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# NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

VOL XXX NO. 3 JANUARY 20, 1986

## EDITORIALS

### The Twilight Struggle

There is a sense of frustration in the land. Americans cannot help but feel anger and even a little helpless as they watch terrorists and their backers literally get away with murder. Matters aren't helped when our leaders engage in name-calling matches with Qaddafi. After all, a Libyan dictator scores points merely by being permitted to step into the same arena as the President of the United States. Theodore Roosevelt's adage about speaking softly and carrying a big stick is as appropriate today as it was when he first stated it.

Nevertheless, one has to sympathize with President Reagan's dilemma. It is no easy task deciding how to respond to the likes of Qaddafi, Arafat, and Abu Nidal. Theodore Roosevelt had his problems but he never had to deal with men who kill for the sake of killing, whose goal is destruction for the sake of destruction. President Reagan has the whole nation to consider and there are few easy victories anymore.

That is just what Secretary of State George Shultz said on Jan. 15 in a speech at Fort McNair in Washington. Shultz declared that the battle against international terrorism would require "staying power." He said that the "struggle against terrorism will not be ended with a few dramatic actions" though he certainly didn't rule those out. But he stressed that Americans must have "the stomach to confront harder-to-win situations that call for prudent involvement, even when the results are slow in coming."

Shultz then outlined what he called "a strategy for ambiguous warfare." That strategy includes military and non-military responses. On the first, he was emphatic. "It must be clearly and unequivocally the policy of the United States to fight back," he said. He called for "close coordination between our military power and our political objectives" as was demonstrated in Grenada and during the Achille Lauro incident.

But he also noted other strategies at our disposal. "Strengthening the collaboration of governments, developing new legal tools and methods of international sanctions . . . taking defensive measures to reduce our vulnerability—all this we must keep doing." He noted that foreign aid—aid provided democracies like Israel—contributes "dollar for

dollar . . . as much to global security as our own defense budget."

In short, Secretary Shultz provided a multi-dimensional program for action against terrorists and their backers. The war against terrorism is, in President Kennedy's phrase, "a long twilight struggle." But it must be waged. Shultz has outlined our various options—military, legal, economic. But there is one option we don't have and that is inaction. This is one instance where doing nothing is the most dangerous course of all.

### Martin Luther King, Jr.

On Jan. 15, the Embassy of Israel commemorated the 57th anniversary of the birth of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Three hundred people were in attendance including King's daughter, Yolanda King. Ambassador Meir Rosenne recalled King's strong and consistent friendship for the state of Israel and the Jewish people. "His unique genius was that he preached and taught and led as a black liberator. His identification with Moses, the liberator of the Jewish people, was bred in him, and he reached out to the Jews in kinship—and Jews understood that and responded to it," the Ambassador said. Mayor Marion Barry of Washington recalled that Jews were among King's "strongest allies" when "we were in Mississippi battling to get blacks registered to vote." King, in turn, backed Israel in its struggle. In his words, Israel was "one of the great outposts of democracy in the world, and a marvelous example of how desert land can be transformed into an oasis of brotherhood and democracy."

But, of course, his primary legacy does not apply to any one people or nation. It applies to everyone. King's life exemplified the Torah's injunction "Justice, justice, you shall pursue." He sought justice at home, where he led the forces which destroyed a malignant system of racial discrimination. And he sought it abroad, where he fought for black South Africans, Soviet Jews, Czechs, and others under the boot of the oppressor. Our tragedy is that he is no longer with us. His triumph is that he continues to inspire us even 18 years after his death. □

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### Taba Decision

After an all-night session by the 10-man inner cabinet, Israel agreed to submit the Taba dispute with Egypt to a combined conciliation-arbitration process, in exchange for Egyptian movement on a "package" of issues intended to help normalize relations between the two countries. Prime

Minister Shimon Peres telephoned Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak about the decision and officially presented the agreement to Egyptian Charge d'Affaires Mohammed Bassiouni (*Kol Yisrael*, Jan. 13).

Israel's Foreign Minister and Vice Prime Minister, Yitzhak Shamir, said that the arbitration letter "is the heart of the agree-

ment." But he added as the envisioned eight-month process unfolds Cairo "will have to begin implementing several components of a true peace"—returning its ambassador, normalizing trade and tourism relations, halting anti-Israel propaganda and abstaining from abetting terrorism from Egypt (*Israel Television*, Jan. 13). □

## COMMENT

# Open Letter to U.P.I.

Dear Helen Thomas:

At his Jan. 8 press conference, you asked President Reagan whether Israel would accept the existence of the Palestinians. An important question—but you transposed the subject and the object.

As a veteran White House correspondent, you must know that the 40 years of Middle East problems you mentioned stem from the refusal of most Arab states—and the organization which claims to represent the Palestinian Arabs, the PLO—to accept the existence of Israel. When Egypt finally broke the solid wall of Arab rejectionism and signed a peace treaty with Israel in 1979, the other 21 members of the Arab League expelled it, and they have not yet readmitted it.

The Arab refusal to accept Israel has been clear and consistent. In 1948, a day after the Jewish state was proclaimed in accordance with U.N. resolutions, the Secretary General of the Arab League said—as five Arab armies invaded Israel—“this will be a war of extermination and a momentous massacre. . . .”

With the exception of Egypt, not much has changed. PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat asserted just three years ago that “it is in my interest to have a war in the region, because I believe that the only remedy for the ills of the Arab nation is a true war against the Zionist entity.”

Perhaps you forgot that the PLO was formed in 1964—not by Palestinian Arabs on the West Bank and Gaza but by Arab states. Its mission was not to “liberate” the West Bank and Gaza, then occupied by Jordan and Egypt respectively, but to conduct terrorism against the Jews in Tel Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem. To this day the PLO boasts of “operations”—terrorism—against men, women and children in “occupied Palestine,” meaning Jewish towns like Ashdod, Afula and Kiryat Shemona. That doesn't sound like acceptance to me.

Ms. Thomas, you asked the President how the Palestinians should attain their “legitimate rights” and “how do they rid themselves of foreign occupation? Should they emulate the U.S.-backed freedom fighters in Afghanistan, the contras in Nicaragua?”

No doubt inadvertently, you insulted freedom fighters everywhere by the implied analogy to the PLO. The Afghan mujahedin do not, as policy, shoot up buses full of civilians in the Soviet Union as part of their fight, as the PLO does in Israel.

Although evidence on the contras may be a bit murkier, apparently they too do not make it a rule of struggle to knife cab drivers in the back, as the PLO does in Israel.

When the Hungarians—who popularized the term “freedom fighter”—bravely took on the Russians in 1956, they fought as guerrillas and citizen-soldiers against a colonial army, not as gangsters against innocents. That was, with very few exceptions, how the Jews won their part of Palestine from the British and assorted Arab enemies—and how American patriots established this country. President Reagan himself has labeled the PLO a terrorist organization and Secretary of State Shultz has refuted the slogan that “one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter.” Probably you just misspoke.

As to the “foreign occupation” the Palestinian Arabs are under, as a reporter you must find it curious that this issue was never raised when Jordan held the West Bank from 1948 to 1967—even though only two nations, neither Arab, recognized Jordan's annexation. Israel came to control the West Bank and Gaza after winning the Six-Day War, a war of self-defense it launched when Egypt closed the Gulf of Eilat and, along with Syria and Jordan, massed troops on Israel's borders. So under international law, Israel remains the legal administrative authority and will until Jordan and Syria (which lost the Golan Heights) are ready to recognize Israel and negotiate a compromise. That's what Egypt did and it received the entire Sinai in return.

Meanwhile, the Palestinian Arab residents of the West Bank have a much higher standard of living, a lower rate of infant mortality and higher levels of education than they ever did under Jordanian rule. And even under Israeli military censorship, they have the freest press in the Arab world. Had they chosen to participate in—had the PLO allowed them—the autonomy talks envisioned by the Camp David Accords, they would already be well along the road to self-rule. You asked the President if there was a peaceful way for them. There was, and they blew it.

Nonetheless, the Israeli government has made clear it is still ready to negotiate these issues with Jordan and representative Palestinians who are not terrorists or members of terrorist organizations. Time is wasting. As Secretary Shultz noted at his press conference Jan. 9, “Violence and terrorism in

the Middle East have not achieved anything for the Palestinian people. The only thing that can really get anywhere is a negotiated solution. The states involved have to be ready to sit down with Israel and negotiate out their differences. . . .”

Before I close, Ms. Thomas, I should mention two other points. There are two Palestinian peoples—the Palestinian Arabs and the Palestinian Jews. For decades, until well into the 1950's, when someone said Palestinian he or she invariably meant the Jews who were reclaiming part of their ancient land. The bulk of the Palestinian Mandate administered by Great Britain—more than 75%—already had been set aside for the Arabs of Palestine in the 1920's as Transjordan, now Jordan.

And although about 500,000 Arabs left the new state of Israel in 1948, 800,000 Jews living in Arab lands fled their ancient homes—leaving nearly everything behind—and made their way to Israel. Such population exchanges—on much more massive scales—took place between India and Pakistan, between Poland and Germany, Turkey and Greece, and elsewhere around the world after 1945. Only the Palestinian Arabs came to present an insoluble problem—epitomizing the Arab states' refusal to recognize Israel. When the acceptance you asked about replaces that refusal, even this part of the problem may be solved.

Sincerely yours, Eric Rozenman

## Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein

Rabbi Philip Bernstein of Rochester, New York has died after a long illness. Bernstein, who served as chairman of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee from 1955 to 1968, was also a religious leader and author.

I.L. Kenen, AIPAC's founder and former executive director (now chairman emeritus), issued a statement saying that Rabbi Bernstein “made a major contribution to the fostering of the U.S.-Israel relationship at a critical time. The Eisenhower-Dulles years were difficult ones but Rabbi Bernstein was my invaluable right hand as we worked together in building AIPAC and the alliance between America and Israel. I mourn the loss of this valued colleague and friend.”

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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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## EXCLUSIVE

# Shamir Sees U.S. Erosion

Jerusalem—Vice Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir believes there has been a “dangerous erosion” in the U.S. position as regards an international peace conference. “In the last briefing by the State Department spokesman, the Americans talked about an ‘international conference,’” Shamir told *Near East Report* in an interview at the Foreign Ministry. This “contradicts” the earlier position taken by Secretary Shultz that “the name of the game is direct negotiations.”

Shamir opposes an international conference because it might lead to an “imposed solution” to the Israel-Arab dispute. He insists that similar formulations, like “international auspices” or an “international forum” is understood by the rest of the world as an international conference. Israel, he said, “doesn’t require” an international conference and must insist on “direct negotiations with Jordan and any other Arab state” which is prepared for them.

Shamir supports “the renewal of negotiations in the Camp David framework” in order to solve “what the Egyptians refer to as the Palestinian problem—what I call the Arabs of the Land of Israel.” He believes that “no other way has worked” and that the late Egyptian President Anwar Sadat “achieved a great deal for the Palestinians at Camp David.”

The Foreign Minister feels that negotiations within the Camp David framework offer the only realistic way out of the current “static situation.” Because the key issues of territory and sovereignty were deferred, Israel and Egypt could reach agreement. “Perhaps after five years of autonomy [for the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza] a new atmosphere of mutual confidence and coexistence” will open new avenues “for us and for the Arabs to

find a mutually agreed upon solution.”

## Wasted Years

Because of their “extremism” however, Israel’s Foreign Minister believes that the Arabs have “wasted” the years since the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. Had they persisted, “we would now be at the end of the five-year transition period and [Israel] would face a real dilemma.”

Shamir sees “no change” in the government’s position in regard to peace talks with Jordan and the Palestinians. “The National Unity Government is based on the Basic Policy Guidelines” which preclude any “change in territory or sovereignty,” though it does commit Israel to support “negotiations with Jordan without any pre-conditions.”

“I understand there have been discussions with the Jordanians,” Shamir said. “But they had no serious results to date, despite all the optimistic declarations.”

The Foreign Minister can detect “no change in the PLO stand.” He does not see how, in any event, the PLO could be included in peace talks. “Israel’s position” he explained, “is not to involve the PLO, because ideologically and philosophically the PLO is against peace.”

The demands that the PLO accept U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 are “American, not Israeli, demands. And even that is very difficult for the PLO to accept.” Palestinians “who are not members of the PLO” should participate in peace talks “as it says in Camp David.” Shamir believes that signs of a radicalization on the right were “a reaction to the wave of Arab terror” and that the “radicalization is now on the decline.”

Shamir’s Likud party “is a mass move-

ment, neither left nor right, but a specific creation of Israeli conditions.” Unlike the Labor party, the traditional Likud position is “very close to religious Judaism.” On the controversial ‘Who is a Jew’ measure, Shamir’s party supports the religious parties in their struggle to amend the current law.

## Likud Politics

Shamir, who stands to “rotate” into the Prime Minister’s office next October, is not unduly concerned by the internal struggle within Likud. “I don’t think internal party affairs have an impact on the party’s political positions.” He did not expect to face an open challenge to his leadership at the party’s February convention.

Shamir rejects the contention that there has been a marked improvement in Israel’s international position over the past year. Instead, he sees “ongoing progress” over the years, as a result of “our consistent stands on our principles” as well as the gradual “coming to terms” with Israel’s existence by the international community.

As an example, Shamir notes that “at the last session of the U.N. General Assembly we won a number of modest victories. Arafat wasn’t invited to address the session, and we were not prevented from convening a meeting in the U.N.” to protest the tenth anniversary of the “Zionism-equals-racism” resolution.

He sees the unity government as a “success” which has “justified itself.” He believes that it will survive because “the nation will not allow either side to evade the coalition agreement—including the rotation.” □

—David Twersky

Twersky is NER’s Israel correspondent

## HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

### Levine Letter

Rep. MEL LEVINE (D-Calif.) has initiated a letter to President Reagan opposing the Administration plan to sell \$1.1 billion worth of weapons to Saudi Arabia.

Reps. MICHAEL BARNES (D-Md.), BILL GREEN (R-N.Y.), HARRY REID (D-Nev.), CHRIS SMITH (R-N.J.), LARRY SMITH (D-Fla.), VIN WEBER (R-Minn.), PETER KOSTMAYER (D-Pa.), MARK SILJANDER (R-Mich.), TED WEISS (D-N.Y.), GARY ACKERMAN (D-N.Y.), and EDWARD FEIGHAN (D-Ohio) joined Levine in observing that

“there is no evidence that the Saudis have in fact fostered the peace process . . . Saudi Arabia is still in a state of war with Israel, refuses to recognize Israel’s right to exist, and continues to support the Arab boycott of Israel.”

If the Administration decides to go ahead with the arms package, Levine and Sen. ALAN CRANSTON (D-Calif.) have announced they will offer resolutions to disapprove the sale. Cranston said 61 Senators have already agreed to sponsor a resolution of disapproval.

### Mikulski Plan

Rep. BARBARA MIKULSKI (D-Md.) called for the establishment of a Special Ad-Hoc Committee on Terrorism to “coordinate Congressional action needed to support the executive branch in its anti-terrorist activities.” In a statement urging Congress to take a more active role in the fight against terrorism, Mikulski noted that “Congress can ensure that American diplomatic, economic and military support for Israel will never waver or diminish.” □

BACK PAGE

## Fueling the Fire

Saudi Arabia's outspoken support for Libya's Colonel Qaddafi does not seem to have cost it any friends in the State and Defense Departments. It seems hardly to matter that King Fahd reportedly told Qaddafi that Riyadh would back Libya in any showdown with the United States. Nor is there any apparent outrage over Saudi sponsoring of anti-American (pro-Qaddafi) resolutions at both the Arab League foreign ministers' meeting and the Islamic Conference.

The only thing that matters—the only thing that ever seems to matter—is Saudi wealth. That wealth goes, in part, to support PLO terrorists. But even more of it is strategically invested throughout the West in general and the United States in particular. For much of official Washington, that wealth and those investments speak considerably louder than Saudi backing for Qaddafi and the PLO. Petrodollars have bought respectability in Washington in very much the way that Libyan investments in Italy have bought Italy's long-standing silence in the face of Arab-backed terror. Money still talks, and loudly.

That is why few people in Washington are really surprised at the Reagan Administration's apparent decision to sell another \$1 billion in sophisticated weapons to our Saudi "friends." According to press reports, President Reagan will soon be proposing an arms package which will include 1,600 Sidewinder air-to-air missiles, 800 Stinger anti-aircraft missiles, 95 Electronic Countermeasure Systems for F-5's and F-15's, and upgrade kits for 60 F-15's.

The decision to sell new arms to the Saudis contradicts a pledge the Reagan Administration made during the AWACS battle of 1981. At that time, President Reagan promised (in a letter to then-Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker) that future arms transfers to Riyadh would only take place if there had been "significant progress" toward Middle East peace "with the substantial assistance of Saudi Arabia."

You don't have to be an expert on the Middle East to know that Saudi Arabia has done nothing but obstruct the peace process. It funds the PLO and offers support to Qaddafi. Perhaps even more significant has been the Saudi role in ostracizing Egypt for making peace with Israel and its continuing effort to keep King Hussein away from the peace table.

Saudi Arabia's opposition to peace with Israel has been a consistent one. Even King Fahd, not known for his radical rhetoric, has promised that "the day will come when Israel will be finally liquidated." Last February, he said that "armed confrontation against Israel" remains "an existing

necessity."

So why is the Administration proposing to sell arms to a nation that could very well use them against our ally, Israel? The answer again lies with Saudi economic power. Appeasing the wealthy Saudis is one of the few Washington practices that is bipartisan. President Carter sold them F-15's and said that those planes would somehow entice the Saudis into the peace process. President Reagan sold them AWACS and put his promise about Riyadh's future good behavior into writing.

None of this changed Saudi behavior at all. Nor will a new Saudi sale. All more arms will accomplish is to help advance the day when the Saudis can transform the rhetoric of *jihād* into its reality.

• • •

A new book called *Joshua's Dream* by Sheila Segal is the answer to a parent's prayer. That prayer has been for a children's book that would explain what Israel is all about—why it's there and why a child should care. *Joshua's Dream* is that book, the best children's book I've ever seen about Israel. Segal succeeds in conveying the miracle of Israel's rebirth and she does it in language that will move children and adults alike. It's a book that is essential if our children and grandchildren are going to understand that the reality of Israel isn't in its politics, its military strategy, or in its foreign policy. The reality of Israel is in the dream—a dream that must be passed on and lived—generation after generation. *Joshua's Dream* is available for \$7.95 from the Publications Division; Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 838 Fifth Ave., New York 10021.

—M.J.R.

# N.E.R.

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# NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

VOL XXX NO. 2 JANUARY 13, 1986

## EDITORIAL

### This is Moderation?

It is no surprise—but it is worth noting—that the so-called Arab moderates are reacting predictably to the U.S. decision to stand up to Muammar Qaddafi. The naive among us might assume that countries like Jordan and Saudi Arabia—supposed U.S. allies and nations that are high on Qaddafi's hit list—would support a firm stand against the Libyan terrorist. But that won't happen. This time, as so often in the past, the Arab world stands almost as one in support of extremism.

The evidence is all around us. Arab League foreign ministers meeting in Tunisia condemned America's tough line toward Libya and unanimously went on record in support of Qaddafi. In Jordan, the government-controlled newspaper *Al Dustur* denounced "possible U.S.-Israeli aggression against Libyan territory and the fraternal Libyan people" (Jan. 6). In Saudi Arabia, King Fahd was reported to have telephoned Qaddafi with an offer of Saudi support in the event of a Libyan confrontation with the United States or Israel. Saudi radio "absolutely rejected" the U.S. stand against Qaddafi. A statement on Jan. 4 defended Qaddafi by arguing that he had nothing to do with terrorist attacks in Europe. Instead it blamed the United States for providing "U.S. arms . . . to kill the Arabs."

The tiny emirate of Abu Dhabi used its newspaper, *Al Khalij* (Jan. 5), to warn that "Arab silence over the U.S.-Zionist" plot against Qaddafi "encourages Washington and Tel Aviv to continue their aggressive designs." It said that the Arab world has a "moral obligation" to reply to "U.S.-Zionist" aggression against Libya.

As for the "moderate" Arafat wing of the PLO, it also

defended Libya. Yasir Arafat said on Jan. 7 that "we stand with Libya against any aggression on the part of Israel and America. . . ."

There is no need to look at the statements issued by the radicals. Syria, which is allied with Libya and Abu Nidal, vehemently supports the Libyan. And so do the Soviets who are Qaddafi's arms suppliers.

But it is the reaction of those deemed moderate that is most instructive. Jordan and Saudi Arabia are widely touted in the United States and Europe as pro-Western and moderate. And to a certain extent they are. But look at how quickly that moderation and pro-Western orientation disappears when the United States considers taking action against a terrorist-backing Arab regime. In the final analysis, pan-Arab considerations take precedence over any supposed commonality of interests with the United States and the West. Blood is thicker than water.

Israel has to take that into consideration when it contemplates trading territory for a peace arrangement with Jordan. After all, Jerusalem has to wonder if Jordan could ever resist the siren call to join Syria and even Syria's enemy, Iraq, in a war against Israel. An Arab world which will bury any number of hatchets and close ranks behind the likes of Qaddafi could obviously do the same (as it has time and time again) in a war against Israel.

This is something that the United States must bear in mind as Washington considers new arms sales for the Saudis and the Jordanians. Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) says that it would be "unwise for our government to sell advanced arms to any nation that is actively giving aid and comfort to Libya." The Senator is right. Any friend of Qaddafi's is no friend of ours. Or of peace either. □

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### Agreement Close

Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Vice Premier Yitzhak Shamir "are close to an agreement regarding the political package deal that is to lead to a thaw in relations with Egypt" (*Kol Yisrael*, Jan. 7). At the center of the deal is a decision over how to proceed regarding Taba. "The Prime Minister's office says that within a few days the material will be ready for a decision by the inner Cabinet."

Although some points still require further explanations from the Egyptians, progress apparently has been made. In return for Israel accepting arbitration over Taba, Egypt will give substance to many

provisions on bilateral relations covered by the Egypt-Israel peace treaty, the radio reported.

Meanwhile, a Dec. 24 message to Peres from Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak reportedly "includes the demand that Israel reach an agreement soon on the convening of an international conference and hints that the PLO should be allowed to participate in that conference" (*Ha'aretz*, Jan. 6). Although a Peres-Mubarak summit has been anticipated following progress on Taba and related issues, the new message may mean that "Mubarak no longer regards the solution of the Taba problem as the sole condition to improving ties with Israel."

### Rabin on Security

Israel's Defense Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, asserted that the recent firing of Katyusha rockets at Kiryat Shemona and other towns in the Galilee "was carried out by Amal and not by Palestinian organizations" (Israel Television, Jan. 3). Rabin said that the struggle in the past seven months focused on the security zone in southern Lebanon. Now Shi'ite leaders may be trying to extend their operations into Israeli territory.

He noted that a Shi'ite group calling itself "The Organization of the Oppressed of the Earth" murdered a second Lebanese (Continued)

## COMMENT

# After the Other Summit

The late-December meeting between Syrian President Hafez Assad and Jordan's King Hussein, their first in six years, ended without an official communique. Preliminary assessments by observers in Washington last week suggested that each side may have achieved some limited aims—without reconciling major disagreements.

Hussein went to Damascus for, and probably got, a lessening of tension with Syria. Damascus has threatened Jordan militarily in the past. It opposed the King's 1985 peace initiative and his agreement with PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat to cooperate diplomatically. "And even before Assad and the [ruling] Ba'ath Party, Syria looked with lustful eyes at Jordan," a State Department source noted.

By disowning the Sunni Moslem Brotherhood, which at one time operated from Jordan as part of its resistance to Assad's minority Alawite regime, Hussein gave up little. He apparently did not change his position on the Iraq-Iran war. Jordan backs Iraq; Syria supports Iran. And Hussein probably still feels that if he enters any

peace process with Israel, he must do so alongside Arafat, whom Assad is said to detest.

A Senate source who specializes in the Middle East said that the Syrians may have taunted the Jordanians about their relationship with the United States and Amman's failure to get new U.S. weapons. [Congress has indicated it will not approve a major arms sale until Jordan and Israel have entered direct peace talks.]

Hussein's delegation, which included the prime minister and foreign minister, might have endured the verbal abuse as part of their retreat from an "overextended" position on the peace process. "In September and October the King moved away from the Arab mainstream and this [summit meeting] was a way to cover his flank," the source speculated. Hussein may have decided that "the PLO will never do anything even if you open the door to them" and that his peace initiative was going nowhere anyway.

An Israeli analyst noted that holding the meeting in itself was important and recalled that several sessions between the prime

ministers of the two countries preceded the summit. The prime ministers did issue a communique in which Jordan seemed to move closer to Syria regarding "no separate deals"—no bilateral agreements with Israel like Camp David—and on the demand for an international conference. Both countries demanded Soviet participation and Syria insisted on a united Arab delegation, which would give it a veto. So now Jordanian dalliance with the peace process faces a second barrier, the rejectionism of Syria added to the unreliability of the PLO.

Just after his talks with Hussein, Assad tried to persuade the hesitant Lebanese President, Amin Gemayel, to accept a Syrian-sponsored agreement to end Lebanon's civil war. Newspaper photographs of the two showed a haggard-looking Assad. The Syrian leader suffered a heart attack in 1983, touching off a premature struggle for succession. But Israeli sources said that their information indicates Assad is still in control. His concession to heart problems has been to cut his 18-hour workdays back—to 12 to 14 hours a day.

## VIEWING . . . Continued

Jew in Beirut in reprisal for alleged Israeli and South Lebanon Army militia shelling of villages outside the security zone. Rabin said that "we do not want nor are we able to submit to blackmail by such an organization. Likewise, we do not have the policy of shelling villages. We hardly use artillery weapons except for firing at the source of fire which attacks Israel . . . ."

## Egyptian Verdict

Suliman Khater, the Egyptian border policeman who murdered seven Israeli tourists in the Sinai—including four children—apparently hanged himself in the hospital of his Egyptian prison (CBS Radio News, Jan. 7). He had been sentenced to "life imprisonment with hard labor" (*New York Times*, Dec. 29). Khater, who had been turned into a folk hero by some news media and opposition politicians, reportedly had laughed at the sentence, saying: "Hard labor or death, all in sacrifice for Egypt."

The paper noted that "at least 140 people were arrested in demonstrations" at Zagazig University in the Nile delta, where

Khater had been a student, in clashes between students and police during protests over the closed military trial. Demonstrations continued for at least six consecutive days (Middle East News Agency, Dec. 26).

## Economic Trends

Israel's gross national product (GNP) "grew by 2% in 1985 and the balance of payments improved by \$560 million" according to year-end provisional figures re-

leased by the Central Bureau of Statistics (*Kol Yisrael*, Dec. 31). "The average Israeli standard of living remained stationary, but on a per capita basis, it went down by 2%."

The radio also reported that investments dropped again, this time by 12%, and that gross wages declined to the 1978 level—to the 1968 level for public sector employees. Savings rates fell to the 1983 level while unemployment continued to rise. Most of the figures were based on data from the first 11 months of the year.

## Genocide Treaty Blocked

The treaty banning genocide has again been derailed in the United States Senate. In the days just prior to the holiday recess, Senate Majority Leader ROBERT DOLE (R-Kans.) attempted to move the treaty to ratification but was opposed by Sen. JESSE HELMS (R-N.C.), a longtime opponent of the treaty. Sen. HOWARD METZENBAUM (D-Ohio) strongly backed Dole's effort and said that the "American Jewish community believes that the Genocide Convention must be ratified."

The Genocide Convention, which has been signed by Israel as well as by all major world powers except the United States, stipulates that genocide, intent to commit genocide and complicity in genocide, are punishable international crimes. It was first proposed after World War II as a response to the Nazi murder of six million Jews. Supporters of the treaty say that it has almost unanimous support in the Senate and pledged to bring it up for a vote again next year.

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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

# Syria Probes for Advantage

For the second time in less than two months, Syria has withdrawn mobile surface-to-air missiles (SAM-6's and SAM-8's) from Lebanon. But Israeli military and political sources said that placement of the missiles a few kilometers either side of the Syrian-Lebanese border was not significant. The underlying issue, Israeli and American observers believed, was President Hafez Assad's continued probing of Israel's "red lines"—the limits Jerusalem would place on Syria's activity on the ground and in the air over Lebanon.

"There is constant challenging back and forth to see where the red lines are and whether they can be moved forward. Syria clearly is doing most of the pushing now," a State Department official said.

Behind Damascus stands Moscow, which supplies Assad with the missiles and other elements of his continued military buildup to reach "strategic balance" with Israel. These new weapons include two or more Foxtrot submarines and MiG-29 fighter-bombers, the Soviet equivalent of the U.S. F-18. "It's clear the new Soviet leadership is much more assertive" than its immediate predecessors, said one American analyst. "You have to go back to the early Brezhnev for this kind of assertiveness."

"The question is, what exactly are they trying to achieve? Is it a conflict between Syria and Israel or do they want to increase the cost for Israel of its relations with the United States—strengthening Syria and forcing Israel to increase its military costs?"

According to an Israeli diplomat, Syria returned the missiles to Lebanon "to demonstrate . . . that no one will tell them what to do and that they won't bow to any outside pressure" after seeming to yield to Israeli demands and quiet U.S. diplomacy. Damascus also wanted to reassert that Syrian sovereignty extends, for all practical purposes, over Lebanon. The second withdrawal, a few miles east into Syria, was not military important.

"There are two things the Syrians cannot live with: Israeli aerial reconnaissance [over Lebanon] and the security zone itself." Israel maintains an approximately six-mile-wide security belt above its northern border with the help of the Christian-led militia—the South Lebanon Army. The latest increase in Katyusha rocket attacks on the belt and across it into the northern Galilee appears to be encouraged but not controlled by Damascus.

But the tension between Syria and Israel stems from an even deeper cause, the dip-

lomat explained. "It reflects the nature of the strategic relation between Syria and Israel" and Syria's long-time search for parity. Tension with Israel helps Assad's regime demonstrate that "while others only talk, Syria leads the Arab confrontation with Israel."

For its part, Israel must resist efforts to expel its forces from the security zone and must maintain reconnaissance flights—which monitor Syrian activity as well as that of several thousand terrorists based in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley. The trick for both sides is not to ignite a wider conflict. Israel could, the observers say, destroy the mobile SAM's and the more dangerous fixed-site SAM-2's inside the Syrian border. It destroyed similar Syrian anti-aircraft in Lebanon in 1982. But the cost might be higher now and the risk of escalation would increase.

One development which might restrain Assad is the agreement he fostered between the major Lebanese Shi'ite, Christian and Druze militia to end the 11-year-old civil war. The accord is still only words on paper but Syria would like to see it implemented; a clash between Syria and Israel might make that impossible.

□  
—E.R.

## HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

## New Arms Sale

The Reagan Administration is reportedly preparing to ask Congress to approve an arms sale in excess of \$1 billion to Saudi Arabia later this month. The Saudi arms package request will arrive on Capitol Hill amidst mounting efforts to block the highly controversial \$1.9-billion arms sale to Jordan.

Sen. ALAN CRANSTON (D-Calif.), a leading opponent of the sale, said that he has already obtained the support of 58 other Senators for a resolution to halt the sale. In addition, 64 Senators wrote the President, calling on him to drop plans to sell 40 F-15 fighters to Saudi Arabia. The Saudis already have 60 F-15's.

Cranston, who has pledged to lead the Senate fight against the new package, called on the Administration to "scuttle" the sale, charging that "the Saudi backing of Libyan terrorists is an outrage of a new dimension"—in addition to their continued bankrolling of the PLO and Syria and their steadfast refusal to recognize Israel's right to exist.

The Organization of the Islamic Conference last week adopted a Saudi-backed res-

olution fully embracing Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi, Cranston said. In addition, the Arab League adopted a Saudi-supported statement which condemned U.S. threats against Libya following the Rome and Vienna terrorist attacks and pledged support of any Arab country subjected to aggression.

Rep. MEL LEVINE (D-Calif.), who will offer the House resolution to block the Saudi sale, told *NER*: "Since the AWACS were approved the Saudis have played a consistently negative role with regard to American interests in the Middle East. It is hardly appropriate for us to reward them by selling them additional weapons." Levine is currently circulating a "Dear Colleague" letter opposing the sale. He noted that during the debate over the AWACS sale to Saudi Arabia in 1981, President Reagan assured Congress that future arms deliveries to the Saudis would take place only "if initiatives towards a peaceful resolution of disputes in the region have either been successfully completed, or significant progress towards that goal has been accomplished with the substantial assistance of Saudi Arabia."

Saudi Arabia has purchased nearly \$50

billion worth of military goods and services from the United States since 1950, four times as much as the next closest recipient. Yet, Saudi Arabia refuses to endorse even King Hussein's fitful efforts to negotiate peace between Israel and Jordan.

Congressional sources also told *NER* that the weapons proposal, which is still being drafted by the Administration, will contain more than 1,600 Sidewinder air-to-air missiles, 800 Stinger anti-aircraft missiles, 12 Blackhawk helicopters, 100 Harpoon missiles, sophisticated components to upgrade the capability of Saudi F-15 fighter aircraft, and electronic countermeasure systems for U.S.-built F-5's and F-15's. Saudi Arabia has recently completed a \$4 billion deal with Britain to purchase 48 Tornado strike aircraft. [U.S. policy precludes the sale of such offensive attack aircraft to Saudi Arabia for basing near Israel.]

The Saudis already have purchased more than 3,000 Sidewinders (giving them perhaps the highest ratio of missiles to planes anywhere), 100 Harpoon missiles and 400 Stingers.

□  
—Stephen Silberfarb

BACK PAGE

## Israel's Obligations

In the days and now weeks following the Vienna and Rome airport massacres, segments of the media have adopted a new approach toward Israel. The media seems anxious for an Israeli retaliatory raid against Libya, the PLO, or Syria. And the media is not alone. There are hints from Washington and from foreign governments as well that this time it would be okay for Israel to strike back.

It is all rather ironic. Can anyone recall an Israeli strike against terrorists that was not condemned by foreign governments and the world media? On many occasions ~~even the United States has joined the~~ chorus saying that Israeli's retaliation was "disproportionate" and would only add to the "cycle of violence." Western European nations—now looking toward Israel to take the actions they are afraid to take—have been the most vocal in criticizing any forceful response to terrorists.

