secretary of State to issue a travel advisory warning U.S. citizens about the danger of traveling in foreign countries in which U.S. citizens are attacked by Libyan-backed terrorists. The warning would affect only those countries which choose not to close Libyan trade offices and diplomatic missions.

Explaining his resolution, Levine said: “We simply must find a way to encourage our allies to take sanctions against the Qadafis of the world. American tourists spend millions of U.S. dollars in foreign countries. Issuance of a travel advisory results in the loss of millions of dollars in revenues to the countries for which the advisory is issued. If countries where U.S. citizens are attacked do not reduce their ties with Libya—and do not make their country safe for American citizens—then it is entirely ap-

propriate for the U.S. government to take action to protect our people.”

Middle East Trip

Reps. RON MARLENEE (R-Mont.) and HAL DAUB (R-Neb.) returned recently from a trip to “Jordan and Jerusalem.” The trip was sponsored by the World Affairs Council of Jordan, an organization headed by King Hussein's brother, Prince Hassan. The Washington-based National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA) helped coordinate details of the trip.

Upon his return, Marlenee released a statement which called for increased U.S. support for Jordan and warned that “the U.S. Congress and the Senate had better reevaluate its position and support the King.” He urged Congress not to “jerk the rug out from under the King and refuse the arms sale” and asked, “Will [the U.S.] support Jordan, its friend, or is it being blindly led by Israel?”

Student Workshops

AIPAC is holding five Regional Political Leadership Training Seminars for students during the first three months of 1986. A Midwest regional seminar on January 19 at Ohio State University was attended by more than 330 students from 18 different campuses.

Future regional seminars are as follows: *Lower New England: February 9, Yale University.*

Northern Pacific: February 23, Stanford University.

Southwest: March 9, University of Texas.

Upper New England: March 23, Brandeis University.

For more information please contact Richard Fishman at (202) 638-2256.

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Abby J. Stavitsky, Associate Editor Esther Chesney, Assistant I. L. Kenen, Editor Emeritus

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PERSPECTIVE

Movement on Different Fronts

"There's something going on" is the way one Washington-based observer put it. "Hussein and Peres were both in Europe and met with some of the same people. If I wasn't such a pessimist, I'd expect a breakthrough."

An Israeli official traveling with Prime Minister Shimon Peres said that "very hard work is going on behind the scenes on how to move ahead." He said that the gaps between the Israeli and Jordanian positions on future negotiations "can be bridged."

Other officials said that the main obstacle facing the two sides remains the composition of the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation that would meet Israel in negotiations. Jordan still wants PLO involvement while Peres rules out any dealings with those who advocate and implement a "policy of terror."

In Israel, the newspaper *Hadashot* reported on Jan. 20 that Peres was using every available means to let Hussein know that "time is running out and decisions must be made." The paper continued: "Peres is asking Hussein to make a courageous decision and include leaders who represent the inhabitants of the West Bank in the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. Another obstacle . . . is the composition of the international forum under whose auspices Israel and the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation would conduct their negotiations. Hussein wants the auspices of the superpowers in the Security Council while

Peres is prepared to accept a U.S.-Soviet international umbrella on condition that Moscow changes its attitude toward Israel."

Meanwhile, Foreign Minister and Vice Premier Yitzhak Shamir denied persistent reports that Israel and Jordan were already involved in direct negotiations. He said that there have been only "a few indirect contacts." There has also been speculation that Hussein and Peres had met in Europe. Peres himself issued a denial that any meeting with Hussein had taken place, a denial *Hadashot* labelled "diplomatically evasive." He said that "those who expect us to solve our problems over a cup of afternoon tea are wrong. I believe Hussein is serious in his attempts to bridge the gaps at the core of the conflict. We have not yet reached the right solution, but we have taken several steps in that direction."

Spanish Contacts

The Hague in The Netherlands was the setting for Spain's opening of diplomatic relations with Israel. It has been 494 years since the Spanish Inquisition and four since socialist Prime Minister Felipe Gonzales came to power on a platform which included opening relations with the Jewish state.

Gonzales and Shimon Peres held a joint news conference at The Hague in a decidedly friendly atmosphere. Gonzales and the usually reticent Peres embraced. Ac-

cording to Israel radio, Gonzales told Peres that "you did not believe that I would establish diplomatic relations between our two countries after I was elected to office, and here it is happening before our very eyes." Peres spoke of the historic relationship between Spain and the Jewish people, claiming that Jews had helped Spain by discovering America. [Spaniards believe that Christopher Columbus was Spanish. Many Jewish scholars agree that he was both Spanish and a secret Jew or Marrano].

The opening of relations was big news in Israel which always welcomes relations with foreign states. Spain had been the only non-Communist European state (with the exception of the Vatican) without relations with Israel. Some observers had predicted that Gonzales would back away from his commitment to open relations in the face of renewed PLO terrorism but he was not daunted.

It is expected that the new Spanish-Israeli relationship will produce a spurt in the number of Jewish tourists visiting Spain, particularly since El Al flies there. Many Jews had avoided visiting Spain because of the memory of the Inquisition and because long-time Spanish leader Francisco Franco had been allied with the Nazis during World War II. Gonzales' action seems to have ended almost five centuries of estrangement between the Jewish and the Spanish peoples. □

—M.J.R.

VIEWING . . . Continued

20). "Modai said there is practically no precedent in the world for bringing down inflation as fast as in Israel over the past few months." Inflation in 1985 was down 260% from that of 1984.

The new budget anticipates almost no rise in the Gross National Product and none in the standard of living—which dropped considerably in the past two years. However, Modai said the income tax burden has been dropping significantly. Twenty-five percent of the budget is to go to defense—a much greater proportion than in most countries but representing new cuts in military budgets already reduced for several consecutive years.