So far Israel isn't buying. This doesn't mean that it has abandoned its anti-terrorist policy. It hasn't—and, in fact, it will probably strike hard against those responsible for the murders in Europe. But it will do so at a time and place of its choosing. It is certainly not going to do anything to take the Europeans off the hook. The airport massacres took place in Europe. Most of the people killed in them were Europeans or Americans. Retaliation for them is certainly not Israel's sole responsibility—not by a long shot.

One "senior Israeli official" explained Israel's position to *New York Times* correspondent Tom Friedman on Jan. 6. "Let us be frank," he said. "This man Qaddafi is crazy. Do you think we need to be fighting with him all over Europe now?" The official continued, "The Europeans are afraid to deal with him. The Americans are hesitant, so we are the ones who are invited to go after him."

In essence, the Israeli's response was "thanks, but no thanks." Israel will fight its own wars because it has no choice but to defend itself. And it will fight the terrorists who are determined to wipe Israel off the face of the earth. It will also join in any multinational effort to fight the terrorists. But it will not go into battle as a proxy for countries that are far larger and far more powerful. There is a point where major powers have to defend their own interests and not rely on the military capacity and sheer guts of a country the size of Maryland. Until they do, the reign of terror will continue.

Various political campaigns have used the phrase "now more than ever" in urging votes for this or that candidate. It's a good

phrase and one that applies to visiting Israel now.

It is clearly no accident that recent terrorist actions have taken place at airports. The PLO and its allies want to scare Americans out of travelling abroad and they certainly want tourists to think twice about going to Israel. Those are goals which all of us can help thwart.

There is no reason not to visit Israel. It is the one country in the world that has an effective anti-terrorist policy, one that is furthered by a population that has learned how an alert citizenry can deter attacks. Israel's airline, El Al, is—as *60 Minutes* recently pointed out—the world's most secure airline. In short, there is little risk in travelling to Israel.

And there are many good reasons for visiting Israel. Prime among them has to be the sense of assurance that actually being in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv conveys. The country is there. It is alive and vigorous. And it is undaunted by terrorists and their threats.

But Israel, the country, is all too easily lost amidst the bad news about terror attacks, SAM missile emplacements, and a "peace process" that seems to be going nowhere. There is only one way to find it. And that is by going there. Now more than ever. □

—M.J.R.

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# NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

VOL XXX NO. 1 JANUARY 6, 1986

## EDITORIAL

### A New PLO?

PLO chief Yasir Arafat has been taking to the airwaves to tell the world that his organization had nothing to do with the Vienna and Rome airport massacres. According to Arafat, an unnamed "Arab intelligence service" was behind the killings. By that, he means the Abu Nidal gang which, Arafat insists, is a group of mercenary terrorists not connected with his own outfit. The facts seem to confirm Arafat's claim. The airport attacks bear all the hallmarks of an Abu Nidal operation. Moreover, one of the terrorists told a news organization that he is an Abu Nidal follower.

However, none of this absolves Arafat and the "mainstream" PLO of responsibility for the worldwide wave of terrorism. As writer Joshua Muravchik put it in a recent *Washington Times* column: "The modern scourge of terrorism is largely the creation of the PLO. Terrorism, of course, has ancient roots, but today's version—with its airplane hijackings, assaults on diplomats, and the rise of an international terror network was pioneered by the PLO. That is why aspiring terrorists from Europe, Asia, and Latin America have for years flocked to the Middle East to receive their training at the hands of PLO masters. And the PLO's terrorist work continues unabated."

Accordingly, it hardly matters that Arafat's wing of the PLO may not have executed the Rome and Vienna operations. Nor does it matter that Abu Nidal and Arafat had a falling out a dozen years ago over some minor differences. The fact is that the "mainstream" PLO and its Abu Nidal offshoot are both terrorist organizations. The main differ-

ences between the two are that Arafat believes in pursuing a diplomatic option as well as a terrorist one, "a gun and an olive branch" in his words. Arafat also prefers to avoid attacks in countries which give him a free rein. He probably was embarrassed by the attacks in Austria and Italy, both of which have pro-PLO governments. He most certainly was not outraged at the loss of innocent life. After all, killing civilians has been his *modus operandi* for 20 years.

And it still is. On Dec. 25, Arafat's Baghdad-based "Voice of the PLO" radio station, claimed credit for setting off "explosive charges" in Ramat Aviv, a suburb of Tel Aviv. It also claimed to have planted "high-explosive charges yesterday morning . . . in Hadera on the occupied Palestinian coast. The explosions yesterday afternoon killed or wounded a large number of enemy elements." It is worth mentioning that the attacks spoken of by the PLO radio did not occur. But others do occur, and many, many more are thwarted by the Israeli Defense Forces or alert citizens. The PLO continues to claim credit for attacks on Israeli civilians and makes no distinction between the "occupied" West Bank and towns like Hadera which lie within Israel's pre-1967 borders—just as it makes no distinction between imaginary acts of terror and those it actually manages to pull off.

In short, Arafat's attempt (a successful one if the media is any indication) to distinguish his "moderation" from Abu Nidal's radicalism is a public relations ploy. It may succeed, at least until the next time when (as in the Achille Lauro hijacking) the smoking gun is found in Arafat's hand. □

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### Costume Change

Citing the Kuwaiti newspaper *Al-Anba*, a Jordanian publication reported that PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat "has set up a new military wing of his mainline group Fatah" to attack Israelis in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (*Jordan Times*, Dec. 28). The new group, Al-Wathiqun, "the confident men," already "has been using whatever weapons [are] available to them" including light arms, explosives and knives. Formation of Al-Wathiqun was to be announced formally on Jan. 1, "to mark the 21st anniversary of Fatah."

Reversing roles, "the PLO has made it known it would do its utmost to identify the perpetrators of the attack on the El Al check-in desks in Rome and Vienna" (French Radio, Dec. 28). The Paris PLO

representative "asked that the perpetrators of this dastardly crime be handed over to the PLO for trial."

Israel remained unimpressed. Prime Minister Shimon Peres said it was irrelevant who claimed responsibility for the airport attacks. "Whether it is Abu Nidal, Naif Hawatimeh or George Habash, we must not give in to the PLO. As long as that organization stands for terror, we will fight them all the way" (*Jerusalem Post*, Dec. 30). Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin added a day later that Arafat "is still the main person behind terrorism."

### Soviet Rebuttal

A top Soviet official for the Middle East strongly denied reports of a possible resumption of large-scale Soviet Jewish emi-

gration. Karen Brutents, deputy chief of the International Department of the Communist Party Central Committee, said "this is not the first uproar to be fanned by Western media on the so-called emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel, and we do not expect it to be the last" (*Al-Watan*, Dec. 29). According to the Kuwaiti paper, Brutents said rumors about renewed emigration were planted to upset Soviet-Arab relations.

The official also pointed to Russia's treaty of cooperation with Syria and said that Moscow stands with Damascus "in the face of any Israeli aggression." He implied that the crisis over Syrian anti-aircraft missiles in Lebanon was manufactured by Israel "to escalate the level of tension in the

(Continued)

## PERSPECTIVE

# Israel's New Navy

The Israeli Navy hopes to begin receiving the first of its new generation of major ships early in the 1990's, with delivery completed by the middle of the decade, according to a source familiar with long-range planning. The modernization program is expected to include three of the newly-developed Dolphin class submarines and a larger number of new missile boats.

Stories in the Israeli press recently noted that U.S. and Israeli representatives have been discussing the plans and American financial backing. Construction of the conventionally-powered submarines will take place in Haifa after investment in the shipyards there by U.S. firms.

Modernization of the navy has a high priority because of Israel's 115-mile long Mediterranean coast, several large-scale attempts by terrorists to infiltrate by sea in 1985 and the continued growth of Arab naval forces. One knowledgeable source explained that with today's accurate high-explosive naval munitions and the concentration of most of Israel's population and industry along the narrow strip from Nahariya in the north to Ashkelon in the south, "the shoreline is the soft underbelly." In addition, "Syria, Egypt, Libya and Saudi Arabia are building strong

navies. The amounts of ships and armament they have is frightening."

The Israeli navy includes about 80 combat vessels, most of them fast-attack missile boats and smaller coastal patrol ships and three small yet capable British-built diesel submarines. But the subs are nearly 10 years old and in another decade will have to be replaced. The subs and missile boats defend against possible attack by hostile navies; the patrol boats' primary mission is to prevent terrorist infiltration. The two objectives conflict because daily anti-terrorist patrols take training time and resources away from maintaining readiness against conventional attacks.

Israel cannot compete with potential adversaries in numbers of combat vessels; it must, therefore, concentrate on building highly advanced craft. A *Defense Week* report said the new class of missile boats "bristles with electronic warfare and combat equipment."

Cost of the submarine package was estimated at approximately \$400 million in mid-1985, the missile boats at about \$100 million each. Unlike the submarines, the missile boats will be constructed in the United States. Those presently in service carry the sophisticated Israeli-built Gabriel and American Harpoon ship-to-ship mis-

siles.

The navy's 6,600 personnel—plus another 5,000 reserves on mobilization—make it the smallest of Israel's armed services. However, no one argues any more as to whether the country needs a navy, let alone a sophisticated one. "The sea is still the only fairly open border . . . [and] you have to remember that more than 95% of Israel's imports and exports go by sea," said one authority.

Israel's original navy, comprised of old ships used in the post-World War II immigration, was succeeded in the early 1950's by a few hand-me-down British destroyers and frigates. But these proved too vulnerable and too few for Israel's special needs. So in the 1960's the shift began to fast small patrol and missile boats.

In general, good relations prevail between the U.S. and Israeli navies. American sailors in uniform are well received in Haifa, which is not the case in some other Mediterranean ports. Cooperation between the two services runs from repairs by the Haifa shipyards on U.S. Sixth Fleet vessels to joint exercises and information sharing—especially valuable to Washington in view of the Soviet naval buildup in the Mediterranean after the 1973 Yom Kippur war. —E.R. □

## VIEWING . . . Continued

Middle East" and interfere with normalization between Jordan and Syria and other developments which "do not please imperialist and Zionist circles."

## Iranian Criticism

The foreign policy commission of Iran's Majlis (parliament) "sharply criticized" the Syrian-sponsored accord between Lebanon's major Shi'ite, Christian and Druze militia (Tehran Radio, Dec. 31). Commission members charged that any agreement with the Christian forces implied a halt in the fight against Israel and acceptance of peaceful coexistence with it. A Lebanese Hezbollah representative in Tehran said that the agreement would only serve U.S. interests.

In Lebanon, Assad Al-Shaftari, the head of security services for the Lebanese Forces, the leading Christian militia, "nar-

rowly escaped" assassination by unknown gunmen (Radio Free Lebanon, Dec. 31). The radio also noted that Christian President Amin Gemayel called the Syrian-brokered agreement a "positive initiative," but expressed concern over the "minimum level of consensus in its favor."

And in Beirut the Islamic Jihad threatened more kidnappings and suicide bombings against American, Israeli and Turkish targets in 1986. The shadowy group—"believed to be made up of Shi'ite Moslem zealots loyal to Iran"—claims to hold six American and four French kidnap victims and has been blamed for the bombings of the U.S. embassy and Marine barracks in Lebanon (Associated Press, Dec. 31).

## Chinese Moves

China has requested "through U.S. companies" that Israel send it experts in breeding dairy cattle; it also wants advanced Israeli-made irrigation equipment (*Davar*,

Dec. 25). The Agriculture Ministry will send the experts "but it requests that they be permitted to enter the PRC [Peoples' Republic of China] on Israeli passports." The PRC agreed in principle several months ago to lift all restrictions on the entry of Israeli passport holders but has not yet implemented the agreement.

Meanwhile, China's Foreign Minister completed a tour of Iraq, Jordan, Syria, Egypt and the United Arab Emirates by saying that pan-Arab unity and solidarity with the Palestinian Arabs "in confronting the common enemy and its aggressive and expansionist policy" is the key to solving the Arab-Israeli conflict (Kuwait News Agency, Dec. 23). In Egypt, Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian said that China favors an international conference with PLO participation on an equal footing with the other participants. Observers said that the trip spotlighted China's increased interest in trade and diplomatic ties with Arab states. □

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## ANALYSIS

# Year Ends in Crisis

The year closed with increased tension between Israel and Syria over the re-deployment of Syrian anti-aircraft missiles in Lebanon; with Damascus on the verge of a diplomatic coup in ending the Lebanese civil war; with Jordan's King Hussein visiting Syrian President Hafez Assad for the first time in a decade; and with deadly terrorist attacks against El Al Israel Airlines at airports in Rome and Vienna.

In Jerusalem, Israeli officials asserted that they will not let the return of Soviet-made Syrian surface-to-air missiles in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley halt the surveillance necessary to keep track of both Syrian and terrorist movements and to complement the operation of the South Lebanon Army (SLA) and Israeli troops in the southern Lebanon security zone. According to reports from Israel, the patterns and numbers of the flights may have been changed—but not ended—because of the SAM-6's and SAM-8's.

These lower altitude, shorter range missiles protect the high altitude, long-range SAM-2's on the Syrian-Lebanese border. The latter can cover much of Lebanon's and parts of northern Israel's airspace. An unofficial Israeli source said "the test will come in the field, if Israel won't be able to have the reconnaissance flights or if its planes are fired on." Then Jerusalem will have to respond, perhaps eliminating the SAM's. However, this could be more difficult than in 1982, when Israeli planes wiped out Syrian anti-aircraft missiles in Lebanon while sustaining no losses.

The United States, which interceded in November and helped induce Syria to remove the SAM-6's and SAM-8's, counseled restraint and hinted at renewed diplomatic efforts to get the missiles out of Lebanon again. Nevertheless, Israeli analysts saw the return of the SAM's as a provocation and Deputy Prime Minister David Levy warned Damascus not to interpret Israel's restraint as weakness. He added that his country would never accept any Syrian move that might endanger Israeli security.

On Dec. 28 Nabi Berri, head of the Shi'ite Amal militia, Walid Jumblatt, leader of the Druze militia, and Elie Hobeika, chief of the Christian Lebanese Forces, signed a Syrian-mediated agreement in Damascus to end the nearly 11-year-old Lebanese civil war. An official text of the accord was not available at press time and a Lebanese source in Washington told *NER* that while relative quiet prevailed immediately after the signing, "we will have to see what happens at the political level." Not all Christian leaders endorsed Hobeika's action and Sunni Moslems were not repre-

sented in Damascus.

Lebanese and Israeli observers agreed that if the pact holds, Syria will gain additional prestige in the region. "It will give Syria more leverage—in fact, Syria will run Lebanon," an Israeli said. "It shows that Assad is the pivot" for inter-Arab moves.

King Hussein's Damascus visit, apparently delayed for several days while Assad wrapped up the Lebanese accord, began Dec. 30. Jordan and Syria "hardly agree on anything," the Israeli commented, so the fact that the meeting took place at all had significance: Syria backs Iran; Jordan supports Iraq in the Iran-Iraq war; Syria favors anti-Arafat PLO groups; Jordan tries to work with Yasir Arafat's PLO; King Hussein is said by U.S. officials to be seeking direct talks with Israel under the umbrella of an international conference; Syria rejects direct, bilateral talks and insists on an all-parties conference and "no separate, partial agreements."

According to the *Jerusalem Post*, Dec. 27, one view in Israel sees the Jordanian-Syria rapprochement as artificial, a temporary truce between long-time enemies whose fundamental interests are irreconcilable. "Hussein is seen as exploiting the Syrian-PLO rift to assure quiet on his northern border and a cessation, however brief, of Syrian subversion in Amman. Syria . . . is bent on torpedoing any Jordanian movement toward a separate peace or negotiations with Israel and on persuading the Jordanian monarch to break his agreement last February" with Arafat.

A second viewpoint "regards the Jordanian-Syrian rapprochement with even greater misgivings, fearing that it could even turn into a hard and fast alliance and recreate an 'Eastern Front' for Israel." Such a front, possibly joined later by Iraq, "would conjure up for Israel the specter of a union of strong Arab states poised for attack a mere 20 miles from Jerusalem. And the

worst fear of all is that if Jordan moves into Syria's orbit, it will abandon Egypt and possibly precipitate an Egyptian movement."

Officials in Israel, Italy and the United States pointed to Palestinian Arab terrorist Abu Nidal as the planner of the Rome and Vienna airport attacks on El Al counters which killed 14 travelers—including five Americans—and wounded dozens. Four terrorists died and three were captured. Abu Nidal, whose real name is Mazen Sabri al-Banna, now reportedly operates out of Libya and maintains a base in Syria. In the past he has been headquartered in Iraq and Syria. Formerly an associate of Arafat's, he split with the PLO leader in the middle 1970's.

American officials urged that any retaliation be kept "focused, measured" and aimed specifically at those directly behind the assaults. At the same time they noted that any government victimized by terrorists, including the U.S., could properly use "the military option." State Department officials denied initial reports that the Administration "leaned on Israel" not to retaliate in force.

An Israeli source said that small operations, aimed at the leaders of terrorist factions, rather than large-scale raids, might be more effective in this case. Qaddafi's regime itself might be a target, with officials in Washington, Jerusalem and Europe pointing to the close connection between Libya—which praised the terrorists as heroes—and Abu Nidal. Israel's Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin spoke of when, not if, Israel retaliates, and noted that even if Abu Nidal or another Palestinian splinter group was responsible, Arafat's "mainline" PLO had shown the way over the years with numerous such attacks. He added that the terrorist groups compete with each other for publicity and support by staging such outrages. —E.R. □

## HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

### Export Prohibitions

Sen. WILLIAM PROXMIER (D-Wis.) has introduced an amendment to the Export Administration Act to halt the export of military goods and technology to Iraq and Yugoslavia. Sens. WILLIAM ROTH (R-Del.) and DAN QUAYLE (R-Ind.) joined Proxmire in sponsoring the legislation.

This legislation would prohibit the pending export or coproduction in Yugoslavia of aircraft components and forbid the proposed sale of 45 Bell helicopters to Iraq.

Sponsors of the legislation charge that Mohammed Abbas, mastermind of the Achille Lauro hijacking, eluded justice because Iraq and Yugoslavia both facilitated his escape. Roth, urging support for the proposal, said "it will serve to put all renegade governments on notice that we are rolling up our sleeves and that we are determined to deal with this problem . . . Governments which harbor and give succor to terrorists can expect to pay a price and that price will grow even higher." □

## BACK PAGE

**Obvious Solutions**

The television coverage of the terrorist horrors at the Rome and Vienna airports demonstrated, once again, the power of that medium. Those who viewed international terrorism in the abstract had to be shaken at the sight of casually dressed tourists lying dead—murdered—at the airline terminals. Terrorism is no abstract. It is as real as a college boy killed as he headed home for New Year's or an 11-year old girl dying in her father's arms.

The pictures told most of the story. But, nevertheless, the networks provided their own commentaries and those of various "experts" who provided the usual litany of solutions to the frightening problem. They all sounded hollow—predictable prescriptions from people who really have little idea about what might succeed in eliminating terrorism.

It is the absence of any sure means of dealing with terrorism that produces what I call the political response to it—one that was offered repeatedly as 1985 ended. Garrick Utley, substitute anchor on the Dec. 27 NBC Evening News, put it like this: "As long as the basic conflict in the Middle East continues unresolved—and there is no sign that is about to change—it is unlikely that there will be an end to this terrorist war in which no one wears a uniform and everyone is a victim."

In short, the NBC correspondent believes that if the "basic" Arab-Israeli conflict is resolved, the terrorists will cease their murderous attacks. This common assumption is worth examining.

Just suppose that Israel, Jordan, and Yasir Arafat's PLO all agreed on the establishment of a West Bank Palestinian state including east Jerusalem as its capital. That would be a settlement that would meet most of the Arabs' fundamental demands. But would it end terrorism? Not likely. Arafat's opponents, the Abu Nidal gang, the Libyans, the Syrians—and probably many of Arafat's own "moderate" followers—would still call for the capture of the rest of "Palestine." The radicals and rejectionists would still seek to destroy the Arab moderates and to eliminate the American presence in the Middle East. They would use the new Palestinian state as a base for attacks on what was left of Israel and on civilians worldwide. But, otherwise, the existence of a West Bank Palestinian state wouldn't change a thing. The PLO is the first to admit that its goal is not a West Bank mini-state but the occupation of Israel itself.

And even that wouldn't appease them. Imagine the nightmarish scenario of an Israel totally eliminated; destroyed by the Arabs in a surprise attack. Would even the elimination of the Jewish state appease the

fanatics? Again, it isn't likely. As in Lebanon, the various sects and splinter groups would fight for control of "Palestine." The various PLO wings would seek to destroy each other as they tried to grab their piece of the booty. Each of the Arab states would stake out its claim for territory, with Syria first in line to achieve its dream of "Greater Syria." It would be like 1948 when Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Iraq each attacked in hope of destroying the Jewish state and getting a piece of Palestine for itself. In the end, Israel survived. But the West Bank and Gaza—allotted to the Palestinians by the United Nations—were snatched up by, respectively, Jordan and Egypt. It would be no different today, except in one respect. In 1948, the various Arab factions did not take the battle to international airports. Today, Palestinian and other terrorists prefer killing innocent civilians.

In short, there is no political solution to the terrorist problem. Even the achievement of the PLO's genocidal goal would not calm a Middle East that is ripped apart by a hundred sectarian conflicts. Look at Lebanon; Iran and Iraq; Libya and Egypt, and the Shi'ites and Sunnis. These bloody and ancient feuds will not be ended by an Arab-Israeli peace treaty or by surrendering to the terrorists' stated goals. Abu Nidal and others of his ilk do not kill so that they might ultimately sit under a fig tree in Nablus or Jerusalem. They kill because they want to establish a Middle East arrangement where they can control it all: "Palestine," the oil fields, and all the wealth that has been created in the Middle East over the last 50 years. That is the goal they kill each other for. And that is the goal that leads them to attack innocent air travelers. It is a goal that cannot be realized. That is why 1985 is not likely to be the last "year of the terrorist."  
—M.J.R. □

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Washington DC 20500

# NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

VOL XXIX NO. 52 DECEMBER 30, 1985

## EDITORIALS

### No More Double Talk

Secretary of State George Shultz was right on target in Belgrade, Yugoslavia in late December when he told the Yugoslavian foreign minister that the hijacking of airplanes and the murder of innocent civilians are "not justified by any cause that I know of." Shultz was speaking in a nation that almost epitomizes international hypocrisy about terrorism. Yugoslavia has no tolerance whatsoever for its native minority separatists and terrorists who are rooted out and prosecuted without mercy. However, it has a heart of gold when it comes to foreign terrorists like those of the PLO. For Belgrade, PLO terrorists are "freedom fighters"; its domestic variety certainly is not.

George Shultz simply refused to sit still for that kind of hypocrisy. He literally shouted and banged his fist on the table when the Yugoslavian foreign minister said that "when speaking of terrorism, one must view the causes that lead to it."

It is good to note that the U.S. government refuses to buy that line. It understands that terrorism is not like "juvenile delinquency." It is not produced by deprivation and the absence of strong parental figures in the home. Terrorism is the method of choice of political thugs and of their more respectable backers. You don't cure it by giving in to it.

Vice President George Bush shares Shultz's view, as he made clear in his recent Yeshiva University speech. Bush turned to the heart of the debate when he said that "the goal of the terrorists is to undermine Western democratic society . . . to undermine the institutions, values and traditions that are at the foundation of our civilization."

Bush rejects the pernicious notion that "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter." He said that "formula makes terrorism sound like something that's neither right nor wrong—a phenomenon, not an evil."

But it is an evil. It doesn't matter whether one is contemplating the killers of Leon Klinghoffer or of Alex Odeh. A terrorist is still a terrorist. Those who condone—through a

wink or mere silence—the practice of terrorism against innocents anywhere must understand that they are really condoning the killing of innocents everywhere. That is what Shultz was trying to make the Yugoslavian foreign minister understand. You can't have it both ways. That message is applicable not only in Yugoslavia, but around the world.

### Hussein's Friend

President Hafez Assad of Syria has decided that it may be about time to terminate the condition of relative calm which has prevailed in Syria's relations with Israel in recent months. He has moved mobile SAM-6 and SAM-8 missiles into eastern Lebanon, and SAM-2's and SAM-5's near Damascus and Aleppo. All the missiles can strike planes flying over Lebanon. The SAM-5's can also hit planes in Israeli airspace.

Syrian officials say that the missiles will be used when they see fit. The new missile deployment adds a destabilizing element to an already unstable situation. There are those who maintain that Syria has the right to deploy missiles anywhere it wishes in its own country. No one can argue with that. However, even the Syrians indicate that the purpose of those missiles is to maintain the subjugation of one neighboring country, Lebanon, and to threaten the defensive maneuvers of another, Israel. Technically speaking, the anti-aircraft missiles are defensive. In actual terms, they are offensive indeed.

At this point it is hard to know what will happen next. But one thing is clear. Syria is already looking toward the next round in its war against Israel. It is doing that even as it seeks an alliance with neighboring Jordan, which seems to be desperately moving in Assad's direction. King Hussein should consider Syria's long-term designs as he plans for his summit with Hafez Assad, whose embrace may turn out to be as deadly as Gamal Nasser's was in 1967. As for the Reagan Administration, it would do well to watch Hussein closely, recognizing that a Jordan allied with Syria is not a fit recipient of U.S. weapons. □

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### Emigration Denial

Reports that a mass exodus of Soviet Jews to Israel was imminent have been discounted by Israeli officials. A Kuwaiti newspaper, citing "well-informed sources in Paris," said that 400,000 Soviet Jews "shortly will be transferred . . . to Israel" (*Al-Ray Al-Amm*, Dec. 17). The story referred to recent talks between Edgar Bronfman of the World Jewish Congress and Soviet and other Eastern bloc leaders.

The Kuwaiti story claimed that prepara-

tions were under way in Moscow, Paris, Sofia and Tel Aviv. *Time* magazine, in the issue dated Dec. 30, quoted unnamed sources familiar with the talks to the effect that an airlift might be organized involving Russia, France, Poland and Israel. [Israeli officials then stated that they had seen no sign of progress in efforts to organize an airlift of Jews from the Soviet Union to Israel.] *Time* reported that the emigration plan would not begin until after the Communist Party Congress in February, at the earliest.

On Dec. 26 the *New York Times* reported that a Soviet diplomat told a representative of an American Jewish organization that ties between Moscow and Jerusalem would be restored soon and that emigration would increase.

### Another PLO No

One of PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat's top aides, Salah Khalaf, also known as Abu Iyad, repeated the organization's rejection

(Continued)

## HEARD IN NEW YORK

# Bush on Ties With Israel

In a New York speech on Dec. 15, Vice President George Bush said that he is "deeply disturbed" when he hears "people in public life speak of American Jews as though they are some sort of monolithic force with improper influence on U.S. policy." He added that he is even more disturbed "when someone takes the allegedly traitorous conduct of a single individual—such as Jonathan Pollard, the man accused of accepting money to steal documents given to the Israeli government—and tries to make generalizations about 'divided loyalties.'"

Speaking to a Yeshiva University audience, Bush said that such forms of "stereotyping, those innuendoes and whispered statements, are a small step from overt anti-Semitism, from the polemics of hate spread by Louis Farrakhan or the Ku Klux Klan."

Bush defended the right of Jews and others "to express their views, to organize themselves, and to petition government" on behalf of U.S.-Israel friendship. "Citizen advocacy strengthens our country. It gives America vitality. It's a small part of why America is so great."

He told his audience that they should "let no one tell you that the causes you advocate are 'special interest politics.' You have a right and duty as Americans to stand for the causes and values that are important to you. All Americans have that right and duty."

Bush discussed his own view of Israel. "I believe that the United States has a moral obligation and a strategic interest in sup-

porting the forces of freedom and democracy around the world. . . . For 40 years this has been the foundation of our relationship with Western Europe. And this is the foundation of our relationship with Israel. Israel—because of our shared values—is our foremost strategic friend in the Middle East. We have signed a strategic cooperation agreement with Israel.

"As a result, the United States and Israel now engage in regular, detailed discussions about how to cooperate to defend shared interests. Joint military exercises have been held and prepositioning of equipment is under discussion.

"We are helping to fund development of the Lavi fighter and are sharing critical technologies for use in the fighter. We're purchasing Israeli-made weapons, and the U.S. and Israel are negotiating to build jointly missiles, submarines, and reconnaissance drones. We have invited Israel to participate in strategic defense research and Israel has accepted. Our Navy is leasing and maintaining Kfir fighters for use in training. Our Navy also now has a shore leave agreement with Israel. Haifa is one of the few friendly ports left in that area of the world."

Bush said that the Reagan Administration is "committed to maintaining Israel's qualitative edge in armaments over any possible combination of adversaries. We have also taken a strong interest in the health of the Israeli economy—signing a free trade agreement, converting aid from loans to grants that will in this fiscal year total more than \$3 billion. And there is a

special appropriation of \$1.5 billion to assist economic transition."

Bush also addressed the issue of international terrorism. "Terrorism is evil. What else but evil can we call the beating and murder on TWA Flight 847 of young Navy Petty Officer Robert Stethem or the machinegunning of six young Marines in El Salvador? What else but evil can we call the murder of Leon Klinghoffer. . . .?"

Referring to the PLO, Bush said that it "has an appalling record of sponsoring terrorism against innocent civilians. They boasted about murdering the Israeli athletes in Munich. They boasted about killing school children in Israel."

Bush said that he opposed bringing the PLO into negotiations with the United States and offered a pledge: "Let me repeat a pledge that both the President and I have made before. . . . Until the PLO explicitly accepts Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, renounces what it calls 'armed struggle' and recognizes Israel's right to exist, the United States will neither recognize nor negotiate with the PLO."

Bush also referred to Soviet anti-Semitism and other forms of racism. He demanded freedom for Ida Nudel, Anatoly Shcharansky and Yosef Begun. "Let the refuseniks go," he said.

"Racism is a threat to our values," Bush concluded, "wherever it appears—whether as anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, or apartheid in South Africa. . . ."

—M.J.R.

## VIEWING . . . Continued

of U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 as a basis for Arab-Israeli peace talks (*Al-Qabas*, Dec. 23). Khalaf said that the PLO also resisted pressure from some Arab countries to establish a "government-in-exile" to "change the face" of the organization.

He spoke on the same day that Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and former French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson—now a commissioner of the Common Market—called for PLO endorsement of Resolutions 242 and 338. Mubarak, in a taped television interview, said that Arafat had another month or two to act, after which Jordan's King Hussein "may seek

another way" to move toward talks with Israel (NBC "Today Show"). The Egyptian leader said that if Arafat failed to act, he would be "the big, fat loser." Cheysson,

speaking in Jordan, said explicit PLO acceptance of Resolutions 242 and 338 "would be a promising step" for Middle East diplomacy (Reuters).

## Inquiry Ends

The Reagan Administration announced at the conclusion of a mission to Israel to study the case of Jonathan Pollard, the U.S. citizen charged with spying for Israel, that "both governments reaffirm their determination to continue their close cooperation in all fields." The Dec. 20 statement said that the U.S. team worked "in full cooperation with the government of Israel" and "Israel has confirmed that it has returned to the United States all such documents in its possession or under its control" which were allegedly delivered by Pollard.

Jerusalem also gave the U.S. team "full access to the persons with knowledge of the facts relevant" to the investigation of the case, according to the statement. The Israeli government also "informed the United States government that it has taken necessary action to disband the unit involved" in the case and reiterated that "the persons concerned acted without authority and against its policy. . . ."

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

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## EXCLUSIVE

# Peres Looks Back—and Ahead

Jerusalem—In an exclusive end-of-the-year interview with *Near East Report*, Prime Minister Shimon Peres said that he is proud of the record of the national unity government which he heads. "The record of the past 14 months is an impressive one. I did not achieve everything, but many things which people thought could not be achieved were."

Peres was noncommittal about his future political plans and, in this interview, refrained from his almost ritualistic reaffirmation of his commitment to turn the Prime Minister's job over to Vice Premier Yitzhak Shamir in October. He said that if his commitment to the rotation with Shamir runs up against a Likud veto of his peace policies, anything is possible. "I will make the decision when the time comes."

Peres seemed to indicate that he is courting the religious parties for possible inclusion in a future Peres-led government. He is also determined to improve overall relations between the Orthodox and non-Orthodox communities. "The religious parties supported two important decisions of ours. They voted with us to end the war in Lebanon, and they are quite supportive of our position on Taba." However, Peres has no intention of going along with the religious bloc's plans to amend the Law of Return—a move designed to establish the primacy of Orthodox rabbis over Conser-

vative and Reform rabbis. Nor will he halt construction of a Mormon center in Jerusalem, as demanded by the Orthodox. However, he will seek to obtain additional guarantees that the Mormons will not use their Jerusalem base for missionary work inside Israel.

Speaking of the political situation, Peres said that he believes that the "ethnic issue" is subsiding. As for Meir Kahane, Peres says that he is "a shame but not a danger. Israel will never become a racist society, but tolerance of racism is a danger in itself. We must demonstrate intolerance to every manifestation of racism and hatred."

### The Economy and Peace

Peres is optimistic about the course of Israel's economic recovery. The government's plan "produced better results than were expected." Inflation is down dramatically and December's \$580 million cut in the government's budget "is the best way to keep it down." At the same time, "unemployment is still at a controlled level" [8%] and "wages are beginning to go up."

Turning to foreign affairs, Peres is still waiting for King Hussein's response to his peace initiative. He says that both Jordan and Egypt had entertained "hopes . . . that the PLO would . . . renounce terror" and accept Israel's right to exist. However, the combined efforts of those two countries

"could not change the fact that the PLO is incapable of making an important decision."

Peres said that the West Bank and Gaza have numerous figures who "could participate immediately in a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation." He also said that the lives of the Palestinians of the territories "are gradually improving." He pointed to reductions in censorship, liberalization of economic life, and the normal conduct of university affairs.

"We are also gradually handing over the running of the major cities to local leaders, the latest example being the nomination of an Arab mayor and city council in Nablus, the largest West Bank city."

He also sees progress on the Egyptian front. He expects an agreement with Cairo over Taba—one which will enable him to overcome Likud's "disbelief" in Egypt's good faith. "I would like to overcome their disbelief before we argue over our disagreement."

Peres believes that Israel's relationship with the United States has returned to its "normal level" after the Jonathan Pollard affair. He refers to that level as "exceedingly friendly and intimate." He says that the two nations "share a joint community of value and interests." □

—David Twersky

*Twersky is NER's Israel correspondent.*

## PERSPECTIVE

## Gramm-Rudman and Aid

Congressional observers call the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit reduction measure one of the most far-reaching pieces of legislation passed by Congress in years. It will have a major effect on all federal spending—including foreign aid. The bill, passed as an amendment to the debt ceiling legislation on Dec. 11, is intended to eliminate the federal deficit by fiscal year 1991.

The measure sets mandatory declining targets for the deficit for the next five years, ending with a balanced budget in 1991. Fiscal year target deficits are: 1986, \$171.9 billion; 1987, \$144 billion; 1988, \$108 billion; 1989, \$72 billion; 1990, \$36 billion; 1991, no deficit. If Congressional appropriations exceed the targets in any year, automatic spending cuts will be imposed across the board to reach the targets. Half the cuts would come from defense, half from all other programs except Social Security and eight exempt anti-poverty programs.

These provisions could affect foreign aid, including aid to Israel. Since the pro-

jected deficit for fiscal 1986 is approximately \$190 billion, all "programs, projects and activities"—in the language of the bill—will have to be cut by over 4%. Israel already has received its entire Economic Support Fund (ESF) assistance for 1986 under "early disbursement" provisions of the foreign aid legislation. Thus the \$1.2 billion in ESF will not change.

However, it is possible that Israel's Foreign Military Sales (FMS) assistance, set at \$1.8 billion, could be subjected to any across-the-board reduction. Although aid to Israel might actually increase slightly in 1987, similar increases in the latter years under Gramm-Rudman-Hollings would be difficult.

To make sure that federal spending hits the deficit targets, Gramm-Rudman-Hollings requires the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) to prepare annual reports on the amount expected to exceed the targets. The President will then "sequester"—withhold—from all programs an equal percentage necessary to reach the

deficit limit set by the bill.

OMB Director James Miller is committed to meeting the fiscal 1987 deficit target of \$144 billion. He has declared that he will submit a budget that accomplishes this goal without tax increases or reductions in Social Security and with a continued defense build-up at a rate of 3% above inflation. This might require elimination of more than 30 non-military programs.

Senators Phil Gramm (R-Texas), Warren Rudman (R-N.H.) and Ernest Hollings (D-S.C.) introduced their proposal on the Senate floor in September. It was never reviewed in committee hearings nor analyzed by a committee as to its feasibility. Although many members of Congress voiced objections, it gained popularity as a forceful method of reducing the federal deficit. Some opponents voted for it because they could not devise an alternative. Whatever the reasons, passage of the legislation may well have opened a radically changed era in federal budgeting. —Ralph Nurnberger □

*Nurnberger is a legislative liaison for the American Israel Public Affairs Committee.*

BACK PAGE

## A Little Optimism

**A**t year's end, the news from Israel was good—almost unbelievably good when placed in context. The consumer-price index for November was 0.5%, or 6% if computed on an annual basis. That one-half percent rise in prices was the lowest monthly increase in Israel in nine years. Amazingly, Israel's November inflation rate was one-tenth of a percent lower than the U.S. rate. The national unity government deserves a great deal of credit.

And it is getting it. The latest Dahaf Institute poll reports that Prime Minister Shimon Peres' approval rate is now 84%. Only 14% disapprove of his performance as Prime Minister. According to the poll, Peres is also viewed as the Israeli leader who most puts country before personal or party interest; 59% of Israelis view the Prime Minister as a patriot first. The runner-up in that department was Likud Minister Without Portfolio, Moshe Arens (58%).

The wide support for Peres—and even more the perception of him as non-partisan—is remarkable. Through most of his political career, Shimon Peres was viewed as an “operator.”

However, he has dramatically changed the public perception of him during his tenure as Prime Minister. He is admired and liked and can already be ranked as one of Israel's strongest leaders, right up there with David Ben-Gurion, Golda Meir, and (the early) Menachem Begin. It is a remarkable transformation.

One of the most interesting aspects of the Peres phenomenon is that he has proven that it is still possible to be an effective leader of Israel. In the years just prior to his coming to office, Israel was torn apart by partisan political strife. Peres and the national unity government succeeded in calming things down and in demonstrating that Israel is governable. Like Ronald Reagan in the United States, Peres has demonstrated that a strong, charismatic leader can make a difference. Those who had thrown up their hands in despair—who had said that both countries were destined only for weak, ineffectual leadership—were proven wrong. One may not always agree with either man but one must concede that the socialist Peres and the conservative Reagan have shown that it is possible to change the course of events, even in fractious democracies.

Of course, it hasn't all been roses for the Israeli Prime Minister. It is no secret that Peres wants to achieve a peace agreement with Jordan and the Palestinians. Like most of his Labor colleagues, Peres would trade some West Bank land for peace—even as Begin returned the Sinai in exchange for peace with Egypt. In October,

Peres went before the United Nations General Assembly and said that he wanted immediate negotiations with a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. He said that, in essence, everything would be on the table and he even modified Israel's long-standing opposition to an international peace conference.

Initially, there appeared to be a strong and positive response from the Arab side. King Hussein praised Peres and put out the word that he was becoming fed up with the intransigence and terrorism of the PLO. Many predicted Israeli-Jordanian talks by the end of the year.

It is now the end of the year—the end of the 38th year since Golda Meir secretly visited Jordan in an effort to persuade Hussein's grandfather, King Abdullah, to accept peace with a Jewish state. That effort failed, and the Peres initiative is stalled. Even worse, Hussein's commitment to the idea of peace seems to be waning. He has refused to distance himself from the PLO and has taken several major steps toward rapprochement with his former enemy, Hafez Assad of Syria. Jordanian officials now say that Amman will never accept a separate peace arrangement with Israel.

Nevertheless, Peres is undaunted. He tells interviewers that he sees no point to pessimism. He will not give up on the peace process. In fact, he has deepened his commitment to it. He seems to have persuaded some of the Likud ministers to accept a form of arbitration over the Taba salient. Once the Taba issue is resolved, Peres intends to meet with President Mubarak of Egypt. He will try to convince Mubarak to recommit himself to the “spirit of Camp David” and to bring King Hussein along. It won't be an easy task but for Peres the optimist—it's the only way he knows. □

—M.J.R.

# N.E.R.

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# NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

VOL XXIX NO. 51 DECEMBER 23, 1985

## EDITORIAL

### Jordan's Path

On Dec. 16 the United Nations General Assembly voted on—and passed—Agenda item 38, which consisted of four pieces of anti-Israel rhetoric. For those who may have thought that the United Nations was going soft, it may be instructive to consider some of the language overwhelmingly approved by the world body.

Item 38 declared that peace in the Middle East can only be accomplished through “the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem.” It stated that any peace agreement must “enable the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, to exercise its inalienable rights, including the right to return and the right of self-determination, national independence, and the establishment of its independent sovereign state in Palestine. . . .”

Item 38 condemned Israel's administration of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights. It denounced its “increasing collaboration” with South Africa. It called Israel's treatment of the Palestinian Arabs a violation of international law. It urged member states to “cease forthwith, individually and collectively, all dealings with Israel in order to totally isolate it in all fields.”

Most ominously, it declared that Israel is “not a peace-loving state.” This phrase sounds fairly innocuous in view of

the rhetoric that preceded it. But it is anything but innocuous. According to its charter, the United Nations is only open to “peace-loving states.” By stating that Israel is not “peace-loving,” the United Nations majority has taken another step toward expelling Israel altogether. It isn't likely to take that final step—if only because the Reagan Administration has promised to walk out if Israel is expelled. Still, the signs are clear. The United Nations of the “Zionism is Racism” resolution is alive and well.

Perhaps it shouldn't be a surprise—although it is—that Jordan, which supposedly is seeking peace with Israel, voted for the harshest anti-Israeli rhetoric. Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Iran, Libya, and Syria were the obvious leaders of the virulent anti-Israel onslaught. But Jordan—the Jordan which supposedly has embraced the peace process—also voted four times for a resolution which would deny Israel the right to exist in peace. It is not hard to appreciate the pressures Amman is under. After all, it can hardly afford to antagonize the militants who have about as much use for Jordan as for Israel. Nevertheless, peace does entail risks. In the Middle East, it certainly entails breaking away from the rejectionists who are set on a holy war to eliminate the “Zionist entity.” Amman seems to believe that it can have it both ways. It can send sweet signals to Shimon Peres at the same time as it strives to maintain its *bonafides* with the radicals. It can't. Peace will require hard choices. It doesn't appear that Jordan is ready for them. □

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### Taba Progress

*Kol Yisrael* (Dec. 17) reports major progress toward resolution of the Taba boundary dispute. According to the report, recent Egypt-Israel talks have produced a “package deal” under which Israel will accept modified arbitration of the dispute in return for Egyptian moves toward normalization. Under the plan, Egypt's ambassador will return to Tel Aviv after the arbitration bill is signed. A Peres-Mubarak summit will then be scheduled and commercial and cultural ties will be renewed.

Labor and Likud have been sharply divided on the Taba question. Prime Minister Peres and his Labor party have been willing to accept arbitration of the dispute, as demanded by Cairo. Foreign Minister Shamir has insisted on conciliation, as provided for in the Camp David peace treaty. *Kol Yisrael* notes that, because of their differences, both Peres and Shamir will avoid placing

Taba on the Cabinet's agenda. Peres has indicated that he might be ready to bring down the Labor-Likud unity government if Shamir blocks improved Egypt ties. Shamir is equally adamant. Neither, however, wants a government break-up yet.

### Relations Renewed

Israel and the Ivory Coast announced after a meeting in Geneva between Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Ivory Coast President Felix Houphouet-Boigny that they will resume diplomatic relations. Peres said “that he expected ties also would be reestablished ‘in the very near future’ with two other African countries but declined to name them” (Associated Press, Dec. 18).

Israel now has ties with five black African nations: Lesotho, Liberia, Malawi, Swaziland and Zaire. Most African countries broke relations with Israel under pres-

sure from Arab oil suppliers after the 1973 Yom Kippur war. Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir has made restoration of ties with black Africa a major policy objective.

### Fundamentalists Foiled

In Tripoli, Lebanon's second largest city, “all funds and property of a fundamentalist Moslem movement have been confiscated” (Reuters, Dec. 16). The news service reported that the assets of the Islamic Unification Front, known as Tawheed, were confiscated by Lebanese police backed by Syrian troops.

Tawheed—which demanded an Islamic government for Lebanon—lost a five-week battle for the city with Syrian-backed leftist militias in September. An estimated 500 people died and 1,500 were wounded in the fighting, which received little press coverage in the United States. □

## PERSPECTIVE

# Diplomatic Options Reviewed

A senior Administration official told reporters last week that the United States would have a clearer picture of the Middle East diplomatic terrain after imminent meetings between Jordan's King Hussein and Syrian President Hafez Assad and between Hussein and PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat. The official, who spoke on the condition that he not be identified, offered a cautiously optimistic evaluation of the Arab-Israeli "peace process" in 1985.

He noted that a "convergence" of views had developed between Jordan and Israel in four main areas: the need for prompt and direct negotiations; agreement that the outcome of talks could not be guaranteed in advance; acceptance of an "international forum" for the direct talks; and recognition that a preliminary dialogue between the United States and a Palestinian Arab delegation should be shelved "as an unnecessary complicating factor."

The two outstanding issues between Amman and Jerusalem, according to the senior official, remain the nature of the international conference or forum which would set the stage for direct talks and the composition of Palestinian Arab representation. "Neither of these are simple issues and I don't want to minimize . . . the difficulties involved. Nor am I standing here today to guarantee early resolution of either."

The official said that Hussein believes

that the PLO has not met its "historic challenge"—to give up terrorism in favor of diplomacy. He said that residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip resent the PLO for its past and present political failures but still identify with it. And while noting that "those who espouse violence don't have a claim to sitting at the negotiating table," he added that although Washington has "disagreements" with the PLO, it "is not at war" with the organization.

Amman's rapprochement with Damascus "does not mean that Jordan is "backsliding" on the peace process, according to the official. "Jordan from the beginning has said that it is not looking for a separate peace with Israel. Jordan wanted to sit with a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, with an Israeli delegation but within an international framework to which Syria, Lebanon and Egypt . . . would also be involved." A recent Syrian-Jordanian communique which condemned any "separate deals" or direct negotiations with Israel left room for direct talks under some sort of international auspices, the official insisted.

However, other observers sound less hopeful than the Administration official. One, Rep. Larry Smith, (D-Fla.), a member of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, discounted what he said was the State Department's vague optimism. "The facts on the

ground are insufficient to warrant any expectation of change."

An unofficial Israeli source saw a plus and a minus for the peace process in the year's developments. "I don't believe there was real progress, but perhaps some psychological progress. King Hussein is seen more clearly now as the true interlocutor—potentially—with Israel." But that change is mostly one of images, he added.

This source also believes that there was "some erosion of the U.S. position regarding the PLO." Administration representatives repeatedly stressed the firm policy of not dealing with the PLO until it accepts U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, desists from violence and recognizes Israel's right to exist. But the source recalled that the Prime Minister's office said that some U.S. officials wanted Israel to accept the PLO in the peace process without the organization's explicit recognition of the Jewish state.

An Israeli diplomat, who never subscribed to the characterization of 1985 as a "make-or-break" year for the peace process, felt "we achieved some kind of limited progress between Israel and Jordan about the need for some political process between these two countries. Everyone is more aware of the other's problems and difficulties. . . . But on the practical level, not much happened." —E.R. □

## HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

### Mike Barnes' Plea

Congressman MICHAEL BARNES (D-Md.) has urged President Reagan to pardon five Washington-area rabbis who were sentenced to prison for protesting at the Soviet embassy. The rabbis are serving a 15-day jail term at the Federal Correctional Institute in Petersburg, Va.

In a telegram to Reagan, Barnes said that the sentences imposed on the rabbis were "unusually harsh." He added that their jailing is "an outrage, particularly in the middle of Chanukah and in light of the government's refusal to prosecute demonstrators in front of the South African embassy."

Barnes, who says that he has introduced a bill urging a Presidential pardon for the rabbis, noted that "it offends the moral conscience that those who protest harsh Soviet treatment of Jews would be so treated in our own system."

The rabbis were convicted of violating a Washington, D.C. ordinance prohibiting demonstrations within 500 feet of an embassy. They chose prison rather than pleading guilty.

### More Arms Cosponsors

Reps. JAMES BROYHILL (R-N.C.), PAUL HENRY (R-Mich.), PARREN MITCHELL (D-Md.), WILLIAM NATCHER (D-Ky.), HENRY NOWAK (D-N.Y.), CHARLES STENHOLM (D-Tex.), PAT SWINDALL (R-Ga.) and HAROLD VOLKMER (D-Mo.) have cosponsored the resolution disapproving the arms sale to Jordan.

The resolution currently has 286 cosponsors. Supporters have vowed to bring the resolution to a vote if "direct and meaningful" negotiations between Israel and

Jordan are not under way by early next year.

### Markey Wins Freedom

Through the efforts of Rep. ED MARKEY (D-Mass.), 17-year-old Mikhail Stukalin will be allowed to leave the Soviet Union to join his mother and brother in the United States. Markey, a member of the Congressional Helsinki Commission, was in Moscow in September to discuss arms control and human rights issues and made a special plea on Mikhail's behalf.

Mikhail's mother had left the Soviet Union with her eldest son. His father, whose requests for an exit visa were repeatedly denied, died last June.

Markey said his intervention was "a simple humanitarian request."

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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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## ANALYSIS

# Syrian Missile Moves

In the last few weeks, Syria has moved several SAM-2, SAM-6, and SAM-8 surface-to-air missiles close to the Syrian-Lebanese border. The new anti-aircraft emplacements will make it much more difficult for Israel to continue its surveillance flights over Lebanon—flights necessary to monitor PLO and Shi'ite terrorist infiltration in that country.

Initially, Israeli reaction to the Syrian move was vehement. Army chief-of-staff Moshe Levy noted that shortly before the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon a similar Syrian missile deployment had resulted in Israeli airstrikes against the SAMs.

Speaking on television, Levy said that Israel "requires freedom of flight over Lebanon because there is no government there that is capable of ensuring what every sovereign state must assure in its territory. And if there are terrorists there, we must maintain the capacity to attack them and know where they are."

Privately, many Israelis conceded that Syria's decision to move the missile batteries to the border came after Israeli fighter pilots downed two Syrian MIGs in Syrian airspace on Nov. 19. At that time, Israeli officials stated that the Syrian planes had behaved in a threatening manner. But Member of Knesset Abba Eban, chairman of the Knesset's Defense and Foreign Affairs Committee, now says that Israeli pilots made a mistake in shooting down the Syrian planes. According to the *New York Times* (Dec. 17), he believes that the Syrian missile deployment "apparently

is a reaction to an erroneous act on our part." He says that there is little Israel can do about the missiles.

Israel could, however, attack the emplacements—a course which may become necessary if Syria shoots down an Israeli reconnaissance plane. Nevertheless, Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin says that he does not expect a war. "In today's reality, given the existing lines between Israel and the confrontation states, I can see no political reason that would justify Israel's initiating a war," he said.

Meanwhile, Prime Minister Shimon Peres said in Lod that he attributed Syria's military moves to Hafez Assad's "striving to attain leadership in the Arab world and to realize the age-old Syrian dream of 'Greater Syria.'" He said that Assad will seek "strategic balance" with Israel until he believes that strategic superiority is within reach. At that point, the fragile calm that exists between Israel and Syria could evaporate.

Not every Israeli shares the view that Syria's movement of the SAMs was provoked by the dogfight on Nov. 19. Military commentator Ron Ben-Ishai, writing in the Dec. 16 *Yediot Achronot*, said that "one can argue about whether the decision to shoot down the two Syrian MIG-23's . . . was correct" but it would be a "mistake to believe that this was the only reason the Syrians deployed the missiles" on the Lebanon border.

He pointed out that the anti-aircraft missiles require sites which are dug out in ad-

vance. Syrian preparation for the deployment "began far prior to the recent dogfight." He said that Syria's objective is not retaliation for a single incident but "to limit Israel's freedom to fly over most of Lebanon. The dogfight was only an excuse. . . ."

"The main motive behind Syria's move is political. The Syrians consider Lebanon their exclusive zone of influence, and as long as Israeli planes fly over Lebanon without interference, their control there is not total." He noted that there is also the "military motive—preventing Israel from obtaining essential information on the movement of terrorists and the Syrian army. . . ."

Ben-Ishai added that Israel has to view the Syrian move as serious. Jerusalem cannot forgo the information it obtains from its reconnaissance flights over Lebanon. On the other hand, it understands that taking out the missile batteries would entail serious dangers for Israel—including, perhaps, Soviet military involvement or a Soviet-backed Syrian attempt to use SAM-5's to threaten Israeli planes flying over Israel.

That explains why Israel now seems to be downplaying the significance of the "missile crisis." Neither Israel nor Syria wants war. Rabin spoke for the Israeli leadership when he said that there "is no reason to panic." Israel will do everything it can—probably with the help of the United States—to help Syria climb down from the brink. □

—M.J.R.

## HEARD IN WASHINGTON

## Reflections from Breger

Marshall Breger, the Reagan Administration's liaison to the Jewish community from December 1983 to October 1985, now works as the chairman of the United States Conference on Administration. And although he makes it clear he has no intention of second-guessing his successor, Max Green, Breger still follows closely issues of community interest.

A former staff member at the Heritage Foundation, Breger said that he took over as liaison at an opportune time. "I came in after the Shamir-Reagan summit in November 1983. There was a clear change in the course of the U.S.-Israel relationship, with the President rejecting the idea of linkage between assistance for Israel—economic, moral and political—and specific Israeli policy decisions."

The liaison's job is to keep the lines of communication between the Administra-

tion and the community open for two-way traffic, Breger said. He found a desire among senior Administration figures to "understand and be knowledgeable about the views and concerns of the Jewish community"—even if they did not always accept political positions based on those views.

Breger cited three actions as peaks in his term as public liaison. They were the rescue of Ethiopian Jewry; the passage of legislation creating a Free Trade Area (FTA) between the United States and Israel; and the deepening of bilateral relations in general—including strategic cooperation.

The most disturbing moment during his tenure at the White House was the President's decision to visit the German war cemetery at Bitburg, where Nazi S.S. troops are buried. Breger, members of whose family are Holocaust survivors, felt

the pressure from all sides. Acknowledging the strains the Bitburg visit created between the Administration and the Jewish community, Breger added that "the remarkable thing was that relations bounced back so quickly."

He said there was also a period of disappointment "in terms of our anti-terrorism policy, but now we are active. Some of the credit goes to Abe [Judge Abraham] Sofaer, the State Department's new legal adviser. We are moving to take strong action against terrorism," Breger asserted.

He defended the need for a public liaison. Praising the work Max Green is doing, Breger said, "It's important for the White House to know the pulse of the community. That's easy to lose in the welter of bureaucracy." □

BACK PAGE

## Indicting the PLO

On Mar. 1, 1973, eight "Black September" PLO terrorists seized hostages at a reception at the Saudi embassy in Khartoum, the capital of Sudan. The terrorists immediately issued a set of demands which included the release from San Quentin prison of Sen. Robert Kennedy's killer, Sirhan Sirhan. They also demanded freedom for imprisoned members of the German Baader-Meinhof gang and for a group of *Afatah* terrorists being held in Jordan.

Twenty-four hours later—their demands unmet—the terrorists selected three of their Western hostages for special treatment. They were U.S. Ambassador Cleo Noel, U.S. Charge d'Affaires George C. Moore and Belgian diplomat Guy Eid. The three were ordered to write farewell letters to their families, beaten beyond recognition, and then methodically murdered.

The terrorists then surrendered to Sudanese authorities who released two of them for lack of evidence. The other six were sentenced to life imprisonment but their sentences were quickly commuted. By November 1974, they were back with their PLO compatriots.

That might have been the end of the story. But it wasn't. It quickly turned out that the murders at Khartoum were not the random acts of Black September but were acts of premeditated murder which may have been ordered by none other than Yasir Arafat. Four weeks after the murders, the *Washington Post* (Apr. 5, 1973) was the first to report that Arafat was in Black September's command headquarters in Beirut when the order to kill the three diplomats was issued. The *Post's* David Ottaway wrote that "it was not clear whether Arafat personally . . . gave the order to carry out the executions using the code word 'Cold River.' But there are reports that Arafat was present . . . when the message was sent and that he personally congratulated the guerrillas after the execution. . . ."

Today, almost 13 years later, declassified communiques released under the Freedom of Information Act point to Arafat's direct involvement in the murders. According to Neil C. Livingstone, co-author of the just-published *Fighting Back: Winning the War Against Terrorism*, a confidential State Department cable sent to Washington from the U.S. embassy in Khartoum on Mar. 7, 1973 stated that the terrorists "did not murder Ambassador Noel and Moore . . . until receiving specific code word instructions" from the PLO's Beirut headquarters. Even more damning is the alleged existence of a tape recording on which Arafat is heard issuing the order to kill the diplomats. The former director of the Central Intelligence Agency (and current United

Nations ambassador) Vernon Walters said last month that it was "common knowledge at the time . . . that a tape existed."

Based on this evidence—new and old—several influential Washington organizations are seeking to indict Arafat for the murders of the two American diplomats. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, Attorney-General Edwin Meese has received the "new allegations" about Arafat's role in the killings. His indictment is, again according to a *Times* article, "under active consideration."

In practical terms, an indictment of Arafat by the United States would seriously cramp the PLO leader's style. It would make it impossible for him to visit the United Nations in New York without fear of arrest. An outstanding arrest warrant by Washington might also make it difficult for him to travel in Western Europe without risk of extradition to the United States. International airports would also be off-limits to him.

But, even more significant, would be an indictment's symbolic value. Author Livingstone writes that an Arafat indictment would be "an affirmation to the world that the United States does not take lightly the murder of its public servants and citizens" and that "terrorists do not go unpunished. . . ." He says that it would also "strip away [the PLO's] carefully cultivated face of respectability" and expose it and its terrorist allies as "the criminal gangs they really are." He points out that "an indictment of Arafat would not represent an indictment of the Palestinian people." Rather, it would remind the world, including the Arabs, "that law must prevail over violence . . . and that Palestinian interests are best served by people who understand this." □

—M.J.R.

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# NEAR EAST REPORT

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## EDITORIAL

### Shultz on PLO Role

Secretary of State George Shultz has offered an excellent explanation as to why the United States will not negotiate with the PLO. Speaking in London on Dec. 10, Shultz forthrightly acknowledged differences "with some of our European friends over the role of the PLO."

He said that the United States does not so much exclude the PLO from the negotiating process as "the PLO excludes itself. . . ." He said that he has yet to see evidence that the PLO has become "a more moderate organization." He says that it has neither renounced "armed struggle" nor accepted United Nations Resolutions 242 and 338.

Until it does, the United States does not view the PLO as "entitled to any payment in advance. . . ." in the form of a place at the negotiating table. Shultz also backed Israel's refusal to deal with the terrorists. "A country," he said, "cannot be expected to make concessions to those who resort to terrorism and who treat negotiation as only a way station on the road to its ultimate destruction."

Shultz criticized those who argue that the "slowness of the peace process is a source of radicalism" because "it builds frustration." He pointed out that violence comes from "the enemies of peace"—from the very people "who would be angry if the peace process were making progress." He said that these "extremists must be resisted, not appeased. They must be shown that military options don't exist, that blackmail and pressures will get nowhere—and that negotiation is the only possible hope. . . ."

The Shultz speech is evidence of Washington's growing resistance to appeasing terrorists and their apologists. It can only be

hoped that the Secretary's audience in Europe—and around the world—will take his words to heart.

### Paragons of Virtue

Western Europeans have been at the vanguard of those who criticize Israel for its minuscule trade relationship with South Africa. Accordingly, it will be interesting to watch how they—and their imitators in the United States—handle the latest statistics on South Africa's coal exports.

According to the Reuters news service, it turns out that Common Market countries continue "to buy more than half" of South Africa's coal exports. Led by Italy and France, the Europeans imported 19.6 million tons of South African coal last year at a cost of \$800 million. This was 52% of Pretoria's 1984 coal exports.

Equally interesting is the reason why some of the European states prefer South African coal over other varieties. A report issued by an agency of the Common Market's parliament says that South African coal profits from "extremely favorable conditions of both exploitation and transport. . . ." It cites the "impact of the wage structure, the social security policy, and security standards" in the coal mines. In other words, apartheid's substandard conditions for (mostly black) miners helps give South African coal the competitive edge.

It is worth noting that Israeli imports of Pretoria's coal equal roughly 8% of the Common Market's total and that Israel is finding new suppliers. This should blunt some of the attacks made by critics of Israeli trade with South Africa. But it probably won't. That is because the motivation of many critics is slandering Israel, not ending apartheid. □

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### 'No' From Moscow

Taking a hard line, the Soviet delegate to Israel's RAKAH (Communist Party) convention in Haifa said that his country would not renew diplomatic relations even if Jerusalem agreed to Russian participation in an international conference on the Middle East (*Kol Yisrael*, Dec. 6). Mikhail Menashev declared that "before diplomatic relations are restored, territorial problems must be solved." [Moscow previously has insisted on Israel's withdrawal from the territories gained in the 1967 Six-Day War as a precondition to improved relations.]

Menashev added that the Soviet position on the emigration of Russian Jewry remains unchanged and denied that the

teaching of Hebrew in the Soviet Union is regarded as a crime.

At least 19 of the 20 Communist parties invited from both Soviet-bloc and Western nations sent representatives to the tiny RAKAH party's 20th convention. Israel's President Chaim Herzog addressed the opening, telling reporters that "every possibility and every slim ray of hope to bring about a positive change" regarding Soviet Jewry must be exploited.

### Mubarak Hints

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak may be willing to accept a 30-day period of "in-

formal conciliation" on the Taba dispute instead of proceeding directly to binding arbitration (*Ha'aretz*, Dec. 11). The Israeli daily reported that if Egypt and Israel reached agreement on that matter, Mubarak would be willing to hold a summit with Prime Minister Shimon Peres. Egypt's President believes that his other two unilateral conditions for thawing relations have been met—Israeli troop withdrawal from Lebanon and "flexibility" regarding treatment of Palestinian Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. He told the *Washington Post* two days earlier that a summit could be accompanied by the return of Egypt's ambassador to Israel.

(Continued)

## HEARD IN WASHINGTON

# Differing on the Peace Process

**T**he Middle East today is a tinderbox. The points of explosion are real and constant. . . . Time simply is not on the side of peace." In offering that description in a Dec. 5 Washington speech, Sol Linowitz, President Carter's special Middle East envoy, stressed that the autonomy process outlined in the Camp David Accords remains "the only realistic way" to resolve the problem of the Palestinian Arabs on the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Linowitz, one of the U.S. negotiators at Camp David, criticized the Reagan Administration for what he said was failure to assert strong, persistent leadership in the Middle East peace process. "Only the United States has the credibility to impress upon the parties the vital importance of moving forward in the negotiations." But "now the U.S. may have a new opportunity to advance the possibilities which have arisen following the Peres and Hussein initiatives."

Secretary of State George Shultz, speaking to reporters before a speech in London on Dec. 10, denied that the peace process has "fizzled." In his address Shultz said that Middle East violence "comes from the enemies of peace, from those who would be more angry if the peace process were making rapid progress. These extremists must be resisted, not appeased."

He noted Washington's difference with some European allies over the role of the PLO. He stressed that gestures toward the PLO before it changes its goals "only mislead its leaders into thinking that their present inadequate policy is gaining them international acceptance and stature."

At a Washington press conference on Dec. 6, the Secretary said that the Administration is working on two peace process stumbling blocks. These are finding "the

right way . . . to represent Palestinians" and "some sort of appropriate international auspices." Washington and Jerusalem oppose an international conference including the Soviet Union, Syria and the PLO—as proposed by Jordan—but have said some other form of international cover might be acceptable.

Shultz called the results of Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy's latest Middle East trip—including Murphy's talks with Syrian officials—"very interesting." Linowitz, while praising Murphy's "yeoman service," faulted the State Department for "gingerly approaching the issue." He called for the Secretary of State or a new special Middle East negotiator "to get into these discussions and live with them."

According to the former envoy, Camp David was "momentous, but only a beginning." In addition to peace between Israel and Egypt and a transitional period of five years of "full autonomy" for Palestinian Arabs, the Accords were to lead toward a "comprehensive peace in the region." Although "festering problems"—such as Egypt's enduring recall of its ambassador to Israel—mar the peace, the commitment of both countries remains firm, Linowitz said.

He asserted that in the Camp David autonomy negotiations "over 80% of the powers and responsibilities discussed were agreed upon between Egypt and Israel." One of the main difficulties hindering resolution of the remaining 20% was that Palestinian Arabs on the West Bank and Gaza "have never been willing to participate in the negotiations." Linowitz said that on the basis of conversations with Palestinian Arabs he believes "that despite public denunciations and condemnations [of auto-

my], they would not turn down an opportunity to assume meaningful control over their lives." Acceptance of autonomy could come through "their own duly elected leaders."

Linowitz expressed disappointment at both Jordan and Saudi Arabia's recent diplomatic moves, including King Hussein's claim earlier this year that PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat was ready to accept U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, and the King's insistence on Soviet participation in an international conference. "The Soviets haven't given any indication that they would be helpful," Linowitz said.

Instead of stewing over the problem of Palestinian Arab representation and a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, Linowitz suggested that the United States focus on finding common ground between Jordan and Israel. Top U.S. representatives should work closely with Egypt's President Mubarak "and encourage his active participation and leadership since he is the lone Arab leader who has relations with both Israel and Jordan."

And Washington should recognize that "acceptable Palestinian representation is not likely to occur . . . until it becomes clear that progress can really be made at the negotiating table toward self-government for the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza." Meanwhile, "Jordan and Egypt should be encouraged to explore with Israel on behalf of the Palestinians the possibilities of such progress."

A conflicting signal came from Egypt. Mubarak, in a *Washington Post* interview (Dec. 9), reiterated Cairo's insistence on the need for a major role by the Palestine Liberation Organization in the Middle East peace process and accused the United States of attempting to weaken it. E.R. □

## VIEWING . . . Continued

ation of Palestine and the PLO's "Force 17" claimed responsibility for the kidnapping and stabbing death of an Israeli soldier, Moshe Levi, 18, (Radio Monte Carlo, Dec. 6). However, the DFLP said that it shot the victim; "Force 17" claimed that it stabbed him. Israel radio had reported a few hours

## Terrorist Claims

Both the Democratic Front for the Liberation earlier that Levi apparently had been

stabbed and his body set on fire.

## Summit

Syrian Prime Minister Abdel Raouf al-Kassem disclosed that a meeting in Damascus between President Hafez Assad and Jordan's King Hussein was likely before the end of the month (Reuters, Dec. 11). Kassem spoke in Amman, the Jordanian capital, at the end of the fourth round of reconciliation talks between the neighboring states. Hussein's trip "would seal a rap-

prochement between the two neighboring countries" which was brokered three months ago by Saudi Arabia at the request of the Arab League.

The wire service noted that sources of Jordanian-Syrian tension included Amman's backing of Iraq in the war with Iran and its support of Yasir Arafat's wing of the PLO. Damascus supports Iran and the PLO's anti-Arafat factions, but that "both sides . . . are against direct peace talks with Israel." □

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## ANALYSIS

# OPEC Declares Price War

Saudi Oil Minister Sheik Ahmed Yamani was whistling in the graveyard when he called on Norway, Great Britain, and other oil producers to join Riyadh in preventing an oil price slide. "If there is no cooperation," he said, "the [crude oil] price will come down drastically."

Yamani's warning came a little late. The price of oil had dropped by a dollar a barrel even as Yamani was speaking at a meeting of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in Geneva. A day later the price fell another \$2.28. That price—which has been as high as \$34 a barrel—is now down to \$25 and still fluctuating. Analysts say that it could hit \$20 in 1986.