Oil Plunge

"Massive output by producing countries in the face of slack demand" and a mild winter in the northern hemisphere contributed to a fall in oil prices "to levels not seen since 1979" (Associated Press, Jan. 22).

The major U.S. domestic grade of crude, West Texas intermediate, sold for \$20.90 a barrel, and Great Britain's Brent North Sea crude recovered 60 cents a barrel to reach \$20.30 (by way of comparison, the price of oil in 1980 went as high as \$34 a barrel).

The Saudis, who had kept prices up by producing at a 20-year low, "are now making up for lost time and pumping far more oil than their agreed [OPEC] rate," AP quoted Britain's *Financial Times* as saying. "As a result, the oil price is indeed falling out of bed. . . . this is partly, then, a struggle for power" among oil producers.

A White House statement pointed out that while oil exporters and debtor nations could be hurt, "the effect of a drop in oil prices on the U.S. economy and particularly on U.S. consumers is favorable."

Gemayel Resists

Syria's attempt to impose a "peace plan" upon Lebanon's warring factions is meet-

ing strong resistance from President Amin Gemayel. Gemayel, who would be stripped of much of his power under the Syrian plan, is fighting Syrian-backed militias near Beirut. Artillery was used by both sides in battles ten miles from the capital. The Associated Press reports that Syrian army units have been deployed in mountaintop positions to back the militias against forces loyal to Gemayel.

Pro-Syrian Druze leader Walid Jumblatt blames Gemayel for the latest round of fighting. He predicted that Gemayel would attempt to consolidate an area that would extend through Druze territory down to Israel's security belt in South Lebanon. He said that Lebanon's problems would not end until Gemayel is "in his coffin." Israeli observers—noting that Israel no longer plays any role in the Lebanese struggle—say that most Israelis are not unhappy at seeing Gemayel stand up to Damascus as it attempts to consolidate its hold on Lebanon. □

BACK PAGE

Hoping Against Hope

The Reagan Administration is hoping against hope that something positive will come out of Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy's latest round of shuttle diplomacy. It has been more than three years since the White House put out the word that King Hussein was ready for negotiations—but, so far, he remains on the fence. Nevertheless, the Administration keeps trying to entice him into direct talks with Israel. It deserves credit for that—although not when its enticement would come in the form of weapons Jordan could use against Israel.

It is not easy reading the conflicting signs emanating from Amman. On the one hand, Hussein tells U.S. diplomats and reporters that this year could represent the last chance for a Mideast settlement and that he is anxious for negotiations without preconditions. On the other, he is cozying up to Syria and endorsing Hafez Assad's view that no separate Jordan-Israel peace is possible.

Will the real King Hussein please stand up? Not likely. The Jordanian monarch prefers offending no one—neither Washington, nor Damascus, nor Jerusalem, nor Moscow. Jordan is a small country and it is understandable that Hussein would rather keep more powerful players guessing about which way he will go—especially if each offers inducements to join its respective side.

Still, there are pieces of evidence that Hussein is not quite ready to normalize relations with Israel. The government-controlled Jordanian press is one place to look for them. On Jan. 16, the Amman *Sawt al Sha'b* ran an editorial on a subject fairly remote from Jordan's concerns, the Taba dispute which Israel and Egypt have just agreed to submit to arbitration. The editorial warns Egypt not to "once again . . . be a victim of the Zionist concept of peace." It refers to Israel not by name but repeatedly as "the enemy." It expresses outrage at Israel's demand for compensations by Egypt to the families of the victims of the Sinai massacre in which six Israelis were murdered by a deranged policeman. "This cannot be accepted, nor can its logic be accepted by any rational person."

It concludes that the Taba arbitration process is designed so that Yitzhak Shamir will be prime minister at the time of any change in Taba's status. It calls this "a clever ploy" because the "terrorist Shamir . . . [is] an intransigent negotiator to whose mind the map of greater Israel is still attached just as it is attached to the wall of the Zionist Knesset."

The slam at Shamir is nothing new but it is worth questioning how the Jordanians know that he is an "intransigent nego-

tiator" inasmuch as they never agreed to negotiate with him when he was prime minister. As for the "map of greater Israel . . . on the wall of the Zionist Knesset," there is no such map. That map existed only in pre-Camp David Egyptian propaganda and now in Syrian propaganda. The Jordanians may know better but, like the Syrians, are mouthing tired lies about Israel with convincing zest.

It is easy to dismiss a single article in a single Jordanian newspaper as not representative of the prevailing Jordanian view. However, as the *Jerusalem Post* reported on Jan. 8, anti-Israel attitudes suffuse the Jordanian media. Two Amman newspapers *Ad Dustur* and *Ar Ray* report news from Tel Aviv, Haifa, and Jerusalem under the headline "The Occupied Land." *Sawt al Sha'b* uses the headline "The Conquered Homeland." The image of Israelis in editorial page cartoons are right out of the Nazi newspaper *Der Sturmer*. According to the *Post*, Israelis are portrayed as having "crooked, humped noses and the image of a monster."

In short, Jordan's press is making no effort to sell the Jordanian people on the idea of peace with Israel. On the contrary it continues to peddle anti-Israeli and anti-Semitic stereotypes—stereotypes which can help energize a people into going to war rather than to accept former enemies as friends. Anwar Sadat used to say that 90% of the Arab-Israeli conflict was psychological. If nations stopped viewing each other as enemies, agreements could be reached and peace attained. He was right. King Hussein may have personally accepted Israel's right to live in peace and security. But his government has made no attempt to bring the Jordanian people to that same conclusion. Until it does it will be hard to believe that Jordan-Israel peace is anything more than a wish and a prayer.—M.J.R. □

N.E.R.

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