OPEC ministers, fearful that the bottom is dropping out of the oil market, say that the per barrel price could plummet even further if non-OPEC oil producers like Norway and Great Britain open up the taps. That would mean hard times for the OPEC producers.

OPEC clearly is ready to go down fighting—even if it destroys itself in the process. In a communique issued from Geneva, OPEC announced that it was abandoning oil producing quotas as a means of propping up prices. Instead, it will secure its "fair share" of the market by every means at its disposal. It will cut prices, increase production, or both, in an effort to achieve that share. In short, it is prepared to wage a price war with non-OPEC producers. Saudi Arabia's Yamani said that it is the "the non-OPEC producers" who "must give up part of their share in the market. . . . That's the basic premise of the policy." He thinks that they should understand that what is good for OPEC is good for them.

The non-OPEC producers, like Great Britain with its North Sea fields, do not see things Yamani's way. Britain quickly responded to Yamani with a firm statement that "the government has no intention" of cutting back production.

Eli Bergman, executive director of the Washington-based Americans for Energy Independence, contends that both the OPEC and non-OPEC producers have little choice but to keep on pumping, even though that means cheaper oil. "Iraq and Iran both need the cash to pay for their endless war and to compensate their populations for the suffering produced by it. The Saudi economy is running record deficits. The British economy is in bad shape. As for the Soviets, they play the oil market like a virtuoso violin, shaving prices when they need to finance a bread and guns economy."

Bergman says that OPEC brought on its own decline by pushing prices too high too fast. Between 1973 and 1980, OPEC forced

the world oil price from \$3 to \$34 a barrel. The "price shock" of 1979-80 was the last straw—triggering a worldwide recession that forced millions of people out of work in the West and crushing the economies of a number of the developing states. Ironically, that OPEC-created recession hurt the producers badly. It doesn't take much oil to run a factory that has shut down. It also caused many users of oil to switch to other energy sources: natural gas, coal, and nuclear power. Says Bergman: "The market really does work. High oil prices forced substitution of other sources and conservation. By 1983, Americans were getting the same unit of output for 25% less energy input. Energy demand dropped by 20%."

Today, OPEC is forced to scramble for its "fair share" while other producers have to worry about how aggressive the cartel will be. Falling prices will be especially difficult for countries like Great Britain and Norway where production costs are far higher than they are for the Saudis and other Middle East producers. Poor oil producers like Mexico, Nigeria, and Indonesia will also be hurt by declining oil revenue.

For most Americans, however, the decline and fall of OPEC—and an oil price

war—is good news. Home heating oil will be cheaper as will gasoline and other petroleum based products. The U.S. economy will be able to continue its recovery from the stagnation produced by soaring energy prices in the 1970's. Interest rates should continue to fall. America's reliance on foreign energy sources will decline even further.

But there is a down side too. Bergman says that "just as high energy prices led to more effective conservation and the substitution of other energy sources for oil" Americans must "take care that lower oil prices don't have the opposite effect." He said that there is particular reason for concern because it is unlikely that there will be any large new oil finds in the United States in the next few years. He notes that more than 50% of proven oil reserves are in the Middle East.

Bergman says that it is essential that Americans keep doing what they were forced to do by OPEC during the last dozen years: develop new energy sources of all kinds and use less. That will ensure that OPEC's decline will remain a cause for celebration.

—M.J.R.

## Against Terror

The United Nations General Assembly, acting without a formal vote, unanimously adopted a resolution on Dec. 9 "condemning all acts of terrorism as criminal." Using a loose definition, the resolution refers to "acts of international terrorism in all its forms which endanger or take innocent lives, jeopardize fundamental freedoms and seriously impair the dignity of human beings."

Israel's Ambassador Benjamin Netanyahu supported the proposal while doubting that countries like Iran, Libya, South Yemen and Syria would live up to it. "Some of the states that voted for the resolution are the worst offenders. They don't prosecute terrorists, they defend them. They don't prevent hijackings, they encourage them. They don't extradite terrorists, they give them villas and cash bonuses."

Libya's ambassador interrupted Netanyahu, accusing Israel of practicing "state terrorism" against its Arab enemies. Hardline Arab states and the PLO—a non-voting observer at the U.N.—said they accepted the call to "refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in terrorist acts" because the resolution also recognized the legitimacy of national liberation movements and the right of peoples to self-determination. Netanyahu condemned the linking of terrorism to struggles for self-determination.

Although U.S. Ambassador Vernon Walters said that approval of the U.N. resolution constituted "a symbol of new times," comments by Palestine Liberation Front leader Mohammed Abbas demonstrated the persistence of familiar self-justifications for terrorism. Abbas, wanted by the Justice Department for organizing the Achille Lauro hijacking, told a weekly in the United Arab Emirates on Dec. 5 that "the United States, which has backed continued aggression against the Palestinian people . . . has no right to accuse anyone of being a terrorist."

Abbas claimed that he was not a terrorist. "Rather, it is Ronald Reagan who is the chief terrorist." A member of the PLO executive committee, Abbas insisted that his "fighters fight for the sake of freedom" and reiterated his commitment to Yasir Arafat's "Cairo declaration" against terrorism. Abbas also pledged "to struggle against Israel in the land of Palestine and reply if Israel hits the Palestinians anywhere in the world." He commented that "territory occupied in 1967 and 1948 is called Palestine—in its entirety." □

## BACK PAGE

## Mixed Signals

The last few months have not been easy ones for President Hosni Mubarak and his government. The Jordanian-PLO initiative—brokered by Cairo—has gone nowhere. The Achille Lauro hijacking, and particularly its aftermath, harmed relations with Washington. And, to add insult to injury, Mubarak was widely criticized abroad for the Egyptian attempt to free the hijacked Egyptair passengers in Malta. More than 60 people died in the rescue attempt.

A recent editorial in *Al Ahram* (Nov. 29) reflects the prevalent Egyptian view that Cairo is damned when it does and when it doesn't. It asserts that the "very people" who have accused Cairo of mishandling the airliner rescue "would have criticized Egypt and accused it of feebleness had it not" stormed the plane.

The Malta tragedy only underscored Egypt's dilemma. Egypt is the leading Arab nation, the historic keeper of the pan-Arab flame. Yet, it is the only Arab country at peace with Israel and one of the few with good ties to Washington. As a nation it is on a tight rope. It alternates its bows toward the United States and Israel with ones toward the PLO and the Arab rejectionists. Not surprisingly, the foreign policy pronouncements that come out of Cairo are somewhat schizoid.

The latest from Mubarak was typical. In an interview with the *Washington Post* (Dec. 9), Mubarak praised Prime Minister Shimon Peres. He said that the Israeli leader had demonstrated "very good flexibility" in his handling of the Lebanon withdrawal and living conditions for West Bank Arabs. "He is doing his best really," he said. He added that the only thing now blocking a meeting with Peres is the Tabá border dispute.

Mubarak also said that his relations with Washington are now good. He said that the United States and Egypt are cooperating in the anti-terrorism effort.

In the same interview, however, the Egyptian president emphatically backed Yasir Arafat and the PLO. "The PLO," he said, "is the sole representative of the Palestinians, whether we like it or not." He said that "trying to solve the [Arab-Israeli] problem and . . . trying to ignore the PLO will never lead to peace." He said that he had not "put any pressure" on Arafat to accept United Nations Resolutions 242 and 338.

Mubarak also pushed an international peace conference as the best forum for achieving a solution, overlooking the fact that it was direct Egyptian-Israeli negotiations that produced the Camp David peace treaty.

Mubarak clearly expects the American

government to understand that he is in a bind—that he can't stray too far from the Arab consensus. To a degree, Washington does understand that. Anyone who has read the history of the Middle East knows that Hosni Mubarak demonstrates courage just by maintaining peace with Israel. Still, Americans have the right to expect more. The Camp David treaty was meant to be the start of a dynamic process which would involve Jordan, Palestinian Arabs, and, ultimately, the rest of the Arab world. Unfortunately, the process seems stagnant. Mubarak's continued backing of Arafat and the PLO is a significant part of the problem.

• • •

After reading Deborah Lipstadt's *Beyond Belief*, I had thought that perhaps the final word had been written about American reaction to the Holocaust. However, another important new book provides more troubling information. Haskel Lookstein has written *Were We Our Brothers' Keepers?* (Hartmore House) which specifically examines the American Jewish community's reaction (or lack of it) to the events in Europe between 1939 and 1945.

Lookstein, an Orthodox rabbi, concludes that the American Jewish community could have done much more than it did during those years of horror. Or, at the very least, it could have cared more. The concluding words of this valuable book are worth noting. "The Final Solution may have been *unstoppable* by American Jewry, but it should have been *unbearable* for them. And it wasn't." □

—M.J.R.

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Mr. Max Green  
The White House  
197 OEB  
Washington DC 20500

# NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

VOL XXIX NO. 49 DECEMBER 9, 1985

## EDITORIALS

### Israel's Apology

Prime Minister Shimon Peres has apologized to the United States government for the alleged spying activities of Jonathan Pollard, a Navy counterintelligence analyst. He said that "spying on the United States stands in total contradiction to our policy" but added that, if the allegations are proven true, Israel will take steps "to ensure that such activities are not repeated." Secretary of State George Shultz pronounced Peres' statement "excellent" and says that he is "satisfied" by it.

The Secretary's reaction is typical of those of Israel's friends in Washington. Secretary Shultz is, justifiably, disturbed by revelations of Pollard's activities. At the same time he does not want to see the U.S.-Israel relationship—a relationship with invaluable benefits to both sides—jeopardized by a bad mistake.

There are those, of course, who will use the Pollard affair as a tool with which to attempt to undermine the relationship. Columnist Robert Novak, of the inimitable Evans & Novak duo, has already told a television audience that the spy scandal provides additional evidence of Israel's overall unworthiness. For Novak—and others of his ilk—the Pollard case represents sheer joy, grist for the anti-Israel mill.

But for most Americans and Israelis, the case is a cause for sorrow. American support for Israel over the last two decades has provided a living demonstration that generosity and friendship can exist within the context of international relations. And Israel's backing for America has proven again and again that a small democratic state can greatly ease the regional burdens of a superpower. Ironically, some of Israel's most significant contributions to the United States have

come in the intelligence and counterintelligence areas.

The U.S.-Israel alliance must not be impaired by Pollard's alleged actions or—it must be noted—by U.S. intelligence activities against Israel. Peres' apology and his commitment to aid the U.S. investigation of the Pollard scandal is a first step toward ensuring that the foundation of trust upon which the U.S.-Israel relationship is built is not weakened. Secretary Shultz's reaction is an important second step. As for the rest, it's in the courts.

### The ADC Fire

On Nov. 29 fire destroyed the Washington, D.C. headquarters of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC). The conflagration, which fortunately took no lives, caused \$500,000 in damages.

This is the latest in a series of threats and attacks against ADC offices around the country. The most tragic occurred in Santa Ana, California on Oct. 11. In that incident, a terrorist's bomb killed 41-year old Alex Odeh, ADC's West Coast director.

ADC spokespersons have rightly called upon law enforcement agencies to provide additional security for Arab-American leaders and their organizations. All Americans who care about freedom of expression and simple justice should urge the FBI to undertake a serious effort to apprehend the perpetrators of these criminal acts.

The attacks against the ADC are assaults not only against that organization but against all individuals and groups which exercise rights guaranteed by the Constitution. Terrorists and thugs must not be permitted to erode our most fundamental freedoms. These attacks must be stopped. □

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### Syrian Support

Syria, citing an "imperialist conspiracy" against Libya, pledged to support the Qaddafi regime "with all the means and methods that the confrontation requires." In the wake of the hijacking and rescue attempt of the Egyptair passenger plane which left 60 people, including one American woman and one Israeli woman, dead, Egyptian authorities charged that Libya may have been responsible. At the time, Egyptian troops on the border with Libya were placed on alert.

Syrian Foreign Minister Abdal Halim Khaddam traveled to Tripoli, where he announced that "those who are thinking of

committing aggression against Libya . . . will be facing the resources of Libya and Syria at the same time" (Syrian Arab News Agency, Dec. 2). In Damascus the paper of the ruling Ba'ath party charged that "by mounting aggression against Libya through the Camp David regime [Egypt], the United States will try to reshuffle the cards in the region" (*Al-Ba'ath*, Dec. 1).

### Another PLO No

Farouk Kaddoumi, head of the PLO's political department, "has stressed that the PLO will never recognize the Zionist entity's right to exist because it is a hostile presence in the Middle East which cannot

be recognized" (Baghdad Voice of the PLO, Dec. 1). Kaddoumi insisted "that a just and lasting peace must guarantee the Palestinian [Arab] people's right to repatriation, self-determination, and to establish their independent state without any foreign interference."

One of PLO Yasir Arafat's three top aides, Kaddoumi also said that Israel should not be allowed "to affect security and peace regardless of the price because the Zionist entity is an imperialist plan . . . . We should not imagine that the United States and the Zionist enemy work for peace." His remarks followed an interview by Arafat in which the PLO leader

(Continued)

## PERSPECTIVE

# Another 'Peace Process' Shuttle

Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy was expected to complete an extended swing through Middle Eastern capitals and return to Washington this week. Ostensibly, Murphy went to brief government leaders in Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia on what happened at the Geneva summit regarding the Middle East. But since the Reagan-Gorbachev meetings reportedly gave little time to the Arab-Israeli dispute, observers in Washington said Murphy probably spent most of his trip looking for ways to get the peace process moving again.

Early on, this was proclaimed "the year of opportunity" for talks between Israel, Jordan and Palestinian Arabs by King Hussein, Prime Minister Peres and Presidents Reagan and Mubarak. Hussein repeatedly called this the "last chance" for a peaceful resolution of the conflict. But as 1985 ends with no negotiations under way, diplomats from Israel, the United States, Egypt and Jordan are downplaying the "deadline."

"I think the process is on hold," said an Israeli official. Its promoters "did not get what they wanted from Jordan or the PLO" because Hussein's rapprochement with Syria is strategic, not tactical, and Jordan is too weak to play games with Hafez Assad.

By moving closer to Damascus, Hussein may be trying to push his call for an international conference with Soviet participation. That squares with some Syrian demands. The Israeli official questioned how improved relations between Jordan and Syria on this basis could be a breakthrough

for the peace process. Bringing Syria and its Soviet patrons—who oppose Hussein's Feb. 11 agreement with Arafat—to the table with Israel "would make things more difficult," he said. "It is in the Soviets' interest to undermine the peace process."

A Jordanian official said "a good possibility exists" that Hussein and Assad will meet soon. He stated that Jordan wants "to have peaceful negotiations with Israel" and believes that without the involvement of Syria—which vehemently rejects the idea of direct, bilateral talks between the Jewish state and its Arab neighbors—such negotiations "will be difficult." He too discounted the idea of a diplomatic deadline, saying that "to measure these developments by days or months is not practical. I'm optimistic—especially as long as the Peres government is not backing away from anything they've said."

A State Department official added that the United States has "goals but not deadlines." Murphy may have renewed the pursuit of one of those goals—a U.S. meeting with a joint Jordanian-Palestinian Arab delegation—during his latest shuttle. He met on Dec. 4 with nine Arab leaders from the West Bank and Gaza at the U.S. consulate in east Jerusalem.

American officials expect U.S. diplomatic activity in the region "to continue into early 1986." However, one said it would be "stretching it" to see the resumption last week of Israeli-Egyptian talks over Taba, with U.S. participation, as a prelude to discussions between Israel and Jordan.

But "obviously the state of Egyptian-Israeli relations is an important part of . . . the entire Middle East atmosphere."

Meanwhile, an interview Arafat gave to Hungarian television on Nov. 28 may have been meant to signal a modification of his position. The PLO leader referred to "an Egyptian-American working document" prepared for the 1977 Geneva conference. In it the two countries allegedly agreed to PLO participation in a joint Arab delegation. "We are flexible," Arafat said.

An Israeli source said that the document referred to Palestinian Arabs but not to the PLO and was meant to make direct Arab-Israeli negotiations possible. A Capitol Hill analyst said that, "If Arafat thinks this will get him into an international conference, he's fooling himself." The PLO knows the price of its admission to the peace process: explicit acceptance of U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, recognition of Israel and an end to terrorism. If, after the Achille Lauro hijacking, Hussein told Arafat to help revive their Feb. 11 agreement—as speculated—then the PLO leader appears to be dropping the ball.

As the year ends, the two problems which continually dogged the peace process persist: who represents the Palestinian Arabs and in what form could "international cover" for direct Arab-Israeli negotiations be found. "If someone asked me what progress had been made, my assessment would be mostly negative," the analyst said. □

—E.R.

## HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

### Klinghoffer Medal

Rep. TED WEISS (D-N.Y.) and Sen. ALPHONSE D'AMATO (R-N.Y.) recently proposed a joint resolution which would award the Congressional Gold Medal posthumously to Leon Klinghoffer, the American murdered early in October during the hijacking of the Achille Lauro cruise ship. In a letter to his colleagues, Weiss noted that Klinghoffer had served in the Army Air Corps in World War II, built a successful business with his brother based on a product they had invented, and then became a philanthropist. According to Weiss, Klinghoffer "was instrumental in establish-

ing a dialysis unit at New York University Hospital, and his contributions and those of his family made possible the construction of the cardiac-pulmonary wing at Beth Israel Hospital in Manhattan."

### Arms Sale Opposed

Reps. COOPER EVANS (R-Iowa), SONNY CALLAHAN (R-Ala.), JAN MEYERS (R-Kans.), STAN LUNDINE (D-N.Y.), and DENNY SMITH (R-Ore.) have cosponsored House Joint Resolution 428 disapproving the sale of sophisticated weapons to Jordan. The resolution currently has 286 cosponsors. Supporters have vowed to bring the resolution to a vote if "direct and mean-

ingful" negotiations between Israel and Jordan are not under way by early next year. □

### Aid Provision

By a 212-208 vote, the House of Representatives approved the continuing resolution (CR) for fiscal 1986 last week. The omnibus appropriations measure contains \$3 billion in all-grant military and economic assistance for Israel, as well as numerous other pro-Israel provisions. Passage of the CR ensures funding for government agencies and programs through September 30, 1986. The Senate is expected to take up the measure this week. □

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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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## EXCLUSIVE

# President Herzog's View

Jerusalem—President Chaim Herzog—one of the architects of Israel's national unity government—is “both very encouraged and very discouraged” about its performance. In an exclusive interview with *Near East Report*, Herzog said that the “withdrawal from Lebanon, which no narrow government could have achieved” heads the list of the government's accomplishments. Another is the government's “enormous effort to overcome the economic crisis and to bring inflation down” as well as the movements toward “a dialogue with Jordan—in whose court the ball now sits.”

Herzog is disappointed, however, that the coalition has not produced a “greater integration”—more of a national consensus on key issues. He had hoped that “the political in-fighting would have been left behind for the period of the national unity government although I didn't expect that any side would abandon its ideas. Unfortunately, the tone within the Cabinet leaves much to be desired.” He decries “the atmosphere of partisanship” which prevails there.

Herzog strongly advocates overhauling Israel's electoral system. He says that when the unity government was formed both large parties proposed to raise the vote total necessary for a party to enter the Knesset and to change to the district system of electing Knesset members. Herzog believes that reforms already implemented in the municipal sector have proven the worth of making the “candidates directly dependent on the electorate” rather than the party.

## PLO Role

As a former head of military intelligence, Herzog can speak with authority when he says that the PLO is “irrelevant” to the peace process. To be relevant, it must be able either “to achieve its goals, which it is not,” or possess a leadership “strong enough to compromise, which it does not.” Yasir Arafat is “a weak leader” who “could not deliver the goods even if he wanted to.”

Herzog believes that the “two elements” Israel must engage in dialogue are the Jordanians and the Palestinian leadership in the West Bank and the Gaza strip, which he praises as “impressive . . . I don't know if King Hussein will take up Mr. Peres' challenge and begin negotiations. But I do know that without his leadership Palestinian leaders in the West Bank and Gaza, with whom I frequently talk, will not come forward, for fear of assassination. What most outside analysts often forget or ignore is the element of fear” preventing those who support accommodation with Israel

from speaking out.

Herzog is also concerned about Israeli extremism. He has taken the lead in efforts to thwart Meir Kahane and his racist schemes. “I have taken the fight to the public arena in Israel, and to American Jewry, where Kahane receives much support. Kahane is an Israeli and a Jewish problem.” Herzog condemned Kahane before the latter was elected to the Knesset in 1984. “In my inauguration speech in the Knesset I said that the great danger to Israel today comes from within and not from without.” When Kahane was elected, he was the only party leader Herzog refused to receive for the traditional round of post-election coalition consultations.

Herzog thinks that those on the political fringe who recently threatened “civil war” if the government agreed to a territorial compromise with Jordan are “very dangerous.” It is very important “for everyone to take a strong stand against them,” he said. “After all, Kahane openly advocates abolishing democracy and negates the Israeli Declaration of Independence. These new threats are a natural corollary to the atmosphere Kahane helped create. The silent majority must now stand up.”

## U.S. Tie

Herzog believes that despite recent mis-

understandings the U.S.-Israel tie “has never been stronger.” Israel has understood for a long time that “its fate is tied to that of the free world and especially to the leader of the free world.” Today, the actions of the Reagan Administration and the Congress “reflect the fact that they are committed to support of Israel not only because they respect the region's only democratic state, but because they see a strong Israel in this part of the world as an integral part of U.S. security interests.”

Chaim Herzog is basically optimistic about the future of his country. Travelling around Israel he has witnessed “enormous development, and the growth of a dynamic youthful local leadership.” Israeli towns and villages have active municipal systems, with “community centers, orchestras, choirs, sports facilities, adult education programs and cultural events.”

He acknowledges that the media, especially the foreign media, portray “the less happy side of the picture.” He says that news reports concentrate on the effects of the economic crisis, but fail to mention that “the majority of the people back the government's attempts to solve the problem.” □

—David Twersky

*Twersky is Near East Report's correspondent in Jerusalem.*

## VIEWING . . . Continued

claimed that “we have told our friends that we are flexible. We are doing everything to advance the cause of peace . . .” Arafat said that the PLO would participate in an international conference with the Soviet Union, the United States, Israel and “a large joint Arab delegation” (Hungarian Television, Nov. 28).

## Wealthy Defendant

The family of Leon Klinghoffer, the American businessman killed by Arab terrorists during the piracy of the *Achille Lauro* cruise ship, is suing the PLO, the ship's owners and others for \$1.5 billion in U.S. District Court in Manhattan and New York State Court (Associated Press, Nov. 27). Attorney Jay Fischer said papers were served on the PLO at the Manhattan office of its representatives to the United Nations. He said that “the time has come . . . to place responsibility for such acts directly at the doorsteps of those who commit these obscenities.”

The PLO apparently can afford to pay such a claim because it “is big business. The terrorist organization is worth about \$6

billion . . . with holdings in real estate, banks, hotels, factories, an airline, farms and plantations in many parts of the world” (*Jerusalem Post*, international edition, Nov. 23).—Citing a story which appeared earlier in the German weekly, *Der Spiegel*, the paper said that the PLO is “the world's richest ‘national liberation movement’” and its leader, Yasir Arafat, acts as “a chairman of the board of a vast financial empire who travels around in a company-owned executive jet.”

## Satisfied Killer

Ian M. Davidson, a Briton accused with two Arabs in the murder of three Israelis, told a Cypriot court that “I am totally happy and satisfied with myself that I have done something specific for the Palestinian case” (Reuters, Dec. 3). Previously, the court entered “not guilty” pleas for the trio after the men admitted the killings but objected to the moral implications of the charges. Davidson and his co-defendants surrendered to police after the slayings of three Israeli civilians on a yacht in Larnaca in late September. □

## BACK PAGE

## Reporting Atrocities

A public opinion poll conducted by the Roper organization reveals that 40% of Americans wish that Jews would stop reminding them about the Holocaust; 46% want to be reminded.

That more Americans want to confront the Holocaust than want to ignore it is surprising. It has been 40 years since the death camps were liberated. In a nation that is not known for its sense of history, it speaks well of the public that it chooses not to look away.

The Roper poll (which was commissioned by the American Jewish Committee) provides empirical evidence that public attitudes have changed since World War II. In her important new book, *Beyond Belief*, Dr. Deborah Lipstadt of UCLA shows that during the Holocaust most Americans chose to ignore what was happening in Europe. Even worse, many Americans had no interest in aiding victims of Nazism.

Lipstadt writes of a January 1939 Gallup poll which found that 66% of Americans said no when asked if "10,000 refugee children" should be "brought into this country and taken care of in American homes." A *Cincinnati Post* poll of women found 77% opposed to the entry of the children.

One reason for the low level of public interest in saving the Jews of Europe might have been the general lack of knowledge about what the Nazis had in store for them. The World War I "atrocities stories" had caused many Americans to adopt a "show me" attitude. They weren't ready to believe that the children they chose not to take in would be put to death. Lipstadt points out that the press was, in large part, responsible for Americans' refusal to take Hitler's war against the Jews seriously.

She writes that the American media adhered to a pattern which she calls "Yes but." Lipstadt writes: "At first it [the press] argued, *Yes*, bad things may be happening *but* not as bad as reported. Subsequently it was willing to acknowledge that *Yes*, many Jews may be victims *but* not as many as claimed. *Yes* many have died, *but* most probably died as a result of war-related privations. *Yes*, many may have been killed *but* not in gas chambers. *Yes*, some Jews may have died in death camps, *but* so did many other people."

It was this attitude which produced the skeptical, underplayed coverage of the Holocaust even after most of the facts about the mass murder of Jews had been confirmed. The *New York Times* provided the most extensive coverage of the killing—but it was still abysmal by any standard. On July 3, 1944 the *Times* informed its readers that 1.7 million Jews had been "eradicated" in death camps. It described how

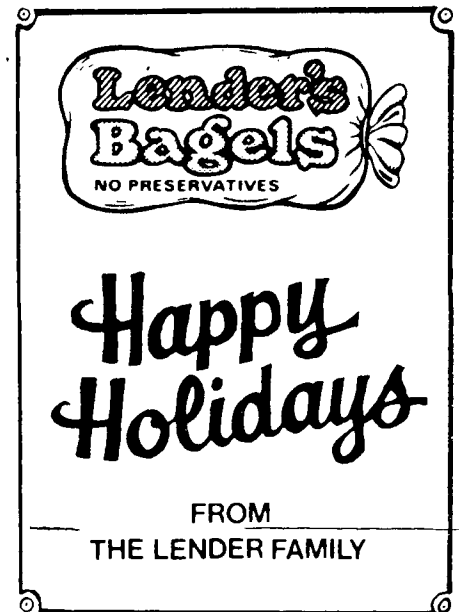
Jews had been "ordered to strip for bathing" and then taken into rooms into which "cyanide gas" was released. This news—the gassing of 1.7 million people—was on page 3. The *Los Angeles Times* ran the story on page 5. The *Washington Post* devoted 24 lines to it.

Lipstadt does point out that not all of the press performed badly. The *New Republic*, *The Nation*, *The New York Post* and the newspapers owned by William Randolph Hearst reported the story accurately and demanded American action to stop the mass slaughter. But these were the exceptions. Most of the press—in Lipstadt's words—"had access to a critically important and unprecedented story. Yet it reacted with equanimity and dispassion."

The Roper poll demonstrates that some things have changed during the past four decades. The American people are willing to read and watch accounts of the Holocaust and of other international crimes. As for the "show me" attitude, that is gone too. The Holocaust has taught most Americans that the mass killing of innocents does indeed happen. In the last few years alone, it has happened in Cambodia, and Biafra, and Afghanistan, and Uganda, and the junta's Argentina, and in other places as well.

The danger today is that we will begin to take it all for granted. We'll believe the accounts but we won't really care. Lipstadt warns that our indifference may be "among the more tragic legacies of the Final Solution." She concludes: "The inability of reports of extreme persecution and even mass murder in foreign lands to prompt us to act almost guarantees that the cycle of horror . . . will continue." A book like *Beyond Belief* is one step toward ensuring that the cycle of horror is broken. □

—M.J.R.



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Mr. Max Green  
The White House  
197 OEB  
Washington DC 20500

# NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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## EDITORIAL

### Peres' Extra Mile

The Middle East news—mostly bad—keeps coming in so fast and furious that it is easy to forget some of the fundamentals. One of them is that the government of Israel is currently pursuing a peace initiative which could, if reciprocated, lead to a Middle East settlement and ultimately to peace.

Prime Minister Shimon Peres continues to express his willingness to negotiate with the Arabs at any time in any place. In the last few months he has made significant modifications in Israel's basic negotiating position.

He has, on occasion, indicated that—although he insists on concluding a formal peace treaty with Jordan—he would accept a *temporary state of nonbelligerency* as a first step. In other words, he is not asking King Hussein to immediately go the whole route to peace. He will accept a little less now in pursuit of complete normalization later. Peres understands the constraints on Hussein and does not ask for what Hussein may consider the impossible.

Peres will accept peace negotiations with Jordan and the Palestinians *under international auspices*. Previously, Israel had insisted that negotiations be direct and without the participation of the anti-Israel United Nations. Now, Israel will accept some form of international "umbrella"—a concession to Hussein. It will also *accept a Soviet role* in the negotiations if the Soviets change their policy toward Israel

and toward the emigration of Soviet Jews.

Peres has also indicated that he is flexible about Palestinian representation at a peace conference. He will not accept PLO participation in any form but he says that *Israel will not examine the associations of legitimate Palestinian leaders* under a microscope. He wants the Palestinians at the peace table and is not seeking a way to bar their participation.

Perhaps most important is that Peres continues to reiterate that *everything is negotiable* once Jordan [and, he added the other day, Syria] come to the table. By saying that the West Bank, Golan Heights, and even Jerusalem are on the table, Peres does not mean that he will give any of them away. He does mean that he is prepared to talk about any issue the Arabs want to bring up. By the same token, they must be prepared to discuss the main item on Peres' agenda: peace and the security of Israel. In the context of negotiations, compromises will be made and, just possibly, agreements can be reached.

The Arabs may not believe any of this. Hussein and Hafez Assad may believe that Peres is just playing to the world media. Their best bet is to test him or—in their view—call his bluff. If they do, they will discover that Peres is serious about peace and that he is ready to go the extra mile for it. Perhaps that is why they are so reluctant to respond to Peres' challenge.

The ball remains in their court. □

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### Mubarak Holds Firm

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak "declared that he will not abrogate the Camp David treaty and will not restore relations with the Arab countries if this restoration is conditional on the abrogation of that treaty" (Kuwait News Agency, Nov. 22). Mubarak told the chief of KUNA that breaking the peace treaty with Israel "would mean the declaration of war between Egypt and Israel" and this is something he is not prepared to do.

The Egyptian leader said he would not hesitate to expel the Israeli ambassador from Cairo "if Israel's actions necessitate such an expulsion," but noted that "those who are asking me to abrogate the Camp David agreement want to slaughter the Egyptian people . . ." Asked why he did not expel the Israeli ambassador over the 1982 invasion of Lebanon, Mubarak said, "How can you ask me to take a measure

when you are the cause of the problem in Lebanon by provoking the Jews? Besides, the Arabs occupied Lebanon even before Israel did."

He added that "we as an Arab world have become known for rejecting everything and will continue to reject until the whole of Palestine is lost. . . . We do not know how to say yes at all."

### Civilian Rule

Israeli authorities have decided to return municipal administration of Nablus, the West Bank's largest Arab city, to local inhabitants (Reuters, Nov. 26). Zafer Masri, a businessman and head of the Chamber of Commerce, is to become mayor, and the Chamber will take over the functions of the city council, the wire reported.

Masri was described as a "pro-Jordanian moderate." He told Reuters that neither Jordan nor the Arafat wing of the PLO voiced objections to the move. Former Mayor Basaam Shakaa, now a backer of the pro-Syrian faction, was ousted by Israel more than three years ago.

### Spy Case

After the arrest on espionage charges of a U.S. Navy employee outside the Israeli Embassy in Washington, officials in Jerusalem said that "such activity runs totally counter to Israeli policy" (*Kol Yisrael*, Nov. 22).

In an official statement the government said it "reacted with shock and consternation to the reports. . . . It is Israel's policy to refrain from any intelligence activity re-

(Continued)

## ANALYSIS

# Arms Imports Still Rising

The worldwide economic recession cut arms imports throughout most developing and third world countries in 1983—except for the Middle East and Latin America. According to a U.S. government study released this fall, covering the years 1973–83, six Arab states received 40% of the world's weapons imports total in 1983. The six were Iraq (\$5 billion), Saudi Arabia (\$3 billion), Libya (\$1.9 billion), Egypt and Syria (\$1.7 billion each) and Jordan (\$1.1 billion). In comparison, Israel's arms imports totaled \$370 million.

Iraq, Syria and Libya received most of their weapons from the Soviets, as they had during all of the 1973–83 period. Saudi Arabia and Egypt obtained most of their arms from the United States and France; Jordan's weaponry came primarily from the United Kingdom, France and the United States. Israel's dependence on America for arms imports stands out. All but \$5 million of the \$3.8 billion Israel purchased overseas during the 11 years surveyed came from the United States.

As for exports, Israel ranked 21st in the report, *World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers, 1985*, prepared by the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA). Israeli arms exports have been the subject of recent publicity. But ACDA's \$220 million total left Israel behind not only the export leaders, including the Soviet

Union, the United States, France, West Germany, the United Kingdom and Italy (with arms shipments which ranged from \$9.4 billion for the Soviets to \$1 billion for Italy in 1984), but also trailing Belgium, Bulgaria, China, Czechoslovakia, Finland, the Koreans, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey and Yugoslavia.

"More attention has been given to Israel than to a lot of these other countries," said a Washington-based military analyst. "The ACDA report shows, for example, that from 1979 through 1983 Czechoslovakia exported almost \$4 billion worth of arms, Romania \$3.1 billion—with virtually no publicity." In the same period Israel's weapons exports totaled \$1.3 billion.

The study showed that the Middle East continues to grow as a market for arms dealers. In 1973 it received 27.4% of the world's weapons imports; by 1983 the region took nearly 43% of such shipments.

ACDA figures also reveal just how heavily militarized the Middle East is. Syria, for example, fields 22.7 soldiers per 1,000 population, Iraq—at war with Iran—34.5, Jordan, 26.2. Israel—formally accepted only by Egypt of the region's states—deploys 45 troops per 1,000 people. The respective Soviet and U.S. figures are 16.1 and 9.5.

Middle Eastern states lead all others in percentages of Gross National Product

(GNP) spent on defense. Comparative figures include Israel, 29% of GNP, Iraq, 47.2%; Saudi Arabia, 24.3%; Jordan, 29.5%; Syria, 13%. Outside the region the Soviet Union spends 14% of GNP on the military, the United States, 6.6%, and Japan 1%.

"The availability of large oil revenues which are administered by central governments" of the Arab states has helped in large part to push Middle East arms spending to such high levels of GNP, the study noted.

The report seems to contradict recent Reagan Administration assertions that Jordan lags behind in military modernization. For the 1979–83 period, King Hussein's government imported \$3 billion worth of weapons. Israel's total in that period was \$2.5 billion. Israeli domestic production does not change the big picture, the analyst said.

While "Israel's defense budget has declined every year since 1981 in real terms . . . there is no real indication that Middle East weapons spending has leveled off," the expert said. "Everyone in the region is at record highs—except Israel." In fact, Finance Ministry figures show that in 1981 Israel's defense budget was \$6.8 billion. It dropped to \$5.4 billion in 1983, and the 1985 estimate—including the recent austerity program cuts—totals \$4.2 billion. □  
—E.R.

## VIEWING . . . Continued

lated to the United States in view of the close and special relation of friendship" between the two countries.

The government promised a thorough investigation "to determine whether there has been any deviation" from official policy. "Should such a deviation be shown to have occurred, the necessary conclusions will be drawn." In Israeli politics, the phrase "the necessary conclusions will be drawn" generally means that parties held responsible for certain actions will resign, be fired or otherwise punished.

## Syrian Says No

Syrian Foreign Minister Abdal Halim Khaddam told a Beirut weekly that "any attempt at conducting direct or indirect ne-

gotiations with Israel constitutes one or more steps on the road to Camp David and will be met with an adequate Syrian response" (*Monday Morning*, Nov. 18–24). According to Khaddam, "the second phase of Camp David provides for separate negotiations with the Israeli enemy. Any sort of negotiations with this enemy would represent the second phase of Camp David." Khaddam said Syria is "struggling with the Egyptian people to restore Egypt to its natural place in the Arab ranks by thwarting the Camp David agreement and the peace treaty with Israel."

He added that Damascus considers the Feb. 11 agreement between Arafat and King Hussein dead. "Our relations with Jordan or any other country is based on a very clear and stable policy, namely, that

the conflict with the Israeli enemy is a global Arab struggle and no Arab faction may work to end it except in the context of a wider Arab move." He said Syrians "completely reject" the idea of a transitional West Bank and Gaza autonomy plan under Israel and Jordan, adding that "there can be no Israeli or American peace in the region." □

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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

# Arens Says Coalition Should Last

Moshe Arens, a leader of the Likud party and minister-without-portfolio in Israel's national unity Cabinet, warned that the Jordanian-Syrian rapprochement "does not bode well" for the chances of direct talks between Jerusalem and Amman. Besides trying to improve his image in the West—and win sophisticated weapons from the United States—King Hussein hopes to gain Arab support "to strengthen his position within Jordan."

But the "marriage of convenience" between Hussein and PLO leader Yasir Arafat ran aground on the issue of continuing PLO terrorism. So, Arens said, the King "now looks to Syria to hold his hand. I am sure Syria is intent on preventing a Jordanian peace process with Israel. And I am sure the King is aware of the Syrian strategy."

Arens, in Washington recently on a brief visit, believes that Israel's "unusual government"—which includes the two major opposition parties—should continue through the scheduled October rotation. Then Prime Minister Shimon Peres of Labor and Foreign Minister and Vice Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir of Likud are to exchange posts. Arens pointed to resolution of the Cabinet crisis between Peres and Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon of Likud as proof of the coalition's staying power.

Sharon had to apologize for harsh criticism of the Prime Minister and Peres withdrew a threat to fire Sharon. Arens said that under the coalition agreement between the two major blocs, a Prime Minister could not fire a Cabinet member from the opposition without approval from the other party. In addition, the small but politically important religious parties showed they were not ready to join Labor in a narrow coalition government, Arens said.

He did not expect a challenge to Shamir's leadership at the winter conference of the Herut party—Likud's major component. There has been speculation about an ouster attempt led by either Sharon or Housing Minister David Levy. But Arens pointed out that "the rotation agreement is based on individuals [Peres and Shamir]. I think any minister trying to put his own interests ahead of the party's will get very little support. Such an attempt [to unseat Shamir] would be injurious" to Likud.

Nevertheless, the inherent conflicts in a government of opposites means that people will be maneuvering for position in case a new crisis does shatter the coalition, the minister said. One issue over which division could come—peace talks with Jordan—seems irreconcilable. Arens said that "this government cannot go to an interna-

tional conference unless . . . consensus is reached on the subject." Hussein wants such a conference and Peres has said that Israel's participation under certain types of "international auspices" might be acceptable.

But Arens asserted that Israel has no agreement with Jordan, "not even on a framework" to offer Hussein international "cover." Likud resists even Peres' suggestions of a ceremonial international invitation to Israeli-Jordanian talks because this might permit "the entry of the Soviet Union and other countries which may be hostile to Israel."

He noted that on the lesser matter of Taba, the sliver of Sinai beachfront contested by Israel and Egypt, Likud Cabinet members would not allow the Prime Minister to agree to Egypt's call for arbitration. Instead, they insisted on non-binding conciliation, as called for in the Camp David Accords.

Beyond party politics, the unity government should endure because of its economic achievements, Arens observed. The coalition "decided on a drastic, almost draconian program" of budget cuts that no other government could have agreed to and implemented. Israelis "realize a narrow-based government might not be able to continue. Inevitably, this would lead to aborting" the present austerity program.

Arens, Menachem Begin's last Ambassador to the United States and Defense Minister under Shamir, said even the unity government has a problem "holding the line" and keeping government and private consumption down. However, he pointed to the plunge in annual inflation rates from 400% before the economic reform program to 40% now as evidence "we are moving in the right direction." Arens said that even with price freezes, the lower rates are meaningful because "no black market has developed" to challenge them. —E.R. □

## Summit Review

White House and State Department sources said that the Arab-Israeli conflict and Iran-Iraq were the subject of only general discussion during the recent Reagan-Gorbachev summit. However, a detailed exchange on the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan reportedly did take place, with a hint of a possible improvement in Moscow's policy.

The topic of human rights—under which the status of Soviet Jewry and any resumption of large-scale emigration would have been mentioned—was reserved for the private meetings between the President and the General-Secretary. A White House source said that the exchange on human rights was "forceful, direct, but private. . . . I think Gorbachev is well aware . . . of the U.S. position on human rights. It remains to be seen if their understanding [of the U.S. stance] will have an effect." The official labeled "purely speculative" a pre-summit claim by a top PLO figure that the Kremlin had promised not to agree to a resumption of Jewish emigration.

Several Capitol Hill sources agreed—discounting any such promise, if it exists. "The Soviets don't mind saying different things to different people," one observer said, noting that relations between the Russians and the PLO reportedly have been strained. Moscow opposes Yasir Arafat's Feb. 11 agreement with Jordan's King Hussein and probably "would like to move the PLO [back] toward the Syrians."

Continuing Soviet interest in the PLO was demonstrated by lengthy talks in Baghdad between Arafat and other PLO leaders and Vladimir Ployakov, head of the Near Eastern section in the Soviet Foreign Ministry. The meetings were held in conjunction with last week's five-day session of the PLO executive committee.

The committee disappointed some observers, who expected it to soften the PLO's opposition to U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, the generally accepted basis for Middle East peace talks. The fact that the meeting lasted longer than expected and that no positive statements on the two resolutions were issued probably indicated continuing division within the PLO over whether and how to respond to recent diplomatic activity between Jordan and Syria, Jordan and Israel, and Israel and Morocco, whose ruler, King Hassan II, currently chairs the Arab League.

Meanwhile, *Kol Yisrael* reported on Nov. 22 that while the Soviets "make the resumption of relations conditional upon the beginning of Israeli withdrawal" from territories gained in 1967, unofficial contacts between Israel and Soviet bloc allies are "intensifying" in Europe. East Germany and Czechoslovakia reportedly have signaled an interest in renewed ties with Israel and "contacts with Poland are also continuing. . . ." Poland already has agreed to reestablish some diplomatic and trade relations with Israel. Analysts assert that the eastern European states would not act without Moscow's blessing.

## BACK PAGE

**Beyond Belief**

For many of us, it seems almost impossible to conceive of a new book on the Holocaust that tells us anything we don't already know. As for American reaction to the murder of European Jews, last year's *Abandonment of the Jews*—a vitally important work—would seem to have said it all.

But, of course, it didn't. No one book can. That is why Deborah Lipstadt's just-published *Beyond Belief: The American Press and the Coming of the Holocaust* (The Free Press) makes such essential reading.

Lipstadt's book—which received a rave review in the Nov. 19 *New York Times*—is remarkably comprehensive, in large part because of an historic find she made at the FDR library in Hyde Park. Lipstadt discovered that from 1933 through 1945, President Roosevelt received a daily press digest of news stories from around the country. The clippings came from 500 American newspapers and were delivered to FDR each morning. Lipstadt calls the press digests, which were read by Roosevelt and other key government officials, "one of the most important White House barometers of public attitudes."

Roosevelt used the digest as a means of discerning what the American people were reading and thinking about each day. Lipstadt, who studied them all, uses them both as a barometer of public attitude and as one sure indicator of what the President knew about the mass killing of the Jewish people.

Perhaps her key finding is that most American journalists rejected the facts about the Nazis' "final solution" because they were, simply, "beyond belief." Reporters had been badly burned by World War I atrocity stories about Germany (many of which were total fabrications) and assumed that the World War II persecution of Jews was also propaganda and not to be taken seriously. They were determined not to be duped by the anti-Nazis. Instead, they were duped by the Nazis.

*Beyond Belief* tells the stories of dozens of journalists and of why they wrote—and behaved—as they did. Some were naive about world affairs and about evil. They just couldn't believe that human beings were capable of mass extermination. Others were anti-Semites and self-hating Jews.

Walter Lippmann, perhaps the most influential columnist of this century, falls into the latter category. Lippmann was a tolerant man—a defender of oppressed minorities. But he seems to have despised his Jewishness and, as Lipstadt points out, he took extreme measures to ensure that he would not be labeled as a Jew.

But he was. *Time* called him America's

"most statesmanly Jewish pundit." His Jewish heredity, despite his rejection of it, made Lippmann an ideal apologist for Nazi anti-Semitism. And that is what he was when he urged his millions of readers not to judge Germany harshly because of its anti-Semitism. He wrote that to do so would be like judging "the Catholic church by the Spanish inquisition. Or Protestantism by the Ku Klux Klan or the Jews by their parvenus" or upstarts. In Lippmann's view, the Jews had brought on destruction by their bad manners. During the 12 years of the Third Reich—and of the Holocaust—Lippmann did not write a single word expressing concern or outrage about the mass murder.

Lippmann was far from alone in his moral obtuseness. The *Christian Science Monitor*, like Lippmann, blamed the Jews for Nazi anti-Semitism. In 1933, a *Monitor* editorial declared that it was Jewish "commercial clannishness which . . . gets them into trouble." It said that reports of atrocities against Jews were "exaggerated" by those "inclined toward hysteria."

*The Christian Century*, the most prominent Protestant magazine in the United States, asked if "Hitler's attitude may be somewhat governed by the fact that too many Jews, at least in Germany, are radical, too many are Communists." The same magazine ran an article which said that the Jews had brought their suffering on themselves by supporting "reactionary parties." This was a common pattern: accusing Jews of simultaneously being right-wingers and Communists. The bottom line was that the Jews were themselves responsible for their own fate.

—First of Two Parts—

—M.J.R. □

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Mr. Max Green  
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# NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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## EDITORIALS

### Italian Newspeak

An Italian court gave the Achille Lauro hijackers jail terms of four to nine years—instead of the maximum 12 year sentence—in their initial trial on arms charges. The three-judge panel acted on the recommendation of the prosecutor, who argued that “fighting for a cause cannot be considered devoid of valid reasons even if terrorist methods are used.” Prosecutor Luigi Carli’s twisted logic recalled that of Prime Minister Bettino Craxi, who earlier asserted that the PLO could legitimately resort to arms since it was “a movement wanting to liberate its own country from a foreign occupation.”

George Orwell’s 1984, in which words were used not to advance thought but to subvert it, has arrived a year late. Carli and Craxi illustrate the semantic and moral confusion which hobble the West’s anti-terrorism effort. When dealing with the PLO they adopt a standard which democratic Italy would not tolerate in combating its own Red Brigades—who, not coincidentally, trained alongside PLO recruits in Lebanon in the 1970’s.

But, suddenly, where Arafat and his henchmen are concerned, the prosecutor and prime minister hide behind the cliché that “one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter.” A simple test is available to burn off this semantic and moral fog. Is the action something which would be criminal when shorn of political motives—like smuggling guns and grenades on board to kidnap a shipload of people? If so, then the persons on trial are criminal suspects. Terrorism is a form of criminal behavior, not a legitimate method of political expression.

Terrorists must not be confused with guerrillas or freedom fighters. Terrorists, often in search of publicity, prey on unarmed civilians. Guerrillas conduct paramilitary warfare against armed forces. (Hungarians who threw Molotov cocktails at Russian tanks in 1956 were freedom fighters; PLO gunmen who seize ships, buses or kindergartens are terrorists.) People who cannot make this distinction—who do not reject the PLO’s equation of terrorism with “armed struggle”—are terrorism’s apologists and allies.

Craxi, at least, was honest enough to point that out, albeit

indirectly. In his speech justifying PLO violence in principle, Craxi observed that large amounts of Italian exports go to Arab countries. Ultimately, his endorsement of the PLO’s “armed struggle” is mercantile, not moral.

Should the Italian courts find terrorist killing “valid in the name of a cause” when trying the hijackers for kidnapping and murder, they should also reconsider the convictions of those “freedom fighters,” motivated by some self-justifying cause, who killed former Prime Minister Aldo Moro. But, of course, they won’t. Some forms of terrorism are just too close for comfort.

### PLO Eclipse

A just-released Harris survey demonstrates that the Achille Lauro hijacking has badly damaged the PLO’s already bad image in the United States. In 1983 the PLO received a 75%-11% negative rating. However, the poll shows that today—by a majority of 86%-7%—Americans hold negative views about the terrorist organization. The poll also reveals that 73% of Americans feel that the ship hijacking and the killing of Leon Klinghoffer “proved that the PLO is no better than a band of terrorists, unfit for the United States to have anything to do with.”

The poll finds that Americans reject PLO participation in the peace process—while favoring the inclusion of non-PLO Palestinians—and also oppose any participation by the Soviet Union. By a margin of 72%-22% Americans believe that Israel now “has leadership which is reasonable and will really work for a just peace settlement in the Middle East.”

None of this should be a surprise to anyone. Americans have never been impressed by grenade toting terrorists and certainly aren’t now. They understand that America has precious few allies and that Israel is one of them. The only surprise is that the permanent bureaucracies at the State and Defense departments—and various universities and “think-tanks” around the country—are riddled with personnel who still believe that the PLO can somehow be rehabilitated. They fail to grasp what the American public implicitly understands. It only confirms our friend Mr. Orwell’s adage: some ideas are so foolish that only ivory tower intellectuals will believe them. □

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### PLO Clarification

PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat, “in an interview published in Cairo today . . . denied that the Cairo declaration excludes Palestinian military operations in territories occupied in 1948, adding that the text of the declaration is clear and encompasses all occupied Palestinian land” (Baghdad Voice

of the PLO, Nov. 13). The broadcast also apparently refuted remarks by top Egyptian officials, who claimed that Arafat had restricted his organization to attacks in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. According to the radio, Arafat “added that he is not responsible for others’ explanations.”

Meanwhile in Abu Dhabi, Farouk Kad-

doumi—a senior Arafat aide—said that the PLO “is adhering to armed struggle in all Palestinian territory from the river [Jordan] to the [Mediterranean] sea” [i.e. all of Israel]. He said that the entire area is “all Palestinian territory without argument.” (*Al-Itihad*, Nov. 16).

(Continued)

## HEARD IN WASHINGTON

# Rabin Says Still Time for Peace

Israel's Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin believes that there is still time to broaden the Arab-Israeli peace process—begun with the treaty between Egypt and Israel—to include Jordan. However, he said that the opportunity to do so has not been fully exploited. And he warned that in another year or two today's potentially helpful circumstances might change.

Speaking in Washington recently at a program for the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies, Rabin cited developments in the past five years which made expansion of the peace possible. They were the U.S.-mediated Egypt-Israel accords; the Iraq-Iran war; the weakening of the world oil market and the anti-peace policies of some oil producers.

These developments "opened opportunities to the West, to the United States, to exploit . . . for peace and the reduction of the negative influence of the Soviet Union in the region. I am afraid that this opportunity has not been exploited," Rabin said.

## PLO Factor

Bogged down in an unwinnable war with Iran, Iraq's Saddam Hussein has been forced to downplay his radicalism and rely on assistance from Egypt and Jordan. This in turn helped break the Arab world's post-Camp David consensus against Cairo. But Egypt and Jordan have made "a major mistake," Rabin charged, by "opening their doors to [Yasir] Arafat and the PLO."

Rabin referred to the expulsions of the PLO from Lebanon by Israel and later by Syria, and the effort by Syria and Lebanese Shi'ites to block PLO reinfiltration into southern Lebanon. "Had the PLO remained in Tunisia" after these setbacks, "without the opening of gates by other Arab countries, it would have lost considerable ability to carry out terrorism" and interfere with the peace process, he stated. "The PLO has been and will be an obstacle to peace. . . . Its philosophy, its terrorism and its policy are contradictory to peace."

Nevertheless, "it is not too late to continue with the peace process," said Rabin, who was Prime Minister from 1974 to 1977. He recalled the example of the middle 1970's. This saw the United States exclude or neutralize Soviet diplomatic participation and the determination by Egypt and

Israel to work together gradually under the U.S. lead. Similarly, negotiations could materialize between Israel and Jordan. "We await Jordan's response," Rabin said.

[The Defense Minister told the *Washington Post* that King Hussein "wants Arafat to declare that the PLO will cease its terrorist activities, publicly accept U.N. resolutions that effectively recognize Israel's right to exist, and declare a readiness to negotiate with Israel. . . ."]

Rabin added that if Jordan agreed to talks with Israel without PLO participation but insisted on "some international umbrella," Jerusalem "will accept it." The Defense Minister noted that this was his personal view, not official policy. But he said the key elements would be that any country part of the "international umbrella" maintained diplomatic relations with Israel (the Soviet Union does not) and that none would interfere with the goal of direct bilateral negotiations between Israel and Jordan.

"The fate . . . of the West Bank and Gaza should be resolved" in these talks, Rabin stressed. Israel "has no reason to oppose inclusion of West Bank and Gaza leaders" in a joint Jordanian-Palestinian Arab dele-

gation. Its "one condition is that they not be declared members of the PLO."

## Seizing the Moment

He said that "by this readiness on the part of Israel, we really offer the opportunity to continue the course which brought about the first peace between Egypt and Israel, to reduce the strength of the radicals and [oppose] the purposes of Soviet policy."

Rabin repeated his remarks, also made earlier after a meeting with Secretary of State George Shultz, that "the ball is in Jordan's court" and Hussein should make a "courageous" response.

Rabin added that if the war between Iraq and Iran ends, if inter-Arab divisions lessen and the threat of a unified eastern front reemerges, Israel will not be able to make additional defense cuts. Moreover, the Israeli government will be in no position to take risks for peace. "That is why the peace initiative is so important now"—to decrease the chances for war and increase the possibility for permanent peace in the region. —E.R. □

## More Cuts Risky

Only the Iraq-Iran war and lack of unity among Arab states permitted Israel to make the massive defense budget cuts included in the country's current economic reform program, according to Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin. The Middle East "arms race goes on. The Soviet Union continues to supply Syria, Libya and Iraq. The total defense budget for Middle East countries exceeds \$20 billion per year," Rabin said on his recent Washington visit.

But "because of inter-Arab problems, the capability of Arab countries to have a concerted military policy against Israel is limited. Therefore . . . we can take the risk of cutting the defense budget," he added.

However, Rabin cautioned that once the Persian Gulf war ends, "I don't believe we'll be able to do what we've done" and reduce military spending further. "Of all the countries in the region, Israel is the only one which cut its defense budget." Signs of reconciliation between Syria and Jordan also are creating a new concern for Israeli planners.

Israel's military spending—put at \$5.4 billion in 1983 by the Finance Minister—was estimated at \$4.2 billion for 1985. Asked about suggestions from some Israeli economists that the government needs to cut several hundred million dollars more next year and that some can come from defense, Rabin replied, "We cannot take too many [more] risks for the security of Israel."

The Defense Minister praised the Israeli public for accepting wage attrition of up to 15% in real terms as part of the anti-inflation austerity program. He said that only the current national unity government made the austerity program possible.

U.S. military aid to Jerusalem for fiscal 1986 stands at \$1.8 billion. Discussions reportedly are under way between Washington and Jerusalem for the same amount, plus allowance for inflation, for fiscal 1987. □

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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 JERUSALEM

# The Cabinet Crisis Ends?

Tel Aviv—Now that the two principal antagonists in the crisis that threatened to dissolve the national unity government have come to terms, the question is not who won, but rather who was to blame.

Prime Minister Shimon Peres claimed that Industry Minister Ariel Sharon, in his harsh criticism of the Prime Minister's foreign policy, had broken the Cabinet consensus, thus effectively resigning. Sharon insisted that Peres' "secret diplomacy" had forced him to react, and that therefore Peres was firing him.

Peres has now gained some time to pursue his peace initiative—with Likud opposition neutralized, and Sharon, his most outspoken Cabinet critic, forced to agree to a temporary political ceasefire.

However, Sharon is still in a position to criticize the more controversial elements in the Prime Minister's policies, including the rhetorical flexibility Peres displayed in recent speeches aimed at the Soviets, Palestinians and Syrians, and the supposed meeting between Peres and Jordan's King Hussein in Paris in October. The secrecy with which Peres has shrouded much of his diplomatic efforts involve bypassing the inner Cabinet forum, with its built-in Likud veto, and much of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, headed by Likud leader Yitzhak Shamir. This secrecy, Peres' speeches, and corresponding movements on the Arab side have combined to lead many observers to conclude that Peres' smoke signals may indicate diplomatic fire.

Likud leaders who share Sharon's views are careful not to express them beyond the point where the coalition would be endan-

gered. These ministers support the party leadership of Yitzhak Shamir and hope that events will be overtaken by the rotation agreement by which Shamir becomes prime minister next October. Sharon, a candidate against Shamir for Likud leader, does not have the same interest in papering over important policy differences in order to prolong the life of the coalition and therefore has more freedom to fully develop his case.

Sharon claimed that the Prime Minister was softening his position on an international umbrella to cover direct negotiations between Israel and a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. Sources close to the Prime Minister say that he is involved in a gradual process—part of a diplomatic give-and-take with Washington, Amman and Cairo. He also has feelers out to Moscow and possibly Damascus. These sources say that the current diplomatic movement could lead either to the revolutionary transformation of Palestinian politics or to the PLO effectively freezing itself out of the peace process permanently.

It is no accident, these sources point out, that Peres' speech signaling a further move toward acceptance of an international forum followed King Hussein's moderately anti-PLO remarks in an interview in the *New York Times*. The Jordanian monarch rejected as insufficient Yasir Arafat's "Cairo declaration" that the PLO would limit its "armed struggle" to the "occupied territories" [which in Arafat's view includes all of Israel]. Hussein has said that the PLO must accept U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, renounce ter-

ror, and recognize Israel as the price for admission into the peace process.

Optimism about the peace process has increased among those around, the Prime Minister, *NER* was told, "from 10 to 40 percent." Jerusalem is now waiting to evaluate the Geneva summit meeting between President Reagan and Soviet leader Gorbachev. That meeting, after all, served as the context for the diplomatic maneuvering and the ensuing crisis. Both Peres and Hussein were trying to negotiate the terms of the international umbrella in time for the superpowers to place it on their agenda in Geneva.

In January, Herut, the leading component in the Likud bloc, holds its convention. Should events provide Sharon with an excuse, he may launch another attack on the Prime Minister's policy.

Peres is also interested in obtaining something more substantial from Hussein before risking the break-up of his government over speculative peace moves. The rotation agreement has become his strongest card to play against Hussein. If Hussein has given Arafat an ultimatum to alter PLO policies, it stems in no small measure from his fear that Likud may come to power in less than a year.

All of the major political forces are currently positioning themselves to avoid responsibility for the next Cabinet clash. Each side will try to blame the other. Peres will say: You quit! Sharon will respond: I was fired.

—David Twersky

*Twersky is NER's Israel correspondent.*

## VIEWING . . . Continued

### Assertive Soviets

The recent establishment of diplomatic relations by two Persian Gulf states—Oman and the United Arab Emirates—and the Soviet Union points to a more active Russian policy in the Middle East (*Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 19). The moves bring "Moscow closer to participation in the Mideast peace process and help calm conservative Arab states' fears about Kremlin designs to destabilize them."

An Omani official said that by initiating ties with conservative Arab states the Soviets could ease the process of resuming relations with Israel—which would upset Moscow's main regional ally, Syria. Oman reportedly is assisting in talks between Moscow and Saudi Arabia.

A more assertive Middle East policy under Mikhail Gorbachev could help the Soviets take advantage of American losses in

the region, including "the fall of the Shah of Iran, the assassination of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and the U.S. failure to save Lebanon," the paper reported.

### Shoot-Down Aftermath

After the downing of two Soviet-built Syrian MiG-23's by Israeli planes on patrol over eastern Lebanon, Jerusalem broadcast a brief analysis of the Syrian airforce. It noted that Damascus has replaced the 87 planes and six helicopters destroyed by Israel in the 1982 Lebanon war (*Kol Yisrael*, Nov. 19).

"They have also equipped themselves with advanced Sukhov 22 planes, and also with Mig-25's. It has been publicized that as soon as this coming year the Syrian Air Force is scheduled to take in the Mig-29, which is the most modern fighter plane and represents the answer to the [U.S.-built]

F-15's and F-16's in possession of Western air forces" including Israel's. In addition, Syria "has fleshed out its aerial defense system" which relies on Soviet surface-to-air missiles.

### Brotherhood Arrests

As part of its rapprochement with Syria, Jordanian authorities arrested "several hundred anti-Syrian Muslim Brotherhood members . . . over the past few days" (*Radio Monte Carlo*, Nov. 16). The station, citing the Beirut newspaper *Al-Safir*, also noted a statement by Syrian Vice President Abdal Halim Khaddam that closer Syrian-Jordanian ties mean that the Feb. 11 agreement between Jordan's King Hussein and PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat is "dead." However, Khaddam's remark reportedly was not mentioned in Syrian media coverage.

## BACK PAGE

## Investing in Israel's Future

The medical profession has long needed a quick, efficient means of producing a cholesterol reading without sending a blood sample to a laboratory. Ideally, a doctor or nurse could take blood at the beginning of a routine check-up and have a reading before the patient left the office.

Until now that hasn't been possible. Even in cases where a doctor suspected dangerously high fat levels she would have to wait for lab results that sometimes took several days.

No more. A company called International Diagnostic Laboratories, Ltd. (IDL) is now producing a cholesterol testing kit which can produce a reading for a patient in five to ten minutes. The kit is simple, portable and suited for a doctor's office or a small community clinic. The IDL's Unitized Test Kit would greatly enhance a physician's ability to diagnose high fat levels and heart disease.

Other IDL projects include the development of tests for the instant diagnosis of heart attacks. According to an IDL spokesman, "Our new line of products will greatly aid in the prevention of coronary disease and in the diagnosis of heart failure. Today a physician will sometimes place a suspected heart attack victim in a coronary intensive care unit without absolute proof that a heart attack has occurred. One of the products we are developing will remove any uncertainty, aiding patients, doctors and hospitals in general."

IDL is based in Jerusalem in an area of the city that is a small version of California's Silicon Valley or Boston's Route 128. Its location in Israel's capital is highly advantageous to the growing company. The spokesman said, "There is a lot of biochemistry talent here. In this small country there is probably more inventive brainpower than you'll find almost anywhere else."

IDL probably couldn't make it if it had to go it alone. But it is making it—marketing diagnostic test kits of all kinds—with the help of Ampal which owns 40% of the company.

Ampal, a New York-based corporation listed on the American Stock Exchange, has been around a long time. It was established in 1942—six years before the State of Israel—to invest in industrial, financial, and agricultural enterprises in pre-state Palestine and then Israel. A spokesman for Ampal recalls that 1942 would not have seemed like a fortuitous year to establish such a corporation. "The Germans and Mussolini were almost at the gates of Palestine. But for us, creating Ampal was an act of faith—one shared with our investors—that the Nazis would not prevail and

that a Jewish state would be established."

Amazingly, Ampal was able to pay a dividend to its investors in 1942 and hasn't missed one since. Today its total assets have exceeded a billion dollars. It currently has \$873 million in loans out to Israeli companies—in such areas as chemicals, electronics, computers and health.

It also plays a large part in Israel's tourism industry. It is Ampal that holds a controlling interest in the Moriah hotels in Jerusalem, Eilat, and at the Dead Sea. Anyone who has visited a Moriah hotel can quickly understand why Ampal enterprises are so highly regarded.

Perhaps the most exciting aspect of Ampal is that it encourages Israel's private sector. It is not a charity. Its mission is to support existing Israeli industries and—more importantly—to allow new enterprises to develop. If the country's new economy is going to flourish, it will need Ampal and its investors. An Ampal spokesman put it like this: "We have faith in this country. Certainly Israel needs charitable contributions from America and American foreign aid. But this is also a country that you can invest in on the basis of a sound business strategy. We can rival Japan and Singapore, and we will." □

—M.J.R.

## Heading South?

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Mr. Max Green  
The White House  
197 OEB  
Washington DC 20500

# NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

VOL XXIX NO. 46 NOVEMBER 18, 1985

## EDITORIALS

### Egypt Retreats From Peace

It is difficult to understand what Hosni Mubarak is up to. While King Hussein attempts—even tentatively—to distance himself from Yasir Arafat, the Egyptian President is going out of his way to embrace the PLO chairman. Last week in Cairo, Arafat issued a statement in which he “denounced” terrorism in general while reserving the right to initiate terrorist acts against Israel. Mubarak stood by Arafat’s side and later endorsed Arafat’s statement as positive.

This shouldn’t really surprise anyone. Since ascending to the Presidency of Egypt, Hosni Mubarak has set out to build bridges to Arab extremists—even while burning them with Israel. Mubarak seems to be afflicted with the malady that has kept Hussein away from the peace table. A “moderate” by Arab standards, Hussein always has to prove that he is more Palestinian than the Palestinians—more Arab than the Arabs. As President of an Arab nation at peace with Israel, Mubarak has to show that no one is more zealous about the PLO than he.

Since the return of the Sinai to Egypt in 1982, Cairo has turned Camp David’s vision of “normalization” into a bad joke—removing its ambassador, aborting trade and cultural exchanges, and denouncing Israel in its press and other media. Now Egypt is propping up Arafat and endorsing his calls for continued terrorism against Israelis.

Israel, for its part, has let Egypt off easy. After October’s murderous attack by an Egyptian border guard against Israeli tourists in Sinai, Prime Minister Peres affirmed that relations between the two countries would not be imperiled. In return, the Egyptian government has hardly bothered to investigate the murder of the six Israelis—including four children—while segments of Egyptian society have lionized the killer as a freedom fighter. Is this peace?

The answer is obvious. Egypt is not living up to the terms of Camp David. The Egypt of Camp David would be encouraging Jordan to join the peace process; encouraging Arafat to either renounce violence or move out of the way. Instead,

Mubarak’s Egypt is aiding and abetting the rejectionists and the PLO. And peace, the peace that once seemed a shiny dream, is being tarnished almost beyond recognition. It is time for Mubarak to change course.

### Rationale Undermined

The Reagan Administration’s supporters of a Jordan arms sale must be breathing a sigh of relief over the joint Congressional-Administration decision to put off a Jordan arms sale. After all, they cannot fail to notice that King Hussein is knocking the props out from under the Administration’s rationale for the sale.

For those with a short memory, that rationale was Jordan’s fear of attack by Syria. The provision of F-16’s, F-20’s, HAWKS, Stingers, and the rest was supposed to deter the Syrians and—if it didn’t—enable Jordan to repel an attack.

Today, however, it’s all warm embraces between the two former enemies. They have agreed never to sign a separate peace agreement with Israel. King Hussein has apologized to President Assad for having allowed Jordan to be used by anti-Syrian forces. The Prime Minister of Jordan has made a pilgrimage to Damascus—the first by a Jordanian Prime Minister in six years. Prime Minister Zaid Rifai says that Jordan and Syria are forging “a new phase in Arab relations.” And he says that Assad considers Jordan his “second homeland.” Moreover, there are reports that Assad and Hussein will be meeting soon.

No one knows whether the Syrian-Jordanian rapprochement will continue. For those concerned about the dangers of a Jordan arms sale, it hardly matters. Assad and Hussein may patch things up—or they may not. Either way it is clear that the potential for a combined Syrian-Jordanian front against Israel is always there. If not today, then tomorrow. It is just one reason to be grateful that the latest in a long series of mistaken arms sales to the Arabs has been deferred. □

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### Government At Brink

Israel’s national unity government underwent another crisis as Prime Minister Shimon Peres said that he would fire Cabinet member Ariel Sharon. Peres’ decision to dismiss the controversial Sharon came after the General unleashed a series of attacks on Peres’ policies.

Peres was said to be particularly offended at Sharon’s attacks on him while he

was out of the country. One Israeli observer noted that “in any country it is considered unpatriotic to attack the nation’s leader when he is abroad.”

Peres has apparently decided that enough is enough. He demanded that Sharon formally apologize to him for saying that Peres was ready to negotiate with the PLO and that Labor party policies would lead to “bloodshed.”

Vice Premier Yitzhak Shamir, who is

scheduled to “rotate” into the Prime Minister’s office in October, said that if Peres fires Sharon he will lead the Likud out of the unity government in solidarity with his fellow Likud minister. If Shamir does walk out—over Sharon or any other issue—Peres will have two options. He can attempt to form a narrow Labor government in coalition with some of the small center-left parties and the religious parties. Failing

(Continued)

## HEARD AT THE U.N.

# Anti-Zionist Resolution Revisited

New York—The halls of the United Nations, a traditional bastion of anti-Israel rhetoric, were filled Sunday with over 700 of Israel's friends, leading one Arab diplomat to declare that "the U.N. is being invaded by the Zionists." The Nov. 10 Conference on Israel, Zionism and the United Nations was held on the tenth anniversary of the infamous General Assembly resolution equating Zionism with racism.

The 1975 resolution, which labeled Zionism "a form of racism and racial discrimination," was passed by 72 to 35 with 32 abstentions. Support came from the Soviet bloc (with the exception of Romania) and Arab blocs along with many of the "non-aligned" nations.

In a recent speech at the United Nation's 40th anniversary, President Reagan called the resolution "a total inversion of morality." And he sent a message to the conference pledging his support for "the removal of this blot from the United Nations' record."

Last year, both the House and the Senate passed a resolution which repudiated the Zionism-racism resolution and called upon legislatures in other democratic countries to do the same.

The conference was co-sponsored by the Israeli Mission to the United Nations and the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. Participants included former and current U.N. ambassadors from the United States, Isra-

el, Ireland, and Costa Rica (nations which had fought against the resolution's passage).

Benjamin Netanyahu, chief Israeli delegate to the world body, stressed the significance of the 1975 equation: "For the first time in history, the world body gave its stamp of approval to the labeling of a whole people . . . It separates a whole people from the rest of humanity, making their lives dispensable."

Vernon A. Walters, the United States representative to the U.N., referred to the resolution as "an obscenity, a falsehood, and a slander of mammoth proportion." He reaffirmed America's refusal to sit in a General Assembly that excludes Israel. Walters insists that "an attack on Zionism is an attack on Western values in general."

Prior to the conference, hundreds rallied in front of the Isaiah Wall directly across the street from the United Nations. New York's elected officials were out in full force to express disgust at the resolution.

Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.) noted that the anniversary "marked the passage of a decade of shame." He added: "The sponsors and supporters of this resolution know that no one cares more about justice, fairness, and human rights . . . nor is anyone a greater enemy of racism than the Jewish people."

Rep. Major Owens (D-N.Y.), a member of the Congressional Black Caucus, termed the resolution "an act of cowardice, confu-

sion, and corruption." He insisted that the observance be a "reaffirmation of the longstanding black and Jewish coalition. Blacks and Jews, who have suffered from real and deadly racism and anti-Semitism, understand the horror and danger of a phoney resolution that equates Zionism with racism." To loud applause, Owens warned that the resolution "throws a camouflaging curtain around the real racism rampant on this globe," including the "distorted and dangerous demagoguery of Minister Louis Farrahkan."

Rahamin Eliezar, an Ethiopian Jew now residing in Israel, told the audience, "I am an equal among equals, a respected citizen of Israel." Eliezar said that his presence testified to the fact that Zionism is the very antithesis of racism.

The likelihood of the resolution being repealed in the near future remains questionable. Some, however have observed positive developments. Ambassador Walters noted that "the General Assembly, with considerable prodding and pounding from the U.S., is slowly correcting its ways." Ambassador Netanyahu told *NER* that opponents of the resolutions have set 1990 as the target date for its repeal. He said that "many [of the nations which supported the resolution ten years ago] have already indicated that they would vote differently today."

□  
—Jonathan Cohen

## VIEWING . . . Continued

that he can go to the President and ask for new elections.

Peres is probably not averse to the idea of new elections. He has a wide lead in the opinion polls, far outpacing Shamir—although this could change if elections were called. However, if new elections are scheduled, it is not at all certain that Shamir would lead the Likud list. In December, the Herut Central Committee (Herut is the largest component of the Likud) will vote on its leadership. If new elections are in the offing, Shamir will likely be challenged for the party leadership by Sharon or Deputy Prime Minister David Levy. That is one reason why Sharon is unconcerned about bringing the government down. Without new elections, Shamir will inherit the Prime Minister's office in October. Only if new elections are sched-

uled will Sharon have a shot at the office he craves. The same applies to Levy.

A well-connected Israeli told *NER* that he "wouldn't bet on the government falling yet. Peres wants new elections but would rather go to the electorate with some kind of Jordan peace arrangement in his hand. As for Shamir, he desperately wants to save the unity government and his chance to return to office. He certainly doesn't want to end his political career over Ariel Sharon whom he has no use for. But Shamir is a party man. He may have to quit."

If he does, the unity government will go down with him.

## Israeli Economy

Prof. Michael Bruno, one of the architects of Israel's economic reform plan, voiced amazement that "the target of a

budget cut this year of \$1.5 billion would not only be met, but had so far been exceeded by \$100-\$200 million on an annual rate" (*Jerusalem Post*, Nov. 7). Bruno said that if the reduced rate could be maintained until the end of the fiscal year "it would be a major achievement." However, he said further cuts would still be needed next year. The reforms were instituted to combat triple-digit inflation and declining foreign currency reserves.

Meanwhile, the paper reported that average wages were down 12% compared to a year earlier, that investment for the year is expected to be down 10-12%, and that unemployment is now up to 8%. However, the Ministry of Trade and Industry announced that exports were up 8.8% for the first 10 months of the year, a key to the recovery plan (*Journal of Commerce*, Nov. 13).

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## EXCLUSIVE

# Shortage May Replace Oil Glut

Despite today's world oil surplus and falling petroleum prices, the United States could face shortages within five to 10 years. Decisions taken now might leave the U.S. economy—and Middle East policy—vulnerable to a revitalized Arab "oil weapon," according to a Department of Interior energy specialist. Two facts prompt his warning.

The first is the expected decline in domestic oil production. Only the giant Prudhoe Bay find in Alaska kept American petroleum output from plunging by one-third during the past 10 years. But pumping from these fields is expected to decrease from the current peak of 1.5 million barrels a day (mbd) within two or three years, the expert said.

At the same time, the analyst noted that the new major American field—offshore south of Santa Barbara—will produce at a peak of 500,000 to 600,000 mbd. "When these [production] curves cross in about five years . . . we'll be replacing one barrel lost from Alaska with about one-half barrel from Santa Barbara." Reserves also are dropping in America's other major fields, "and we're not replacing them."

The investments to develop the California find were made five or six years ago when oil prices stood at a record \$34-plus per barrel. Today official OPEC prices are

around \$28 per barrel, Mexican oil even less. Instead of spending several hundred billion dollars on a surge of oil exploration, as they did between 1973 and 1979, American firms now put their capital into mergers and diversification.

The second cause for concern is that while domestic production—which helped keep U.S. foreign policy relatively immune to the oil weapon in 1973—appears poised for a decline, consumption and the need for imports could easily jump. Imports apparently bottomed out at around 3.6 million barrels a day (mbd) early in 1983 during the recession, down from 1978's high of 8.5 to 9 mbd. Now at 4 mbd, they could rise again with renewed economic expansion.

Current relatively low prices discourage additional massive efforts at conservation and substitution. On the West Coast, the expert noted, Indonesian light crude is burned to generate electricity because of its low sulfur content. "That's like washing your windows with Chivas Regal," the Interior official said.

The United States now imports only 3% of its petroleum needs from Persian Gulf countries including Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Mexico, Canada, Venezuela, Indonesia and the United Kingdom—in that order—lead Saudi Arabia as U.S. sources of imported oil. Nevertheless, the real

long-range oil glut is in the Persian Gulf—Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have 450 years worth of reserves at today's low output, Mexico only 15, the U.K. just nine. And the official cautioned that Mexican political stability cannot be taken for granted.

Citing a World Watch Institute report considered reliable, he noted that the United States could be importing 65% to 70% of its oil by 1995. Imports now total less than 27%. Even at this level they add \$50 billion annually to the U.S. trade deficit—twice the imbalance with Japan.

America's Strategic Petroleum Reserve does have enough oil for about 100 days. "But they still haven't figured out how it will operate. . . . The government's allocation systems [of petroleum supplies] in 1973-74 and in 1979 were a mess," the analyst recalled.

Neither policymakers nor the public are focusing on the potential problem, he added. "When Secretary [James] Watt said it, people reacted negatively. When Secretary [Donald] Hodel says it, it's not news." And so far, neither is Saudi Arabian Oil Minister Sheik Ahmed Zaki Yamani's assertion that although OPEC may be down now, it will return with a vengeance.

□  
—E.R.

## HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

### Interest Rate Cut

The Senate Appropriations Committee favorably reported the fiscal 1986 foreign assistance appropriations bill. The bill provides \$3 billion in economic and military assistance for Israel as well as a proposal to lower Israel's debt service to the U.S. Government on past loans by "buying down" the interest rate from approximately 11% to 5%.

The measure, offered by Foreign Operations Subcommittee chairman BOB KASTEN (D-Wis.) and ranking minority member DANIEL INOUE (D-Hawaii), would lower Israel's \$1.1 billion debt repayment this year by \$530 million. The bill also contains language prohibiting the Administration from reprogramming funds or using emergency funds to finance an arms package to Jordan.

During the Appropriations Foreign Operations Subcommittee markup of the bill, panel members rejected a proposal to increase Egypt's cash transfer program from \$100 million to \$200 million. Sen. ARLEN SPECTER (R-Pa.) argued that Egypt hardly

deserved a reward for its actions during the Achille Lauro sea jacking.

### Delaying Resolution Passes

The House of Representatives unanimously approved the resolution delaying the proposed Jordan arms sale until Mar. 1. The voice vote approval came only four days after the House Foreign Affairs Committee favorably reported the bill. President Reagan is expected to sign the measure before departing for the Geneva summit.

The resolution, which passed the Senate by a 97-1 margin two weeks ago, delays the sale of sophisticated aircraft and advanced air-defense equipment to Jordan until Mar. 1 unless "direct and meaningful" negotiations are under way between Jordan and Israel.

Rep. DANTE FASCELL (D-Fla.), chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, emphasized that the "committee defines the phrase 'direct and meaningful' negotiations . . . as involving: Direct, publicly acknowledged, ongoing peace negotiations

between the leaders of Jordan and Israel. . . . The establishment of a mechanism by the two parties to ensure the continuation of the substantive negotiating process. . . . A process which would result in a clear public declaration to end the state of belligerency between Jordan and Israel."

Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman RICHARD LUGAR (R-Ind.) assured Senate and House members that he would "oppose parliamentary maneuvering that would allow the sale to go forward against the wishes of the majority of the Senate. . . . It is necessary to form a consensus on this issue," Lugar added.

Reps. LARRY SMITH (D-Fla.), ROBERT TORRICELLI (D-N.J.) and MEL LEVINE (D-Calif.) stressed their concern that the Administration's interpretation of "direct and meaningful" negotiations will fall short of Congressional designs. However, Fascell and Europe and Middle East Subcommittee chairman LEE HAMILTON (D-Ind.) underscored Congress' resolve to disapprove the \$1.9 billion sale if substantive, face-to-face negotiations between Israel and Jordan are not under way by early next year. □

## BACK PAGE

## Renouncing Terror

A short Associated Press (AP) dispatch on Nov. 11 was more significant than it first appeared. The report stated that a "Palestinian died when a bomb he was preparing blew up" in Bethlehem. It also said that another Palestinian was shot "in a clash with an Israeli" in another incident on the West Bank.

There was nothing extraordinary about that. Attempted acts of terrorism are everyday events in the Middle East. The significant part of the dispatch came in a second paragraph which noted that the Palestinian attacks "occurred after Yasir Arafat, speaking on Abu Dhabi television [on Nov. 10], called for 'escalating armed struggle inside the occupied territories.'"

This was unusual. The AP reporter who filed the story made the link between Arafat's call for continued "armed struggle" and actual terrorist acts inside Israel and the West Bank. More commonly, reporters devote space to Arafat's supposed moves toward moderation while seemingly dismissing his bloodier statements as mere rhetoric.

That is a mistake. The real Arafat will not be found in the interviews he gives to Western media. That is propaganda. The real man can be seen in the statements he issues on his own turf, for consumption in Amman, Riyadh, and Cairo. It is there that we can see just where Arafat is trying to lead his people—to peace or to more war. The Abu Dhabi remark gave one indication of the PLO chief's intentions. Another came in a carefully crafted statement which he read on Egyptian television on Nov. 7.

In it, Arafat seemed to renounce terrorism—a move currently being urged upon him by King Hussein. He said that the PLO "announces its condemnation and denunciation of all acts of terrorism involving countries or carried out by individuals or groups against innocent and defenseless people anywhere."

This sounds incredible, unbelievable. And so it is. One paragraph after renouncing terror, Arafat reaffirms his commitment to it. He says that the PLO "affirms its adherence to the Palestinian people's right to resist the Israeli occupation of their land in any way possible to achieve a withdrawal. That is because the right to resist foreign occupation is legitimate and cannot be ignored within the context of the United Nations charter" (emphasis ours).

PLO apologists can, of course, argue that Arafat only sanctions terrorism in the "occupied territories" as if such acts of murder could be legitimized by their locale. But even if they were, it is clear that Arafat has no intention of limiting terror to the West Bank. For the PLO and Arafat all of

"Palestine" is occupied. Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa and every Negev kibbutz are parts of the "usurped homeland." Evidence of that can be seen in the PLO's planned attack on the port city of Ashkelon, south of Tel Aviv. That city, far from the West Bank, was the original target of the Achille Lauro hijackers. Arafat's press office—in explaining that the hijackers had planned to hit Ashkelon and not the ship—even said that their target was "Ashkelon, occupied Palestine." For the PLO, there is no distinction between Tel Aviv and Nablus, between Degania and Ramallah. They are all "occupied," pending "liberation" through "armed struggle."

That may be PLO rhetoric but it is also PLO reality. Take a look at the PLO's National Charter—the organization's constitution which Arafat refuses to amend. Article 1 states that "Palestine, with the boundaries it had during the British Mandate [i.e. all of Israel plus the West Bank] is an indivisible territorial unit." In other words, every inch of Palestine belongs to the Arabs. Article 9 states that "armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine. Thus it is the overall strategy not merely a tactical phase." In other words, terrorism or "armed struggle" is no mere tactic. It is what the PLO is all about.

Arafat's recent statements—in Cairo, Abu Dhabi, and elsewhere—provide adequate evidence that the strategy of the PLO charter is alive and well. Even more evidence is provided by the terrorist acts being committed in Arafat's name and probably under his guidance. Until they cease, it will be obvious that the only thing new about Arafat is his growing sophistication about public relations. Beyond that, he's just the same old terrorist. □

—M.J.R.

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# NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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## EDITORIAL

### The Missing Factor

There seems to be an ingredient missing in King Hussein's peace initiative. It is apparent when one compares the King's statements on the current situation to those of President Anwar Sadat in 1977.

Eight years ago, Sadat decided to establish peace with the State of Israel. His initiative began with a series of secret Egyptian-Israeli meetings, continued with his historic journey to Jerusalem and culminated in the Camp David Accords and treaty. Each step of the way the Egyptian was accompanied by an Israeli prime minister, Menachem Begin, who wanted peace as much as Sadat did.

The Sadat initiative had as its foundation the Egyptian President's belief that peace was better than war. Repeatedly, Sadat told the world that Egypt was tired of war, that too many Egyptians—and Israelis—had been killed in Arab efforts to destroy Israel. At one point he put it this way: "In all sincerity I tell you that we welcome you [Israel] among us with full security and safety. . . . We used to reject you. We refused to meet with you. Yet today I tell you, and I declare it to the whole world, that we accept you in permanent peace based on justice. . . . As we really and truly seek peace, we really and truly welcome you to live among us in peace and security."

Sadat's words were a little redundant. Over and over again, he spoke of peace, of "no more war" or "war, never again." But no Israeli complained. After 29 years of threats and attacks, Sadat's words helped break down what he called the "psychological barrier" between Israel and Egypt. He convinced Israelis that the man who launched the Yom Kippur attack was now ready for reconciliation. A treaty and the return of the Sinai to Egypt followed.

It is impossible to find a similar dedication to peace in King Hussein's recent statements. Unlike Prime Minister Shimon Peres, who told the United Nations in October that he would go anywhere and put everything on the table to achieve peace with Jordan, Hussein refuses to commit himself to anything. The rhetoric of peace may be cheap but, nevertheless, Hussein is expending little of it on Israel.

On Nov. 2, the King addressed the Jordanian parliament. It was a major speech and a long one. There were over a dozen paragraphs on Jordan's foreign policy but there were only passing references to peace. The King did say that he was "working to open the path of peace" as a means of "regaining usurped Arab territory, and Arab and Palestinian rights." He also said that his efforts "are part of the joint Arab effort." He said that he wants a peace conference so that "history will under no circumstances record that we have succumbed to Israel's intransigence. . . ."

But he did not say that he accepted Israel's right to peace and security—though Shimon Peres, of course, says that he accepts Jordan's. He did not give any indication that he sees an intrinsic value in peace with Israel. In fact, he dodged the peace question. The goal of his speech seemed to be to convince the Arab audience that he was still dedicated to achieving "justice" for the Palestinians. He seemed indifferent to what his Israeli listeners would think.

It is not enough. If King Hussein wants Israelis to consider the concessions they might make to achieve peace with Jordan, he will have to convince them that his goal is a peace treaty and not a quick fix. A solution to the Palestinian problem is an admirable goal but it cannot be Hussein's only one. If it is—if he does not understand that peace with his neighbor is its own reward—the current initiative will go nowhere. □

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### Arafat Lauds Murder

Commenting on the "positive setting" for Chairman Yasir Arafat's Cairo visit, a PLO broadcast said that "perhaps the most important factor . . . is that the so-called Egyptian-Israeli peace is only ink on paper" (Baghdad Voice of the PLO, Nov. 4). Normalization of relations between Egypt and Israel "has not affected the nature of the Egyptian land nor has it reached the hearts of the Egyptian people and the state." The commentary noted approvingly that Cairo has not returned its ambassador to Israel nor issued a report on the murder of seven Israeli tourists and the assassination of an Israeli diplomat.

Earlier, Arafat "praised the daring action of the Egyptian soldier in the Sinai" who shot the Israelis (Kuwait News Agency, Oct. 27). The PLO chief "stressed that Palestinian resistance will continue and escalate."

### Pledge by Mubarak

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak told an Israeli newspaper that his government "will always stand by our commitments. Relations between Israel and Egypt will never reach the point where the two will not understand each other" (*Ma'ariv*, Oct. 30). Mubarak called Israel's Prime Minister Peres "a flexible person who believes in

peace" but added that before a summit meeting between the two takes place Israel "must complete its withdrawal from Lebanon, make a goodwill gesture on the Palestinian issue, and solve the Taba problem."

He also said that Jordan's King Hussein "will never agree to negotiate with Israel without the PLO's participation. He knows that all the countries in the region will unanimously denounce him if he tries to do so." Mubarak denied rumors that Egypt would allow the PLO to move its headquarters to Cairo but added that "we still have to use Arafat" in the peace process.

(Continued)

## PERSPECTIVE

# Retaliating for Terrorism

Despite renewed calls for an international campaign against terrorism—recently and poignantly by Marilyn Klinghoffer, widow of Achille Lauro victim Leon Klinghoffer—and Secretary of State George Shultz's earlier effort to build consensus for an active anti-terrorism policy, the American posture probably will remain primarily defensive. That is the view of several specialists on terrorism both in and outside of government.

Even cooperation between the United States and Israel—two of the 10 countries most often the targets of terrorists—is “episodic,” according to a State Department official. He noted that the United States exchanges information with Israel and a number of other developed countries and has anti-terrorism training programs for some under-developed states. But due to the nature of terrorist incidents, the response continues to be mostly case-by-case.

While Washington is concerned that terrorism spawned in the Middle East may move to U.S. soil, “it’s still considered more likely that terrorists will strike at U.S. targets in Europe or the Middle East” or at Israeli targets, the official said. “A grand coalition of civilized states [to fight terrorism] would be nice. . . . but the U.S. is focusing on bilateral relationships.”

The basic reason is that each nation deals with its own terrorism problem separately. Italy fights the domestic Red Brigades while expressing sympathy for the PLO; Great Britain battles the IRA but does not

share the American and Israeli sense of urgency about Middle Eastern terrorism.

And counter-terrorist success can be short-lived. For example, security at Athens airport was improved in the wake of the June TWA hijacking. “But it probably won’t be as good [as it is now] next year.” The State Department official noted that without a constant preoccupation with the problem—such as Israel must exhibit—“it is hard to maintain the high level of readiness, training and morale necessary” to defeat terrorists.

American action in forcing down the Egyptian plane carrying the cruise liner pirates probably will prove to be no panacea. Speaking before the incident, Brian Jenkins, a Rand Corporation expert on international terrorism and former Green Beret, warned that counter-terrorist military action “may provoke further terror, so you better be prepared to retaliate again and again.” Jenkins added that proportional responses may only condition terrorists, not deter them.

If the objective is to “kill the policy” which finds terrorism attractive, then Washington has to make the costs very high for terror’s supporters and “hit very hard.” But given American sensitivity to casualties, prisoners and hostages, the most Washington can hope for is “one or two shots.”

Jenkins reported that international terrorism was increasing at the rate of 12–15% annually and spreading geographically. At the same time it is becoming bloodier as

terrorists resort to large-scale, indiscriminate attacks “intended to kill in quantity.” A parallel trend “is the growing willingness of national governments to exploit terrorism as surrogate warfare against their opponents.”

Important differences in the U.S. and Israeli approach to counter-terrorism include Israeli acceptance of retaliation as part of military doctrine and Israel’s need to combat terrorists working from adjacent states technically at war with it, Jenkins pointed out. Although Israeli officials themselves may debate the efficacy of their retaliatory strikes, they typically believe these actions “have kept the terrorists off balance and kept things from being worse.”

Good intelligence information and agreement among the defense, diplomatic and intelligence communities—as well as public support and the physical means—are also necessary for successful counter-terrorism, Jenkins said. He cited the use of the U.S. battleship *New Jersey* to shell Lebanese targets instead of more precise—and more dangerous—bombing or commando raids as an example of “impotence,” not resolve. Although French air strikes on terrorist positions in the Bekaa Valley after the bombing of French troops in Beirut accomplished little militarily, for Paris it was “an affair of honor.” Jenkins quoted a French official to the effect that “in the Middle East, if you don’t retaliate, you are despised.”

□  
—E.R.

## VIEWING . . . Continued

## Craxi's View

Just before winning a parliamentary vote of confidence enabling him to revive his five-party coalition, Italy’s Socialist Premier, Bettino Craxi, defended “the legitimacy of armed struggle by the Palestine Liberation Organization” (Associated Press, Nov. 6). Craxi claimed that the PLO was “a movement wanting to liberate its own country from a foreign occupation” and that therefore it could legitimately resort to arms.

Republican Party leader Giorgio La Malfa shouted at Craxi, contesting his opinion, and other coalition members expressed displeasure. Craxi’s previous Cabinet fell last

month after the Republicans resigned in protest over Italy’s release of Mohammed Abbas, sought by the United States for planning the Achille Lauro hijacking.

## An Israeli's Analysis

Despite President Mubarak’s vow that the ability of Egypt and Israel to “understand each other” would not be lost, an Israeli observer described the relationship as “at the lowest point since the Sadat initiative eight years ago” (*Jerusalem Post*, weekly international edition, Nov. 2). Correspondent Hirsh Goodman wrote that while officials blamed Israel for undermining the peace and wanting to “destroy the

Arab world,” ordinary Egyptians make Israel “a convenient scapegoat for many of the country’s problems, for its unfulfilled hopes and disappointments with both the Americans and the other Arab states that have yet to come to terms with Egypt’s peace with Israel.”

Reporting from Cairo, Goodman asserted that “there is no question that Egypt is at a crossroads of political redefinition.” He said the country’s explosive population growth could raise the total from approximately 45 million to nearly 100 million by the year 2000. Already “one can feel the infrastructure crumbling, the system unable to keep even today’s low standard of living.” □

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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

# Mideast Diplomacy Simmers Along

The appointment of a senior adviser to aid Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy's push for direct talks between Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinian Arabs is additional evidence that the Administration wants negotiations to begin soon. Secretary of State George Shultz moved Wat T. Cluverius IV, consul-general in the east Jerusalem consulate, to Murphy's staff late last month. Another career foreign service officer, Morris Draper—Ambassador Philip Habib's deputy in the Lebanon negotiations—replaces Cluverius.

A State Department source said Cluverius probably will be based in Tel Aviv and travel throughout the region as necessary. This may cut down on the number of special trips Murphy makes to the Middle East while at the same time demonstrating that U.S. diplomacy "is in an active stage and will be for some months," the source explained. Cluverius may make an introductory swing through regional capitals soon.

An Israeli official said that having a permanent U.S. envoy in the region will limit expectations of a breakthrough every time Murphy's plane takes off. The official added that Jordan's King Hussein no longer speaks of 1985 as the final opportunity for peace. Presumably, Hussein is more optimistic about striking a deal with Prime Minister Shimon Peres than with Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir (scheduled to return as Prime Minister next fall). But Hussein recognizes that he may need more time to pressure PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat into accepting Jordan's diplomatic initiative.

## Something Going On

A Capitol Hill source speculated that the creation of a new post of senior aide to Murphy means that "something is going on" diplomatically. Cluverius' contacts with West Bank residents as consul-general in east Jerusalem may point to progress on a possible meeting of U.S. representatives and a joint Jordanian-Palestinian Arab delegation. At the least, the source said, it shows a continued Administration desire "to pursue the possibility of dealing with the Palestinians."

Meanwhile, on NBC-TV's "Meet the Press," Nov. 3, King Hussein said that he and PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat had "a very thorough review of the relations of the government of Jordan and the Palestinian Liberation Organization." Noting that all the public statements on the meeting came from the PLO and seemed "self-serving," the State Department official said that Hussein probably impressed on Arafat the need to accept U.N. Security Council resolutions 242 and 338—something the PLO

continues to refuse.

Hussein's Nov. 2 speech to the Jordanian parliament barely mentioned the PLO and stressed the importance of Jordanian-Syrian relations. However, three days later in an address in Luxembourg, the King reiterated that the PLO should participate in an international conference on Middle East peace.

## Pushing Arafat

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, meeting with Arafat on Nov. 5, reportedly warned him that PLO terrorism *outside* Israeli-controlled territory harmed the peace process [emphasis added]. Egypt also wanted the organization to reaffirm its Feb. 11 agreement with Hussein to go along with the King's diplomatic initiative. Israelis see this as an indication that Hussein still will not move without the PLO but that he and Mubarak intend to press Arafat to follow the Jordanian-Egyptian lead.

The United States and Israel are searching for some "international auspices" under which direct talks between Israel, Jordan and non-PLO Palestinian Arabs could take place, but both reject Hussein's call for a conference including all five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and the PLO.

One obstacle to Security Council participation as the "international umbrella" for direct talks—the absence of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel—may be removed. Harold Saunders, Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and

South Asian Affairs in the Carter Administration and now a resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, said last week that Hussein's original proposal for a full-dress international conference on the Middle East was "not workable." Saunders—in a view not shared by other sources with East European contacts—saw movement toward a resumption of diplomatic ties between Moscow and Jerusalem. He thought this might lead to a limited Geneva-style conference. Such a gathering would last for a day or so and "then go off into bilateral discussions."

Although Saunders argues that the Reagan Administration should deviate from the policy of the past three administrations and talk to the PLO, he stressed that "a clear-cut Palestinian offer to negotiate peace with Israel" is necessary to bolster the peace process. He observed that so far the PLO has "failed to persuade the other parties that it is prepared to negotiate peace or able to deliver what it negotiates."

As for the U.S.-U.S.S.R. summit meeting this week, observers were nearly unanimous in the view that the Middle East will get little attention. Although President Reagan has pledged to raise the issue of Soviet Jewry, bilateral superpower questions such as arms control—plus the fact that this is the first meeting of these two leaders and the first superpower summit in years—should leave little time for any detailed discussion of the Middle East.

□  
—E.R.

## Thomas Dine on Summit

Thomas A. Dine, executive director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, said in Washington on Nov. 7 that the Reagan-Gorbachev summit will be "the most important test of American foreign policy over the last five years. The crucial outcome will not be an arms control agreement or accords based on principles or photographs of the two leaders but the future direction of the relationship between the superpowers."

Asked what would constitute a successful summit, Dine told his listeners that he agreed with "five points put forth by Sen. Pete Wilson (R-Calif.)." The Wilson points are as follows:

One—That the United States not allow the Soviet Union to set the agenda. While they are entitled to address their concerns, we are entitled to address ours.

Two—That the United States insist upon a linkage between the subject of arms control and the subject of human rights, the subject of violations of the Helsinki Accords, the sponsorship of terrorism, and sponsorship of regional aggression and subversion, and the conduct of espionage under diplomatic cover.

Three—That the United States make no agreement under which performance cannot be verified.

Four—That the United States make no agreement regarding defensive technology under which the United States forbears from availing itself and its allies of future technologies.

Five—That the United States make clear to the Soviet Union that there will be a cost to them for violation of any agreement.

BACK PAGE

## All His Causes

At 80, he is still the quiet man he was at 50. And when he speaks, I.L. (Si) Kenen speaks softly. "Did you ever notice that on those rare occasions when he's angry, Si 'shouts' by lowering his voice?" asked one long-time associate. "It forces you to lean forward and listen hard just to know what he's saying."

That was just one of the secrets of Si Kenen's success as he created and built the pro-Israel lobby in Washington over a 35-year period. "It's true," he recalls. "I didn't shout and I didn't write people off either. I always said that we had only friends and potential friends. No enemies." But he qualified that: "Of course, we did have a few."

Si Kenen, founder of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) and of *Near East Report*, recalls some of those friends and "potential friends" in the second volume of an autobiography which has just been published. *All My Causes* begins where his *Israel's Defense Line* left off. That first book was a history of U.S.-Israel relations between 1942 and 1981 and Kenen's role in that history. *All My Causes* is a look at the personalities who made the events happen.

Kenen's recollections underline just how far the pro-Israel community has come in the years since he established AIPAC in 1951. In 1956, after eight years of terrorist attacks from across the Egyptian border, the Israeli army pushed the Egyptians out of the Sinai Peninsula. The Sinai campaign eliminated the terrorist threat to Israel from Egypt and removed Egypt's ability to block Israeli ships from using international waterways.

Nevertheless, Israel's action was strongly opposed by the United States. In a chapter entitled "Eisenhower-Dulles," Kenen recalls that the President and Secretary of State applied strong pressure on Israel to pull back from Sinai without any Egyptian concessions in return. The Eisenhower Administration's strenuous opposition to Israel's defensive Sinai campaign came during—and immediately after—a Presidential campaign in which Eisenhower was a candidate for reelection.

Neither political concerns nor opposition from the pro-Israel community inhibited Eisenhower and Dulles from their anti-Israel actions. As Kenen points out, "AIPAC—and it wasn't called AIPAC then—was only in its infancy in '56 and '57. We didn't have the strength to make Eisenhower understand that forcing Israel out of Sinai would endanger Israel's security and guarantee another war. In fact, the American policy helped promote a war [in 1967] only ten years later."

Kenen notes that "things have certainly changed since then." He points out that Lyndon Johnson's Administration strongly backed Israel during the 1967 war and that President Nixon was instrumental in saving Israel from defeat in 1973. Today, he says, both the President and Congress understand "that a strong Israel is good for the United States and that Israel contributes far more to the United States than it takes. I think that I—and my two successors, Morrie Amitay and Tom Dine—may have had something to do with that."

Kenen was, typically, modest. As Abba Eban puts it, Kenen is "one of the authentic architects of the Israel-America alliance." Employing the same analogy, Congressman Steve Solarz (D-N.Y.) says that he and other Congressional backers of the alliance are all "carpenters working to strengthen the framework Kenen designed and built. Kenen was the architect."

*All My Causes* continues the story of a man who helped build a relationship that is today one of the cornerstones of U.S. foreign policy. He didn't grow rich doing it. On the contrary, there were months in which he received no salary—months in which he advanced money to AIPAC to keep it going. He says that he has no regrets about that. "I remember the \$8,000 years. But don't forget, I had an invaluable fringe benefit. I had a cherished cause. I still have it." □

—M.J.R.

### All My Causes

Copies of *All My Causes* by I.L. Kenen are available for \$8.50 by writing to Esther Chesney, 500 North Capital St., N.W., 3rd Floor, Washington, D.C. 20001

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# NEAR EAST REPORT

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## EDITORIAL

### Closing Window?

It still isn't happening. Despite the sunny predictions that King Hussein would respond to Prime Minister Peres' generous peace initiative by moving away from the PLO and toward negotiations, events point to a continuation of the status quo. Even the PLO seems pleasantly surprised by the King's hesitation. Speaking of the Oct. 28 meeting in Amman between Hussein and Yasir Arafat, PLO deputy Abu Iyadh (Salah Khalaf) said: "I had prepared myself for some very tough talks but they weren't."

Instead, representatives of the PLO and Jordan met and discussed neither the PLO's recognizing Israel's right to exist nor its renouncing terrorism. Hani al-Hasan, another Arafat aide, said that both sides agreed not to "carry out any act that could hurt the Feb. 11" PLO-Jordan accord—that stale formula which envisages a PLO state on the West Bank linked to Jordan. A Jordanian official told the Associated Press that Amman "cannot even imagine that one side could have peace with Israel." This last statement was an echo of the October Jordanian-Syrian communique in which the two countries each rejected a separate peace with Israel.

All this is good news for the terrorists after a month of

setbacks. They had feared that Hussein might kick them out of the negotiating process or even out of their new bases in Jordan. But the King seems as reluctant as ever to do anything at all.

Good news for the PLO is, of course, bad news for the peace process. Even as the PLO remains in Hussein's good graces, its spokesmen (see *Viewing* item below) say that it intends to step up its terrorist operations. Neither Prime Minister Peres nor any other Israeli leader is going to negotiate with a Jordan allied with terrorists who kill Israeli and Jewish civilians worldwide. Nor will Peres accept a terrorist mini-state on the west bank of the Jordan, a basic PLO demand. King Hussein knows all this, as he must also know that continuing his alliance with the PLO will abort the current peace process even before it gets off the ground.

On Oct. 30, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy told a House subcommittee that this "is one of those moments" when the peace process "can be substantially advanced." But, he added, "the window of opportunity is fast" closing. Once again, it is King Hussein who—in keeping the window open to the PLO—seems to be shutting it to peace.

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### Peres Outlines Proposal

Prime Minister Shimon Peres briefed the Knesset on his visit to the United States at a "special" Oct. 28 session. He said that Israel "may be standing on the threshold of a new era. Pacts and coalitions are changing. Situations which appeared to be stable are changing with every new edition."

He said that there has been "a great strengthening of Israel's international status. King Hussein has announced publicly that he is prepared to re-examine his policy. [The French government] has announced that it will re-examine its attitude toward the PLO. The United States has announced that the PLO has excluded itself from all the negotiations. The Socialist International has rejected a condemnation of Israel. Arafat was prevented from speaking before the United Nations. The U.S. arms deal with Jordan has been postponed."

Peres said that he had explained Israel's position on peace negotiations with Jordan and the Palestinians to 17 heads of state. He recapitulated that position for the Knesset.

"The objective of these negotiations is to reach peace treaties between Israel and the Arab states, as well as to resolve the Palestinian issue.

"Neither party may impose preconditions.

"Negotiations are to be based on United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, and on the willingness to entertain suggestions proposed by other participants.

"Negotiations are to be conducted directly between states.

"If deemed necessary, these negotiations may be initiated with the support of an international forum, as agreed to by the negotiating states.

"This gathering can take place before the end of the year, in Jordan, Israel, or any location, as mutually agreed to. We will be pleased to attend an opening meeting in Amman.

"And, finally, negotiations between Israel and Jordan are to be conducted between an Israeli delegation, on one hand, and a Jordanian, or Jordanian-Palestinian delega-

tion on the other, both comprising delegates that represent peace, not terror."

### PLO Official on Terror

Farouk Kaddoumi, the PLO's "foreign minister" and a confidante of Yasir Arafat, says that the PLO intends to escalate its campaign of terrorism against Israel. In an interview with the Stockholm *Svenska Dagbladet* (Oct. 26), Kaddoumi said: "We will escalate the armed struggle against Israel since the signals for negotiations we sent out have not had the desired effect."

Kaddoumi, who is a leader of the *Fatah* wing of the PLO, added that "ideally we will strike against targets inside Israel, but Israelis abroad should not feel too secure" either.

Kaddoumi said that the PLO had not endorsed the United Nations resolution recognizing Israel's right to exist. "We have never accepted and will never accept Resolution 242. We cannot recognize a resolution which calls us refugees and hints that we do not have as much right to the country as the Israelis." □

## HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

# Arms Sale Opposed

The Senate voted 97-1 last week to postpone the \$1.9 billion arms sale to Jordan until Mar. 1 or until "direct and meaningful negotiations" are under way between Jordan and Israel. The House of Representatives has until Nov. 20 to act.

Prior to the Senate action, 74 Senators and 280 Representatives had cosponsored House and Senate resolutions disapproving the sale of advanced aircraft and sophisticated air-defense articles to Jordan. However, sponsors of the Senate resolution of disapproval have agreed to delay action on the resolution until February, in effect extending the 30-day Congressional review period to 100 days. The House expects to take up the delay proposal next week.

Congressional sources said that sponsors of the Senate resolution of disapproval reached a compromise with Senate Republican leaders in an attempt to forge an agreement with the Administration. GOP leaders had previously warned the Administration that the Jordan arms package had little chance of being accepted by Congress and persuaded President Reagan to approve the delay.

Both the Senate and the Administration are hoping that King Hussein will use the time to begin "meaningful" face-to-face negotiations with Israel. Opponents of the sale warned that they will not hesitate to disapprove the sale if Jordan has not entered into direct, substantive talks with Israel well before the Mar. 1 deadline.

Senate Majority leader ROBERT DOLE (R-Kans.) told Senate colleagues that delaying the sale "encompasses two ideas strongly felt . . . that direct negotiations between Jordan and Israel must be at the heart of any realistic effort to forge a regional peace and that such negotiations . . . will do more than any arms sale to enhance the security of both countries."

In a floor statement introducing the resolution of disapproval Sen. EDWARD KENNEDY (D-Mass.) declared that the broad bipartisan support for the resolution of disapproval "indicates that opposing the attempt to arm the enemies of Israel is no partisan issue—but a national commitment." Sen. JOHN HEINZ (R-Pa.) charged that "the sentiment remains strong, among Republicans and Democrats alike, that selling advanced weapons at this time, prior to direct negotiations between Israel and Jordan, is premature and unwarranted."

Sen. ALAN CRANSTON (D-Calif.), a primary sponsor of the resolution, said in a speech on the Senate floor that "it would not be in the security interests of the United States to escalate the arms race in the Middle East. That can only lead to greater expenditures for military purposes . . . and new dangers for the only certain democracy and our number one ally . . . Israel."

Sen. ARLEN SPECTER (R-Pa.) expressed his opposition to the sale on the Senate floor stating "the sale to Jordan will have an adverse effect on Jordan's willingness to move forward in the peace process." Sen. JESSE HELMS (R-N.C.), who also cosponsored the resolution of disapproval, told a New York audience that "we should not consider arms sales (to Jordan) until King Hussein is actually at the conference table with Israel . . ."

The House resolution of disapproval, led by Foreign Affairs Committee chairman DANTE FASCELL (D-Fla.), Majority Leader JIM WRIGHT (D-Tex.), Foreign Affairs Committee ranking Republican WILLIAM BROOMFIELD (R-Mich.), LARRY SMITH (D-Fla.) and VIN WEBER (R-Minn.), was introduced last week. Hearings on the sale began this week with a closed meeting in which the General Accounting Office gave panel members its evaluation of the arms sale.

## The list of House cosponsors:

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## HEARD IN JERUSALEM

# The Peres Strategy

**Jerusalem**—Prime Minister Shimon Peres succeeded in winning at least tacit endorsement of his peace initiative when he addressed the Knesset at a special session on Oct. 28. He forced his Likud opponents (and coalition partners) to choose between ending the national unity government and supporting his program. When push came to shove, his opponents backed down. A motion of no-confidence was voted down by every member of the coalition government, save one Likudnik closely aligned with Ariel Sharon. Even Sharon himself, who together with David Levy led the original attack on Peres, voted along with the rest of his Likud colleagues not to abandon the government.

Likud support for the Peres initiative was produced not by the logic employed by the Prime Minister in his speech, but rather by the fact that the Labor party had convinced two key swing religious Orthodox parties to join a narrow Peres-led government should the Likud bolt. This deprived Likud of any real alternative.

Likud's reservations about the Peres initiative were not dictated by ideological concerns. Certainly, Likud objected to Peres' approach to the question of an "international forum" to frame direct negotiations between Jordan and Israel. And it was not happy with Peres' broad definition of which Palestinians would be acceptable in a negotiating team. Finally, Likud objected to the scope of the would-be negotiations, which Peres refused to limit to the specific autonomy described in the Camp David Accords.

However, Peres was supported by those Likudniks who stand to gain from coalition stability—with their eyes raised to Yitzhak

Shamir's rotation into the prime minister's office next October. He was opposed by those Likud elements who are not anxious to see Shamir remain as their party's leader. Interestingly, those Likud leaders who withheld support from the Camp David Accords—Shamir and Arens—now supported Peres, while those who had backed Prime Minister Menachem Begin in 1978—Sharon, Levy and Modai—spoke out against the new initiative.

Amid reports that details of a secret peace plan have already been conveyed to Jordan's King Hussein, Peres used his U.N. speech to outline the basis of his policy. Besides addressing the thorny issues of Soviet and Palestinian participation, Peres has evidently advanced a proposal for a far-reaching and Jordanian-linked autonomy—an Israeli-Jordanian "condominium"—as the first stage in a negotiated settlement.

The assumption is that Hussein cannot conclude a territory-for-peace agreement, in which he does not secure the entire West Bank and Gaza, unless he has covered his "nationalist" flank through a partnership with the PLO. No Israeli government would cede the entire area, even for full peace. And since the PLO has through its terrorism ruled itself out of the negotiating process, Hussein would need impossible territorial concessions from Israel in order to go it alone. Given this impasse, the Peres proposal calls for a first stage interim accord based on autonomy for the Palestinian inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza, in exchange for a Jordanian declaration of an end to the state of war with Israel. (Since territories would not be exchanged, Jordan wouldn't be expected to transact full "peace.")

This allows Hussein to sidestep the issue of PLO participation, deferring it to a later stage. He can also deflect any criticism that he has forgone Arab claims to sovereignty in the territories; he will not have ceded one inch to Israel. In this sense, Israelis were cheered by Egyptian President Mubarak's comment, following his recent talks with Hussein, to the effect that the next step must involve "an improvement" in the lives of the Palestinians.

Jordan's sudden coziness with Syria, whereby the two countries initiated an agreement that neither would sign a separate peace with Israel, did not seem to daunt Peres. It helped stall the proposed American arms sale to Jordan; and it may have signaled Hussein's desire to break with the PLO. Should the Jordanian monarch succeed in fashioning an appropriate set of international auspices in which he gets down to negotiations with Israel, Syria could be invited. In any event, the proposed agreement need not be construed as a "separate peace."

Labor's partnership with Likud, and especially the threat to rotation, may be the best card Peres has to play in advancing the peace process now. He will not play it until he can get something serious from Hussein in return. If the King wants to guarantee Shamir's rotation into office, he need only continue to walk arm-in-arm with Yasir Arafat. Peres will not try to force Likud out of the coalition before Hussein agrees to pay the price. Until that point, the Prime Minister will continue to stretch the Israeli consensus toward peace. □

—David Twersky

*Twersky is NER's correspondent in Jerusalem.*

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## Pat Robertson Opposes Sale

Dr. Pat Robertson, president of the Christian Broadcasting Network and possible Presidential candidate, recently urged Members of Congress to "oppose the sale of sophisticated offensive weapons to Jordan."

In letters to Virginia Republican Senators John Warner and Paul Trible, Robertson stated that "Israel's security is tied to air superiority. The introduction of advanced fighter aircraft into Jordan at this time will only serve to escalate the arms race in the Middle East requiring additional aid from the United States to our principal ally, Israel."

BACK PAGE

## Bold Steps

**K**ing Hussein called Shimon Peres a "man of vision" after Peres' speech at the United Nations. That, in itself, is an indication that the King may be serious about pursuing the peace process. In the past, he rarely had anything good to say about an Israeli prime minister.

It also appears that Hussein and Peres met in October in Europe. A Kuwaiti newspaper printed the first report of a Hussein-Peres meeting and a *New York Times* story on the same event quickly followed. Predictably, both sides deny that any meeting took place.

Whether it did or not, it is clear that something is going on. The very fact that we know so little about what is happening behind the scenes may mean that we can consider taking the quotation marks off the words "peace process."

Nevertheless, this is no time for euphoria. Before negotiations begin, King Hussein must end his alliance with Yasir Arafat and the PLO. Moreover, both Hussein and Peres need to agree on the proper auspices for a peace conference. Hussein will have to look over his shoulder at the PLO and at Jordanians who oppose peace with Israel, while Peres has to worry about his Likud partners who are skeptical about any concessions to Hussein.

It won't be easy getting to the negotiating table and it will be even harder reaching a settlement acceptable to both sides. This does not mean that anyone should give up on the peace process. Peace between Israel and Jordan is essential for both countries. However, a little realism will help all the parties survive the snags that are inevitable once the negotiating process is under way.

A cover story in the October *Atlantic* by Irish journalist Conor Cruise O'Brien will throw some cold water on those who expect to see peace quickly established. O'Brien's article ("Why Israel Can't Take 'Bold Steps' for Peace") argues that there is an almost unbreachable gap between Israel's opposition to a West Bank Palestinian state and the Arabs' demand for one. "Almost all Israelis would regard such a state as an immediate threat to the security of their own state and a longer-term threat to its existence. They believe that the PLO would accept the mini-state of the West Bank as a step in the direction of its real objective, which remains all of Palestine," he writes.

O'Brien also says that the Arabs will demand at least a part of Jerusalem in any negotiations. He adds that "it is as certain as anything can be that the state of Israel will not give up any part of its capital, Jerusalem, in exchange for anything at all, even peace."

He concludes that "exchanging territory for peace—attractive as that concept is—is not a feasible option for the West Bank." Israel, he says, will remain in control of the West Bank "for a long time."

However, this does not, in O'Brien's view, mean that peace or quasi-peace between Jordan and Israel is an impossibility. He believes that Israel and Jordan could reach an agreement under which the two countries would govern the West Bank and Gaza jointly. Israel would maintain its military presence throughout the area but would "return to the old [Moshe] Dayan policy of minimal interference with the Arab population." Arabs would have autonomy in all areas of civil life. In O'Brien's words, they would live with the "anomalous but not necessarily intolerable status as Jordanian subjects in civil matters living in a territory under Israel's military control."

O'Brien's article was written well before the current peace initiative. However, his proposed solution appears to be under discussion by Jordanian and Israeli officials now. According to a report in the Oct. 29 *Ha'aretz*, Peres has proposed to Jordan a joint-rule arrangement. Under the plan, the 750,000 West Bank Arabs would elect an autonomous council to conduct all aspects of civilian life under a joint Jordanian-Israeli government. *Ha'aretz* said that Hussein has accepted the basic contours of the plan. The Israeli government denied the report.

At this point, denials are to be expected. Press speculation does not advance the peace process. Still, it should be obvious that O'Brien's recommendation (which is similar to Camp David) is one possible route to peace. Of course, it will completely satisfy neither side. It is a compromise. And that is why it just may work. □

—M.J.R.

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# NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

VOL XXIX NO. 43 OCTOBER 28, 1985

## EDITORIAL

### The Peres Initiative

The empty chairs in the General Assembly's chamber provided a graphic illustration of the problem facing Prime Minister Shimon Peres as he pursues his peace initiative. The Egyptian delegation was there. But Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and company were absent—as was a contingent of Third World countries (including Nicaragua) anxious to demonstrate their anti-Israel *bona fides*. Most disturbing of all was the absence of the Jordanians. Although they knew in advance that Peres essentially would be addressing them, they joined in the boycott rather than recognize Israel's legitimacy by staying in the room.

But Peres was not daunted. He called on Jordan and the Palestinian Arabs to join Israel in direct negotiations. He said that the goal of the negotiations would be a Jordan-Israel peace treaty and resolution of the Palestinian issue. Peres indicated that he was prepared to negotiate over the future of the West Bank and that in essence everything would be "on the table." He even modified Israel's long-standing opposition to an international peace conference. If Jordan needs the support of the United Nations to begin direct negotiations, Peres will go along. In short, Peres wants negotiations

with Jordan *now*. He will do everything he can to get them started.

All Peres needs is a partner. Unfortunately, Jordan's response to the speech so far gives little indication that he has one. The Jordanian press says that Amman liked the part of Peres' speech in which he moved closer to its position on an international conference. It rejected the parts calling for direct negotiations. Reporter Judith Miller writes in the Oct. 23 *New York Times* that Amman was less interested in the Peres speech than in a three-point agreement announced on Oct. 21 between Syria and Jordan. This agreement—which could be a major step toward full reconciliation between Jordan and its supposed enemy—could mean that King Hussein is again hedging his bets on peace with Israel and instead is leaning toward Syria and its strategy of permanent rejectionism. However, a day later Miller reported that Hussein found Peres' address "positive in spirit."

We don't yet know what King Hussein has in mind. Is it to be peace or the Syrian route? If he is serious about peace, the Peres proposal is one offer he simply cannot refuse. □

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### Abu Nidal's Threats

A man claiming to be Palestinian Arab terrorist Abu Nidal said that he put U.S. President Ronald Reagan, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and "every Arab or Palestinian taking up some sort of contact or relations" with Israel on a death list (*Der Spiegel*, Oct. 14). When the interviewer for the West German magazine named three Palestinian Arabs supposedly killed by Abu Nidal, the latter replied, "We have carried out almost 100 such actions without saying much about them. The reason was always the same—contacts with [Israel]." He pointed out that one of those murdered "was my nephew."

Asked to explain why "more Arabs have been killed by other Arabs than by Zionists," Abu Nidal replied: "Those Arabs you refer to are nothing but instruments in the hands of Zionists and imperialists. We will teach the states on the Arab peninsula that our children in Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine are as valuable as their children. . . ."

Abu Nidal said he was "a true believer in the Greater Syria imperium," in which he

included Israel, Iraq, Jordan, Syria and at least part of Lebanon.

He questioned whether Egyptian President Mubarak or Jordan's King Hussein "will enjoy a long life," called Yasir Arafat "a puppet," and expressed admiration for Libyan leader Muammar Quaddafi.

### Rabin on Terror

Addressing the Knesset, Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin said that "Arab terrorism is currently directed against Israel and the Jewish people by means of 11 diverse organizations numbering approximately 17,000 terrorists" (Israel Defense Forces Radio, Oct. 21).

Rabin noted that there are now approximately 2,000 Arafat-supporting terrorists in Lebanon—with more attempting to return—and another 6,000 of other allegiances who never left. He added that "Iraq has increasingly taken its [Lebanon's] place as a haven of terrorists." He said the number of PLO members in Iraq increases daily and he would not be surprised if the PLO headquarters moved from Tunisia to Iraq "in the next few months."

The Defense Minister reported that Israel's intensified counter-terrorism measures, political as well as military, have "begun to yield certain fruits."

### Whitehead Clarified

In Tunisia the State Department's number two man, Deputy Secretary John Whitehead, issued a statement in which he deplored Israel's Oct. 1 bombing of the PLO headquarters in Tunis "as we deplore all acts of terrorism wherever they may occur" (Associated Press, Oct. 23). The Department issued a clarification in Washington, commenting that Whitehead said "he did not describe the Israeli raid as a terrorist act. He did not intend to imply that it was such an act. . . . The Deputy Secretary's statement should be seen in the context of the cycle of violence in the Middle East which we have deplored."

In Jerusalem a broadcast noted that Whitehead's statement "in effect contradicts" President Reagan's original declaration which supported the raid as self-defense (*Kol Yisrael*, Oct. 23). □

## HEARD IN JERUSALEM

# Intelligence Boss on the Record

In a rare public interview, the chief of intelligence for the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) declared that Yasir Arafat himself has been involved in the recent wave of anti-Israel terrorism. Maj. Gen. Ehud Barak also detailed Syria's latest arms acquisitions and criticized the proposed U.S. weapons sale to Jordan. He described Egypt's President Mubarak as "still in control" despite internal ferment.

Barak told reporters on Israel Television on Oct. 16 that Syria is still trying to reach a level at which it can "deal with the IDF on its own." In the coming year Damascus will receive MiG-29's, "the most sophisticated aircraft the Soviet Union exports. . . . They are the Soviet answer to the [U.S.] F-15's and F-16's." Syria also expects to receive submarines this year and is deploying surface-to-sea missiles which Barak claimed could be fired from Syrian positions north of Lebanon and hit targets off Haifa or Ashdod. He warned that the Soviet SAM-5 anti-aircraft missiles now under full Syrian control might be able to hit planes flying over Tel Aviv.

"Today the Syrians have a regular army of 500,000 men, compared to a little fewer than 300,000 in 1982," Barak noted. He doubted that the Hafez Assad regime planned to launch a war soon, but said it will try to undermine any "dramatic development" in the peace process between Is-

rael, Jordan and Palestinian Arabs. Syria could do this by attempting to assassinate King Hussein and Arafat or their top advisers, by subversion or the massing of troops along their border with Jordan. Should that fail it might escalate a confrontation with Israel.

Barak said the main danger in a delay in political developments between Israel, Jordan and the Palestinian Arabs and between Jerusalem and Cairo was a "gradual denuding of the substance of the peace treaty with Egypt and . . . a possible gradual slide of Egypt into the circle of hostility; it may not lead it but it may be driven to it."

Nevertheless, his assessment of Hosni Mubarak's position was hopeful. "Mubarak has a problem with the [Sunni] fundamentalists. . . . He has many other problems, both economic and social, and I do not envy him. At the same time, he continues to maintain democracy in Egypt at a level unprecedented since the revolution. In my opinion, the bottom line is that he is still in control of the situation."

Supplying American F-16's or F-20's, mobile HAWK anti-aircraft batteries and other equipment to Jordan is "very serious," Barak said. "An F-16 can take off with three tons of bombs from a Jordanian air base and be over . . . any location in the center of Israel within a matter of minutes. . . . In our opinion, the Jordanian

Army does not need these [mobile] batteries for anything other than aggression. With 20 stationary HAWK batteries Jordan can cover and defend the central sector of its country, 90% of its population and almost its entire infrastructure."

Barak noted that Abu Abbas, planner of the Achille Lauro piracy, "is one of the men closest to Arafat. . . . He is a member of the supreme PLO operational body, the executive committee, which has 10 members. . . . With regard to some of the latest attacks abroad and other attacks, we know with absolute certainty that Arafat knew about them before and during their implementation." Barak said that, based on knowledge of how the PLO operates, "it is not reasonable to assume that at such a sensitive time politically, Arafat would not know about every action when they begin to carry it out."

The intelligence chief predicted more PLO attacks "if only to erase or take revenge for the number of failures it has suffered recently." He said Arafat continues to play the double game of diplomacy and terrorism simultaneously and "gets out of or releases himself from the contradiction between these two channels by a systematic attempt to avoid shouldering responsibility for the attacks themselves."

## HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

## Arms Sale Postponed

In the face of overwhelming Congressional opposition, the Reagan Administration has agreed to delay the \$1.9 billion Jordan arms sale until Mar. 1. Seventy-four Senators had introduced a resolution opposing the sale of sophisticated combat planes and air defense equipment to King Hussein until peace talks with Israel are under way. On Oct. 24, the Senate formally voted 97-1 to delay the sale.

Co-sponsors of the resolution and Senate Republican leaders agreed on a compromise which will postpone consideration of the arms transfer. This "leaves open the opportunity for movement in the peace process," said Sen. RICHARD LUGAR (R-Ind.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The Senate resolution of disapproval, offered by Sens. JOHN HEINZ (R-Pa.), ED-

WARD KENNEDY (D-Mass.), BOB KASTEN (R-Wis.), DANIEL INOUE (D-Hawaii), RUDY BOSCHWITZ (R-Minn.) and ALAN CRANSTON (D-Calif.), states that "until such time as Jordan actually sits down in direct peace negotiations with Israel . . . a sale of advanced weaponry to Jordan would be a mistake."

The list of Senate signers:

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## PERSPECTIVE

# Peres Promotes His Peace Plan

Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres dismissed Jordan's initial, unofficial rejection of his new initiative for Middle East peace last week. A Jordanian spokesman said on Oct. 22 that there was "nothing new" in Peres' proposal—made at the United Nations a day earlier. But the Prime Minister said he "wouldn't worry about the immediate reaction. The real reaction will come later in different ways."

At the General Assembly, Peres called on all parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict to renounce violence, to work toward peace treaties between Israel and the Arab states and to resolve the status of the Palestinian Arabs. The Prime Minister stressed the need for talks "based on U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and on willingness to entertain suggestions proposed by other participants." He said that direct negotiations—without preconditions—could be "initiated with the support of an international forum, as agreed upon by the negotiating states."

According to Peres, Israeli representatives "will be pleased to attend" such a forum, whether in Jordan, Israel or any other mutually agreed upon location. "Negotiations between Israel and Jordan are to be conducted between an Israeli delegation on the one hand and a Jordanian—or Jordanian-Palestinian—delegation on the other, both comprising delegates that represent peace, not terror." The Prime Minister said that small working teams could convene within 30 days to agree on the process, agenda and international support for the negotiations.

He envisioned talks leading to "intermediate as well as permanent arrangements. They may deal with the demarcation of boundaries as well as the resolution of the Palestinian problem. The Camp David Accords provide a possible basis for the attainment of these objectives."

Peres suggested that the permanent members of the U. N. Security Council [the United States, Great Britain, France, Soviet Union and China] "may be invited to support the initiation of these negotiations"—a nod toward King Hussein's demand for "international cover." But the Israeli leader reasserted Jerusalem's position that "those who confine their diplomatic relations to one side of the conflict exclude themselves from such a role." Neither Moscow nor Peking has diplomatic relations with Israel. In Washington, before going to the U. N., Peres said that Soviet hints at renewed ties with Israel were probably no more than publicity moves before the Reagan-Gorbachev summit.

At a speech sponsored by the American Enterprise Institute (AEI) in Washington,

Peres said that "the things we have to do are urgent." He said that Jewish and Arab nationalism could have complemented each other in the Middle East but, instead, conflict—often the result of intransigent Palestinian Arab leadership—"caused five wars in the last 37 years." He credited the assassinated Egyptian President Anwar Sadat with "being the first to realize" that warfare could not solve the conflict.

Nevertheless, he said, "the Egypt-Israel agreement, while alive, is not terribly attractive. There are many unanswered questions from Israel's point of view. . . . Did Israel get full peace for a full return of land?"

Although one can look back with pessimism, "looking ahead, neither the Arabs nor ourselves have any real option but to try our hands, as soon as possible. . . . [at] a sincere, responsible peace formula."

Peres called the PLO "the greatest obstacle" to peace because its "experience, development and inclination" show it to be incapable of abandoning terrorism. While crediting Hussein with sincerity in seeking peace, Peres charged that instead of the King leading the PLO toward peace, Yasir Arafat was pushing Hussein toward confrontation. Peres termed the Larnaca murder of three Israelis by Arafat's "Force 17" "a torpedo sent to kill the joint initiative" of Hussein and Egyptian President

Mubarak; adding that it was one of 117 such attacks since January.

At an embassy press conference, Peres asserted that Israel and the United States were in "complete agreement" on the need for direct negotiations and that all else was "window dressing." He said the one outstanding difference between Jerusalem and Washington was over the latter's insistence on a Jordan arms sale. Peres said until Jordan's "state of belligerency" against Israel ends, the proposed transfer of advanced U.S. weaponry to Amman worries him "for good and serious reasons."

Replying to a question from the correspondent for the English-language *Jordan Times*—whose very presence was seen as significant by Israeli reporters—Peres said, "We are not asking Hussein to surrender. On the contrary, we invite him to the negotiating table on equal terms." And he paraphrased his remarks at A. E. I. that peace, like war, will have a cost for all sides: "For peace to be accomplished, you must be ready to make compromises."

After Peres' U. N. address, some opposition leaders in Israel's coalition Cabinet questioned whether the Prime Minister's suggestion of territorial compromise with Jordan had deviated from government guidelines.

—E. R.

## Jordan-Syria Rapprochement

The prime ministers of Jordan and Syria held their second meeting in a month on Oct. 21 and agreed to exchange ambassadors for the first time in four years and pledged that neither would enter into a separate peace with Israel, according to news reports. While the Reagan Administration has argued that the Jordan arms sales will help Amman protect itself against threats from Damascus, the two Arab states may be narrowing their differences through Saudi Arabian mediation.

An Amman newspaper said that the efforts "should achieve the hopes pinned on them by ending differences which have never been difficult to resolve among brothers. . . ." (*Sawat al-Sha'b*, Oct. 21). The *Washington Post* on Oct. 23 reported that by warming relations with Syria's Hafez Assad, Jordan's King Hussein could give himself an alternative to the peace process with Israel. The *Post* added that Hussein could be trying to protect his participation in the peace process by including Damascus, which has objected vehemently to any "separate peace." Finally, movement toward Syria might increase Jordanian pressure on Yasir Arafat after the PLO's recent diplomatic and operational defeats.

The State Department, reacting to a possible Syrian-Jordanian rapprochement, commented that "obviously, the United States would welcome any development that reduces regional tension." Asked if improved relations between the two states would undercut the Administration rationale for an arms sale, the spokesman said that "the case made by the Administration for the arms sale still stands."

But Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk al-Shara told ABC-TV's "Good Morning America" on Sept. 27 that Damascus was "disappointed, not because you supplied the Jordanians, our brothers, with arms, but because in the Congress the debate only concentrated [on the issue] that the Jordanians are to be supplied with arms in order to protect themselves from the Syrians, and not from the Israelis. The Israelis are the aggressors."

## BACK PAGE

**Student Activists Back**

**A** "senior leader" of the PLO in Tunis offered a revealing defense of the organization's actions surrounding the Achille Lauro hijacking (*New York Times*, Oct. 22). The PLO official confirmed that the hijackers never intended to take over the ship. They were supposed to stay on board until it docked in Ashdod, Israel—south of Tel Aviv. At Ashdod, the terrorists were "to open fire at dockside. . . . Their orders were to kill as many Israelis as possible." The official added that "their job was to keep shooting until they were themselves killed."

The PLO leader told the *Times* that he had to clarify the situation because the PLO had been "damaged diplomatically" by the murder of Leon Klinghoffer. He indicated that if people only understood that the hijacker's goal was to kill Israeli civilians—and not American ship passengers—they would be less critical of the terror organization.

It is an amazing defense but it is one that gives additional proof (if any is needed) of what the PLO is all about. It is an organization which seeks to improve its image by claiming that its goal is to kill one set of civilians rather than another.

**Student Protest**

The PLO's image problems were far from the minds of 25 Jewish students—from campuses around the country—who gathered at the PLO's Washington "information" offices on Oct. 13. They were there to mourn Leon Klinghoffer and to demand that the U.S. government shut down PLO offices in this country. Rabbi Morris Gordon of Potomac, Maryland stood before a wooden casket and a wheelchair and prayed that Klinghoffer's death "not be in vain." He asked that the world "take heed that he was murdered by the PLO. May the world rid itself of terrorism." Then the rabbi and the students chanted the Jewish prayer for the dead which they followed with a Hebrew song extolling peace.

Many of the same students who protested PLO terrorism on Oct. 13 were out again on Oct. 15 to protest Soviet oppression of Jews. This time the students really put their money where their mouths are. Twenty-two of them were arrested and face maximum sentences of six months in jail and a \$100 fine. (Unlike the South African government, the Soviets do press charges against those who demonstrate at their embassies.)

Jonathan Cohen, a student at the University of Maryland, said that he organized the protest in response to Soviet Premier Gorbachev's statement that Jews in the Soviet Union have more rights than Jews do any-

where else. "Gorbachev appeals to the West with smiles and kind words, but we will not let him cover up the heinous crimes against humanity which take place in his country every day."

The 22 students, who were charged with demonstrating within 500 feet of an embassy, will have to return to Washington for trial and judgment. For many of them, the costs of transportation to the capital and of room and board there will make a major dent in their finances. In the long term, all of them will have to live with the permanent effects of having an arrest—and a possible conviction—on their records.

But Cohen and his activist friends aren't daunted. "We spent a few hours in jail. But what we have experienced pales in comparison to what our fellow Jews, and others, endure in the Soviet Union. All we are sacrificing is some convenience. Our Soviet brothers and sisters put their lives on the line."

The spirit of these students is heartening. For the last few years, it has become commonplace to argue that student activism is dead—that it died after the 1960's. But now we see students who are willing to do far more than engage in mass demonstrations. They organize and demonstrate in the sure knowledge that their activism will have consequences. On the negative side, they may spend time in jail and may carry the permanent stigma of arrest. However, on the positive side is the sense of accomplishment they feel. Says Cohen: "Look, the story of our demonstration was carried on Radio Liberty and Voice of America. That means that some of the people we are doing this for actually know about it. If it gives them encouragement and lets the Soviet government know that we are not giving up on Soviet Jews, we will be accomplishing a lot. We intend to continue the struggle." □

—M.J.R.

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Mr. Max Green  
The White House  
197 DEB  
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# NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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## EDITORIALS

### Lesson Worth Learning

Great Britain's latest experience with the PLO should prove instructive to those U.S. officials who still do not understand that the PLO and the "peace process" are two mutually exclusive concepts. In September, London agreed to meet with a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, one that included two members of the PLO's executive committee. This victory in the PLO's struggle for recognition came because Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher wanted to further ingratiate her government with the Arab world. Her foreign office, however, maintained that London's goal was to advance the peace process—even at the price of according a form of recognition to the PLO.

The British rejected Israel's argument that negotiating with the terrorists would retard rather than advance peace. Prime Minister Shimon Peres told them that the PLO could not play a role in the peace process because it is dedicated to Israel's destruction; that its fundamental nature precluded any involvement in a process that is supposed to lead to peace and security for all states in the region. The British disagreed, arguing that the PLO had changed and that Yasir Arafat's Feb. 11 agreement with King Hussein meant that it was prepared to accept Israel's existence. Moreover, they said, King Hussein would succeed in pushing the PLO toward acceptance of Israel.

The meeting was supposed to take place on Oct. 14 in London. It didn't. The reason for its cancellation was that the two PLO representatives refused to join in a statement renouncing violence and accepting Israel's right to exist. Even though the statement also conceded the Palestinians' "right" to a state, the PLO rejected the communicate rather than concede Israel the right to live.

None of this should surprise anyone who has followed the PLO over the years. It has never accepted Israel's right to exist in any part of "Palestine." If it talks about self-determination on the West Bank, it invariably makes certain that its supporters understand that a West Bank state would merely be a first step toward the "liberation" of all of "Palestine." It is this belief that is behind all the PLO's initiatives. Its goal is to supplant Israel—to eliminate it. That is why including it in

negotiations with Israel would be both pointless and destructive.

Nevertheless, there are probably still those in the U.S. government who would argue as the British did before the Oct. 14 rejection. They would say that the PLO must be involved in the peace process and that the United States must negotiate with a PLO or quasi-PLO delegation. The British experience should teach them that including the PLO in peace negotiations is a sure recipe for disaster at worst and stalemate at best. Now, more than ever, the PLO is exposed for what it is: not the solution but the problem. The peace process can only move forward without it.

### A Despicable Act

The murder of Alex Odeh, California director of the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee, is a tragedy for his family (including three small children), his friends, and his community. However, even beyond those who knew him, the reverberations of Odeh's murder can be felt. Alex Odeh was killed because of his political views. He was murdered because he exercised his Constitutionally-protected right of free speech.

This type of murder strikes at more than just one man. It strikes at what this entire country is about. In much of the world, individuals do not dare speak out on political issues because they fear a violent response. But the United States is different. Here, radio call-in shows and letters-to-the-editor columns give all Americans the opportunity to express themselves as citizens of a free country. People call and write letters safe in the knowledge that their views (even if they are wrong) will not land them in prison or on someone's hit list.

Alex Odeh's killing is a tragic reminder that this precious right to free speech can be taken away by thugs. Terrorism is not limited to Israel or Lebanon or any of the other places where terrorists have struck. It can happen here—and it has. The killer or killers of Alex Odeh—who destroyed a man but threaten a whole way of life—must be apprehended and brought to justice quickly. Terrorists must not be permitted to rob us of freedoms we must never take for granted.

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### PLO Explanations

The Palestine Liberation Front claimed "that the U.S. passenger who was reported to have been shot by PLF hijackers during last week's ship seizure had in fact died of a heart attack" (Agence France Presse, Oct. 13). A caller to a news agency in Beirut,

"who said he represented the pro-Arafat PLF faction of Mohammed Abbas, said that according to his information" Leon Klinghoffer had suffered a heart attack and been taken to the ship's hospital. "We do not know what happened after that, how he disappeared and what made him disap-

pear," the caller said, suggesting that U.S. intelligence services may have been involved to justify their subsequent interception of the plane carrying the hijackers and Abbas.

Hani al-Hasan, a member of the Fatah  
(Continued)

## COMMENT

# Television News Held Hostage

**P**rof. William C. Adams set his radio alarm to wake him early on Oct. 8 so that he could get to George Washington University in time to lead a breakfast discussion on "TV Held Hostage: Terrorism and Media Coverage." He awoke to news of the hijacking of the Italian liner Achille Lauro. A George Washington University professor of public administration, Adams edited a 1981 book, *Television and the Middle East*. He focuses on how news coverage affects policy-making.

A hostage story, Adams said, "is made to order for the dramaturgy of television news." The recipe for a sure-fire lead story on the nightly news includes, according to Adams, a simple plot. "Television hates a story requiring you to understand monetary theory" or other complicated issues, like those of the Middle East. Exciting visuals, an appeal to the entire country rather than one locale, some drama or melodrama, sex or violence, and continuing developments that ideally involve the President also are part of the stew.

The ingredients for a television news story do not determine the quality of the coverage, Adams noted. An analysis he conducted of ABC and CBS television news reporting on the TWA Beirut hostage melodrama last summer showed a discrepancy in how the networks provided their viewers with what Adams called "critical context"—the perspective necessary to understanding the news.

"We looked at every story" aired by ABC and CBS on their evening news shows for the 16 days of the hijacking, the professor said. "The obsession . . . far surpassed in volume and intensity what they did with the first 16 days in Iran [covering

the 1979 embassy take-over]." ABC devoted 68% of the nightly broadcasts to the hijacking, compared to 53% for the embassy take-over. "On four nights they gave less than one-and-a-half minutes to anything else. They really got swept away by the story."

CBS gave 62% of the evening news to the TWA story; 50% to the first 16 days of the Tehran story. NBC—whose coverage was not analyzed in depth—spent 63% of its time on the airliner hijacking; 48% on the embassy story.

How that time was allotted spoke volumes. ABC gave 37% to the hostages, 15% to Nabih Berri and other spokesmen for the Shi'ite Amal kidnapers, 13% to relatives of the hostages, 12% to U.S. government officials, 7% to non-government experts, 6% each to Israeli spokesmen and ex-U.S. government officials. Once the hostages were released, their news value plummeted. Freed hostages got the final 4% of ABC's time, Adams reported.

"It was interesting that Israel really got very little time devoted to defending its position" on why it held the Lebanese detainees whose release the hijackers demanded. The coverage was "very lopsided in terms of defense of Israel," he added. "CBS was similar, although it gave less time to the hostages and more to relatives. . . . It's extraordinary when you think about it; all this access to American television by captors with hostages," he said.

Especially at ABC, journalists who pride themselves on their adversarial stance to U.S. officials did not—on the air, at least—ask why the terrorists allowed the media so much time with kidnap victims. They did not mention that the kidnapers selected

the interviewees and failed to mention the "Stockholm syndrome"—in which victims of terrorism begin to identify with the views of their captors. Above all, Adams noted, the reporters did not warn that the American mass media was being exploited for the terrorists' political ends.

CBS did provide this "critical context," Adams said, notably in the second week of the affair, "becoming more sensitive" to the problems of covering terrorists with American hostages as the story unfolded.

Adams observed that "only once in the 16-day period did an ABC reporter endorse the idea that some of the hostages' comments might be driven by fear or that Amal had selected the hostages to be interviewed." Only "three or four times" did the network provide the context he asserted was necessary.

Adams said that usually his research efforts were "to understand the role mass media plays in politics. The media are very important in the way we see the world and this influences public administration. [But] every now and then I do act as a critic." He said the solution to problems illustrated by the TWA episode was not to suppress journalistic coverage of terrorism "but to practice journalism" and provide the critical context necessary to complete understanding.

The Achille Lauro piracy did not last long enough to show whether these lessons have been learned. One reason they probably have not, according to another analyst, Robert Hunter, a National Security Council member in the Carter Administration, is that the terrorists made the "cardinal mistake" of staging their action out of reach of television cameras. —E. R. □

## HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

### Deal Opposed

Secretary of State George Shultz faced bipartisan skepticism on the Hill regarding the Administration's proposed arms sale to Jordan. Appearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee recently, Shultz testified that the Administration's proposed arms package to Jordan would carry "psychological" benefits to Jordan.

Sens. RUDY BOSCHWITZ (R-Minn.), ALAN CRANSTON (D-Calif.), and JOHN KERRY (D-Mass.) criticized the Adminis-

tration's rationale for the sale, noting that the sophisticated weapons proposed in the package would not "change the Syria-Jordan arms ratio one iota." Delivery lag-time of three years or more undercuts any "psychological" benefit, they argued. The package contains 40 F-16's or F-20's, 12 Mobile HAWK anti-aircraft firing units (plus conversion equipment to make Jordan's existing HAWK missiles mobile), 72 Stinger launchers and 36 additional surface-to-air missiles, 300 Sidewinder air-to-

air missiles, and 32 M-3 fighting vehicles.

Boschwitz, Cranston and Kerry contended that Jordan "has not made significant moves" and should first begin direct bilateral negotiations with Israel before receiving advanced American weaponry. The three reminded Shultz that Egypt did not receive substantial U.S. economic and military assistance until after direct talks with Israel had been launched. Since then, Egypt has been one of the largest recipients of U.S. assistance. □

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## PERSPECTIVE

# Peres' Washington Agenda

Israel's Prime Minister Shimon Peres had "the fight against terrorism, the renewal of economic growth, the strengthening of ties between us and the United States and . . . the efforts to open the gates of the Soviet Union to Jewish immigration to Israel" on the agenda for his tightly-scheduled three-day visit to Washington that began on Oct. 16. One of his top advisers, Nimrod Novik, speaking to *Kol Yisrael* before Peres' arrival in Washington, added a fifth item to the Prime Minister's program: "the exposure of the PLO" by linking it directly to the Achille Lauro piracy, the murder of three Israelis in Cyprus and other recent terrorist acts.

Coincidentally, Peres' visit came after two weeks of setbacks for the PLO and the questionable behavior by Egypt in both the killing of seven Israelis in the Sinai and the release of the cruise ship hijackers. The timing put the Prime Minister in a strong position for his talks with President Reagan, Secretary of State Shultz, Secretary of Defense Weinberger and members of the House and Senate. Regarding the peace process and the PLO, "Peres couldn't choose a better time to come," said an Israeli official in Washington.

Immediately preceding the Prime Minister's visit, the Achille Lauro affair revealed links between PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat and hijack mastermind Mohammed Abbas—whom Arafat had appointed to the PLO executive committee. In addition, two PLO members refused to sign a document condemning terrorism and recognizing Israel's "right to exist" and so scuttled a

meeting with Great Britain's Foreign Secretary. Finally, the United States successfully promoted the withdrawal of a U.N. invitation to Arafat to speak to the General Assembly. All this, said the official, put Peres in position to reassert "what we've been saying for a long time: They [the PLO] are not qualified, even rhetorically, let alone by actions, to participate in the peace process."

Sources in Washington and the Israeli press said that Peres was expected to propose "maximum self-administration for the Arabs of the West Bank and Gaza and a minimum Israeli involvement in the affairs of the inhabitants." Peres would propose this to make it easier for Jordan's King Hussein to enter political talks. If backed by the Administration, this might side-step—at least initially—Hussein's insistence on an international conference including the PLO and the Soviet Union.

It might also move the spotlight from a possible meeting between U.S. officials and a joint Jordan-Palestinian Arab delegation. Jordan is pushing such a meeting for its own sake but the Administration insists the meeting must lead promptly to direct talks between Jerusalem and Amman.

Peres was expected to condemn "the PLO's role in recent events as hard as he can . . . and talk against the [Jordan] arms sale while sounding as moderate as he can," a Capitol Hill source said in advance of the visit. The source said that Peres might get his arm twisted to make some concessions to revive the stalled peace process. The State Department might feel that

"we did it with Hussein; so there's no reason not to with Peres. . . ."

But a State Department official discounted that view. The PLO's recent performance undermined any push for Israeli concessions, he said. "It's not just a question of [the PLO's] being evil, but of being stupid. In the world of diplomacy, that's unforgivable. . . . I believe our agenda will pretty well match" Peres', he added.

Additional discussion was anticipated on issues such as the construction and operation of a Voice of America transmitter in Israel and textile imports. The latter are included in the tariff-eliminating Free Trade Area agreement between the United States and Israel but are still questioned by some in the textile industry.

Both Peres and his American hosts were expected also to examine Egypt's status in light of President Mubarak's angry reaction to the U.S. interception of an Egyptian plane carrying the ship hijackers and the anti-American and anti-Israeli demonstrations in Egypt. Mubarak initially labeled the murder of seven Israeli tourists "minor and trivial." Moreover, Egypt's overall handling of the Sinai murders raised serious questions.

But American and Israeli sources said neither party would highlight these concerns, in hopes that the problems in Cairo would prove temporary. "The Tunis raid may turn out to have far less impact than the Sinai killings," said the State Department source. "It's clear to us that Egypt does not understand the impact in Israel."

—E. R. □

## VIEWING . . . Continued

central committee and adviser to Yasir Arafat, said he would not have intervened in negotiating the hijackers' surrender if the ship had been American or West German instead of Italian, because of "the Italian, French and British response to the PLO's political course" (Radio Monte Carlo, Oct. 11). Hasan, interviewed before the British cancelled a meeting with two PLO members and before Klinghoffer's body was recovered, also claimed that the pirates intended to go to Ashdod in Israel. "As you know, every Palestinian [Arab] has the right to go to Ashdod and fight there."

Hasan questioned whether any passenger was murdered, alleging that Klinghoffer might have jumped overboard out of fear. "It was a very large ship. It is impossible to see everyone who jumps overboard." He termed the description of Klinghoffer as a cripple "a big lie" and also suggested that the American might have disembarked in Egypt.

## Arafat Incites Riot

PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat told more than 40,000 demonstrators in Khartoum, the capital of Sudan, that "the Palestinian [Arab] revolution is alive in the Arab conscience in spite of the imperialist and Zionist conspiracies. Reagan has decided to assassinate the PLO leadership in the belief that, by so doing, the revolution would come to an end. This is not so. The jihad [holy war] and the armed struggle will be escalated" (Associated Press, Oct. 15). The crowd was protesting the U.S. apprehension of the Achille Lauro pirates.

Arafat said, "I tell Reagan and his agents in our Arab world that the will of the Arab nation is from the will of God. Therefore, the Arab nations will be victorious" (Reuters, Oct. 15). After the speech, about 1,000 demonstrators headed for the nearby American embassy. They were dispersed by riot police using tear gas.

In Kuwait, the country's 700 lawyers

boycotted court sessions to protest the capture of the ship hijackers (Reuters, Oct. 15). And in Cairo, at a protest demonstration organized by opposition parties, Egyptians burned U.S. and Israeli flags (*Washington Post*, Oct. 16).

## Looking East

Israel's Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir "expects a marked improvement in Israeli-Polish ties in the next few months" (*Ha'aretz*, Oct. 14). Shamir, who is also Vice Prime Minister, briefed the Cabinet on his meetings at the U.N. with the foreign ministers of Poland and Hungary.

He reported a "friendly" meeting with the Polish official and agreement on "further efforts to allow for bilateral cultural, trade and tourism ties" and "a chance for improved ties with Hungary." Resumption of diplomatic relations soon is not seen as likely, but Shamir expressed the hope that renewal of ties at a lower level would be the first step toward diplomatic relations.

## BACK PAGE

## Black October

Years from now the PLO's historians may be referring to the past month as Black October—the month when the terrorist organization began its final slide into oblivion. In one week the PLO faced serious reverses in Italy, at the United Nations, in London, and in Washington.

In many ways, the most serious damage to the PLO came in the unambiguous revelation of its true nature. For 20 years the PLO has succeeded in playing a double game. With one hand it played at diplomacy—a feint toward Security Council Resolution 242 here, a suggestion that it only wanted the West Bank there. With the other hand it organized terrorist attacks on Israelis, Jews, Americans and anyone else who strayed into its line of fire.

It played the double game expertly. During various hostage crises, the United States and other Western countries actually sought the PLO's help in ending situations it helped instigate. Yasir Arafat relished playing the role of good guy—of helpful moderate—especially when compared to his more fanatical allies.

Arafat was preparing to play that role again when the Achille Lauro was hijacked. He offered his "good offices" to help free the ship's passengers and crew. He happily volunteered to play the part of mediator. But then came the PLO's exposure. It quickly turned out that the ship's hijackers were not some crazed Palestinian radicals unattached to Arafat. Instead the hijackers—and murderers of American Leon Klinghoffer—were members of the pro-Arafat Palestine Liberation Front. Arafat was not only allied with the killers; he may even have known of the ship's hijacking in advance. In a few hours, the image of Arafat as moderate was lying in the dust. A 20-year public relations effort had come to naught.

Events in London contributed to the same result. Just last month Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher announced that she would be meeting with a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation (including two members of the PLO). She said that the Palestinian representatives accepted Israel and renounced violence. But on Oct. 14, the two PLO delegates pulled the rug out from under Mrs. Thatcher. They refused to sign a communique conceding Israel's right to exist. They said that indications pointing toward recognition of Israel were "inoperative." Thatcher had no choice but to cancel the London summit. Her government then criticized the PLO for taking Great Britain for a ride while even the Jordanians accused the PLO of going back on a previous commitment to accept the communique. Again, the PLO was shown to be

inflexible—opposed to Israel's right to exist and to peace.

All this followed President Reagan's decision to get tough with terrorists. The President personally—and despite Defense Secretary Weinberger's reluctance—gave the order for the Navy to intercept the Egyptian plane carrying the Achille Lauro hijackers. Weinberger had told Reagan that the U.S. action would infuriate Egypt but Reagan went ahead anyway. Later, asked if he would apologize to Egypt for apprehending the PLO hijackers, Reagan simply said "Never." He also pressed Italy not to release terrorist leader Mohammed Abbas and said that the United States would seek to prosecute him for Leon Klinghoffer's murder.

Reagan topped that off by informing the United Nations that the United States would not participate in the world body's 40th anniversary celebration if it allowed Arafat to address the General Assembly. Arafat—who had been invited to the United Nations as if he was a head of state—was then "disinvited."

All in all, the PLO has faced a rough month. The legitimacy it sought—and never deserved—has been ripped away. There are those who will respond that we haven't heard the last of Arafat and his organization. Surely they will be back—tomorrow, next week, or next month—and back with a bang. They will attack civilians somewhere. Innocent blood will be shed. But even that will not eliminate the effects of Black October. On the contrary, it will reinforce them. No one doubts that the PLO can kill and terrorize. Its record there is unambiguous. The doubt comes over whether the PLO can ever make peace. The events of October powerfully argue otherwise. □

—M.J.R.

## N.E.R.

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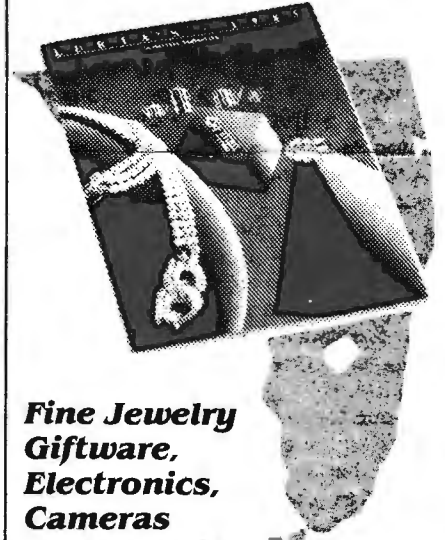
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# NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

VOL XXIX NO. 41 OCTOBER 14, 1985

## EDITORIAL

### Shooting Down the Dove

The terrorist groupies were out in full force during the 48-hour Achille Lauro hijacking. You could hardly turn the television or radio dial without hearing some "expert" explain that the terrorists (they never call them that) had been forced to seize the ship because of frustration over the stalled Middle East peace process. The same "experts" (prime among them was Jeremy Levin, the Cable News Network reporter and former hostage) argued that one shouldn't focus on terrorism at all. The real problem was "political" or—in other words—Israel.

By now no one should be surprised when Israel is blamed for crimes committed by its most fanatical enemies. The logic almost makes sense. If Israel didn't exist, the terrorists wouldn't have to murder old men in wheelchairs. Of course, the Shi'ites would still hate the Sunnis and Iran would still be demanding the head of President Saddam Hussein of Iraq. But the terrorist groupies don't take those—or any of the other schisms in the Middle East—seriously. Deep down they just *know* that Israel is the cause of all Middle East instability. After all, they know how consumed they are by their anti-Israel views. They can hardly imagine that the Arab world feels less strongly about Israel than they do. And they are right. It doesn't.

They are wrong, however, when they assume that terrorists act out of concern for the peace process. The very opposite is true. The current wave of terrorism is the most significant since 1979 when Camp David was signed. At that time, the PLO pulled out the stops to make sure that Jordan did not join Egypt and Israel and that Camp David was not broadened. The PLO did not call for President Sadat's murder because he thwarted peace but because he advanced it. Today, the PLO is engaging in terror in Israel—and outside it as well—not to encourage King Hussein and Shimon Peres to negotiate but to stop them from doing so. They may succeed. For 50 years—from the

days of the Mufti on—Arab terrorists have resorted to terror every time peace loomed as even a remote possibility. They have thwarted the peace process through intimidation and through terror. Shooting down the dove is the Arab terrorist's delight. It is happening again, even while the PLO's apologists explain that they have to kidnap and hijack so as to give peace a chance. Who are they kidding?

The same "experts" want Americans to believe that seizing hostages is a legitimate way to get a political point across. We must negotiate with terrorists, they say; they have legitimate grievances that cannot be ignored. In fact, some of them have legitimate grievances. However, they become illegitimate when they seek to rectify them by seizing innocent third parties. A Chicago mother on welfare may have a legitimate grievance when she claims that she cannot feed her children because of budget cuts. She should have the opportunity to bring her plight to the proper authorities and to organize others to do the same. She would, however, lose her right to be heard if she protested by seizing local officials and holding them hostage or if she hijacked a commuter train. The same logic applies to the Middle East. There is something almost racist about applying one set of standards to the Middle West and another to the Middle East. It is the same racism that we see in operation when the Italian and British governments adamantly refuse to talk with their native terrorists (the Italian Red Brigade and the Irish Republican Army) while sitting down with PLO terrorists and demanding that Israel do the same.

But the double standard is an old story. And so, by now, should be the tired rationalizations of terror being offered by media ambulance chasers. We should be inured to it, grateful that the "experts" speak only for themselves and not for an American public which is appalled at the growing terrorist menace. Still there is cause for concern. The terrorists may not be winning the war but—with the help of their friends—they are advancing in the media. Can public opinion be far behind? □

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### Answers Awaited

Israel was "still waiting for the answers" to questions Acting Foreign Minister Moshe Arens submitted to Egyptian Foreign Minister Esmet Abdel Meguid regarding the murder of seven Israelis by an Egyptian policeman or soldier at a tourist site in the Sinai (*Kol Yisrael*, Oct. 8). Arens asked for clarifications about the delay in treating the Israeli victims of the shooting. He also asked for explanations about the presence of Egyptian soldiers at Ras al-Burqa. The site is part of Area C in the [Egyptian-Israeli] peace treaty and soldiers

are banned from it."

Earlier reports charged that Egyptians at the site had prevented medics among the Israeli tourists from aiding the wounded, some of whom allegedly went for several hours without treatment and died from loss of blood. Egyptian diplomats denied the charges. In a message to President Hosni Mubarak, Prime Minister Shimon Peres expressed regret at the "atmosphere of hostility [against Israel] that has become prevalent in Egypt and is clouding the hopes for peace" (*Kol Yisrael*, Oct. 6).

### Hijack Warning

Israeli intelligence sources warned friendly countries—including Italy—six months ago that terrorists were training to hijack a ship (Reuters, Oct. 8). The *Los Angeles Times* quoted an "unidentified ranking military intelligence source" as saying that Israel learned of several large terrorist groups training "specifically for a high-sea hijacking" (Associated Press, Oct. 9). "We gave a warning based on indicative signs, not on the fact that we knew that tomorrow they're going to do it," the source said. □

## PERSPECTIVE

# Shamir in Washington

Israel's Vice Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir took a hard line on terrorism—including the apparent deal by Egypt and Italy to release the hijackers of the liner Achille Lauro—but urged progress toward direct Arab-Israeli peace talks at a press conference during his visit to Washington on Oct. 9. Shamir also said that he restated to Vice President Bush and Secretary of State Shultz Israel's firm opposition to arms sales to Jordan and Saudi Arabia.

"Israel is opposed to arms sales to Arab countries not in peaceful relations with Israel," Shamir said, citing long-standing policy. "We tried to influence the United States government not to sell arms to Jordan or Saudi Arabia before the conclusion of peace treaties" between the two Arab states and Israel. Such sales "constitute a danger for our security" and "a further burden on our economy," the Foreign Minister said.

He did not discuss the possibility of receiving compensating weaponry from the United States, Shamir said, because Israel hopes that the Jordan arms sales and a likely new Saudi sale will be reconsidered. Jerusalem does not know "if there will be a change" in Administration policy, but the sale "is up to Congress now. Congress will have to decide."

Asked about the killing of an American, Leon Klinghoffer, by the Achille Lauro pirates, Shamir expressed "deep sorrow"

and called Egypt's release of the terrorists "outrageous." He noted that Israel "has many differences with President [Hosni] Mubarak. Now we have one more . . . Terrorism is one of the biggest obstacles on the road to peace.

"I will not say that terrorism endangers our existence or security. We are too strong for that and the terrorist organizations too weak. . . . But they are endangering peace in our region. They are creating an atmosphere which doesn't permit people to think about how to get peace, how to make arrangements for peace."

Shamir discounted PLO claims that it had nothing to do with the ship hijacking and recalled the terrorism of the Black September group in the early 1970's. At that time PLO leader Yasir Arafat denied that Black September was connected to the PLO. "[Later] he said several times that Black September was part of the PLO." Having splinter groups claim responsibility for certain operations "is a way [for the PLO] to do something and deny it," Shamir charged.

Asked if Arafat has moderated his views, the Foreign Minister noted that "a commander of a terrorist organization who is giving orders to kill people cannot be recognized as a moderate. . . . He is the enemy of peace. I don't believe him in anything."

Turning to the peace treaty with Egypt and Israel's return of the Sinai Peninsula,

Shamir said that they were the result of direct negotiations between the two countries, not an international conference. What Cairo failed to regain in war it won through peace, he added. "Everyone knows that in the Middle East now you can get a lot with Israel by negotiations, but we will never surrender to violence."

He alluded to Israel's experience with aborted Geneva conferences and said that an international conference, such as that called for by Jordan's King Hussein, would be "a stage for hostile propaganda. There will be many speeches. And the result? There will be no peace. . . . Therefore, we do not want to look for any substitute for direct talks."

Shamir asserted that Shultz "agrees that our raid on Tunisia—on the PLO in Tunisia—was an act of legitimate self-defense" in response to the Cyprus killings of three Israelis by members of Arafat's "Force 17" commandos. The Secretary of State "knows Israel will take similar measures if something similar will happen to Israel" in the future. He said the problem was not a "cycle of violence"—an oft-repeated State Department phrase—but one of stopping terrorism. But Israeli officials said that Shamir expressed to Shultz Israel's unhappiness at the U.S. decision to abstain rather than veto a U.N. Security Council resolution condemning the attack on the PLO headquarters. □

—E. R.

## HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

### Arms Resolution Circulates

Bipartisan groups—six Senators and 12 Representatives—have written to their colleagues requesting cosponsorship of House and Senate resolutions which disapprove the sale of sophisticated aircraft, missiles and other equipment to Jordan "prior to the commencement of direct bilateral negotiations between Jordan and Israel."

The Administration has said it plans to sell Jordan 40 F-16 or F-20 fighters, 12 mobile HAWK anti-aircraft batteries, 300 AIM-9-P Sidewinder air-to-air missiles, 108 Stinger anti-aircraft missiles and 32 M-3 Bradley cavalry fighting vehicles (advanced armored personnel carriers). It also plans to convert Jordan's 14 fixed-site

HAWK batteries to mobile batteries. Formal notification of the \$1.5-\$1.9 billion package is expected after the 20-day informal period expires on Oct. 17. Coincidentally, Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres will be in Washington on Oct. 17.

The House effort is led by Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman DANTE FASCELL (D-Fla.). Joining him as original sponsors of the Resolution of Disapproval circulating in the House are Reps. LARRY SMITH (D-Fla.), VIN WEBER (R-Minn.), Budget Committee Chairman WILLIAM GRAY (D-Pa.), NORMAN LENT (R-N.Y.), JAMES FLORIO (D-N.J.), MARK SILJANDER (R-Mich.), ROBERT TORRICELLI (D-N.J.), JOHN MCCAIN (R-Ariz.), MEL LEVINE (D-

Calif.), TOM DASCHLE (D-S.D.) and CHRIS SMITH (R-N.J.). The letter states that "arms sales have never advanced the peace process. . . . If we were to sell Jordan our most advanced weapons now, what incentive would Jordan have to further the peace process?"

Leaders of the Senate Resolution of Disapproval are JOHN HEINZ (R-Pa.), EDWARD KENNEDY (D-Mass.), ROBERT KASTEN (R-Wis.), DANIEL INOUE (D-Hawaii), RUDY BOSCHWITZ (R-Minn.) and ALAN CRANSTON (D-Calif.). In a letter to colleagues they said that "until such time as Jordan actually sits down in direct peace negotiations with Israel, we believe that a sale of" (Continued)

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## ANALYSIS

# Protecting Its People

Prime Minister Shimon Peres was speaking before the hijacking and release of the Achille Lauro cruise ship when he told Israel television (Oct. 2) that he had no choice but to take action against the PLO in Tunisia. "Imagine yourself a . . . PLO member, and you murder three innocent Israelis—shoot them in broad daylight on a boat—and Israel does not react. What would you think? That Jewish blood is very cheap. You would think: Look, we can actually enter trailers, board yachts, operate on land and sea and kill people there." Instead, anti-Jewish terrorists understand that they cannot kill and terrorize with impunity.

Peres made it clear that the long arm of the Israel Defense Forces reaches as far away as Tunisia and, if necessary, even farther. "The Israeli government, and myself as Prime Minister, must safeguard the security of all Israeli citizens . . . and of all Jews in the world, no matter what their citizenship—if they are attacked because they are Israelis or Jews."

Peres' words were echoed in Washington where one leading pro-Israel spokesperson said that the Israeli attack on the PLO headquarters demonstrated how far the Jewish people has come since the 1940's. "Imagine," he said, "The Israeli Air Force flew 1,500 miles west to protect Jews. That is as far from Israel as Rome. This has to be a message to those who would violently attack Jews anywhere in the world—and in Europe, in particular—that this is a new era. Despite the terrorism and the threats, the Jewish condition today is as different from what it was in 1942 as it could possibly

be. And that is all thanks to the existence of a strong state of Israel."

Israel's continuing war against terrorism differentiates it from every other country in the world. For others, including the United States, the war against terrorism is a sometimes thing. On the one hand, the Secretary of State delivers harsh speeches against terrorism while on the other he refuses to use the U.S. veto against a Security Council resolution condemning Israel for destroying the PLO headquarters. On the one hand the President cites "Rambo" as an inspiration while on the other he takes no action against those who kill American Marines and kidnap American airline passengers.

For Israel, protection of its people—and of all Jews—is its *raison d'être*. In the last month, Israel has confronted a growing terrorist menace. In addition to the three Israelis who were killed by the PLO in Cyprus and the seven who were killed by an allegedly crazed Egyptian in Sinai, an Israeli couple was murdered while hiking in Jerusalem in early October and another was shot dead by terrorists on a kibbutz. On Oct. 6, Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin told Israel television that the Israeli army would find the terrorists responsible for the killings. He said that seemingly random attacks on "isolated targets such as couples who are hiking" were coordinated by Yasir Arafat's wing of the PLO. He said that the army "has braced for a war against terrorism . . . and I believe that the squad that carried out the latest attacks, together with other squads, will be caught. . . ."

One day later, the Israeli army did encounter a five-man terrorist squad in the

Hebron area. Four were killed in a clash with the Israelis while one was wounded and captured. Later, Amnon Lipkin, commander of the IDF Central Command, said that the five were suspected of having murdered five Israelis—including the two hikers—and having wounded 18 others. Lipkin said that destruction of the terrorist squad would bring greater security to "the very wide area" in which it operated. Nevertheless, he recommended that hikers "carry firearms and be alert, as well as travel in groups. . . ."

This warning—which follows similar warnings from high government officials—represents something of a victory for the terrorists. Until recently, Israelis could feel safe in every part of the country. The occasional terrorist attack did not produce fear of the stranger lurking in the woods or on a deserted street. Israel was not New York.

Israeli officials are determined not to give in to the terrorists, as is evident from the raid on the Tunis PLO headquarters. But, at the same time, its officials seem to be preparing the populace to deal with a new, and frightening, reality. That this is necessary could be seen in an editorial carried in the Syrian government newspaper *Tishrin* (Oct. 7). The editorial praised the attack on Israeli tourists in Sinai as "a new epic to be added to the other epics and part of a series of heroic acts" committed by the Egyptian opponents of Camp David. It refers to the murders as evidence of "a new radiant sun" rising in the October sky. The seven killed included three small children. □

—M.J.R.

## HEARD . . . Continued

advanced weaponry to Jordan would be a mistake."

Both the House and Senate letters ex-

### AFL-CIO On Sale

The AFL-CIO announced that it would oppose the Reagan Administration's Jordan arms sale. "It makes no sense for the United States to provide Israel with military aid with one hand, while with the other hand eroding Israel's margin of air superiority by selling Jordan sophisticated fighter planes." The labor federation said that King Hussein "continues to shun direct peace talks with Israel, promoting instead an international conference that would involve the Soviet Union and the PLO." It characterized the proposed arms sale as "no way for a great power to conduct its foreign policy."

press "deep concern" over King Hussein's repeated insistence on an international conference which would include the Soviet Union, Syria and the PLO. They suggest that Jordan's request for sophisticated weapons should not be considered until direct negotiations between Jordan and Israel are underway. They note that Egypt did not receive sophisticated American weapons nor substantial economic and military aid until Anwar Sadat took the historic step of meeting face-to-face with Israeli leaders. [Since signing the Camp David Accords in 1978, Egypt has become one of the largest recipients of U.S. military and economic assistance.]

Earlier this year more than two-thirds of the Senate—73 Senators in all—cosponsored the non-binding Kennedy-Heinz resolution opposing any sale of sophisticated weapons to Jordan until Jordan begins direct negotiations with Israel. The binding

resolutions of disapproval, which will be introduced officially after the current letters have circulated, require a simple majority for passage. The President would then have to veto the joint resolution in order to go ahead with the sale. A Congressional veto override, requiring two-thirds votes in both chambers, could then block the sale.

Despite his warm reception in Capitol Hill meetings last week [NER, Oct. 7], King Hussein did not persuade members that he has taken the necessary steps that would lead promptly to direct negotiations with Israel. Until Hussein is willing to do so, opponents of the arms sale contend that the resolutions of disapproval will continue to gain momentum. □

—Stephen Silberfarb  
*Stephen Silberfarb is senior legislative assistant with the American Israel Public Affairs Committee.*

BACK PAGE

## South African Trade

In addition to citing alleged—and patently false—similarities between Israel and South Africa, many of Israel's critics point to its trade with Pretoria as proof that the two states are allies. One student on a major west coast campus said that Israel's trade with South Africa "is one of the biggest problems we have to face as pro-Israel activists. After dishing out all this garbage about apartheid and Zionism being identical, the anti-Israel organizers point to the trade as proof that Israel and South Africa are in bed together. It's hard to respond."

It shouldn't be. According to a September 1984 Library of Congress study, Israel's trade with South Africa is "quite small" or "minimal." The report, "Israeli Relations With Africa," was produced by the Library's highly-respected Congressional Research Service (CRS) at the request of Congressman Walter Fauntroy (D-District of Columbia), a former chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus.

The report, like all CRS products, has no ideological or political axes to grind. It merely puts forth the facts and then attempts to place them in perspective.

The facts speak for themselves—or should. First, take a look at South Africa's exports to Israel and to other countries. According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), in 1983 Israel purchased \$142 million in South African goods. That \$142 million compares to \$1.55 billion which the United States purchased in South African products. Great Britain purchased \$1.2 billion from Pretoria; Japan, \$1.5 billion; the Soviet bloc, \$24 million; and Black African states, \$769 million. Israel's purchases of South African goods equalled *three-quarters of a percent* of South Africa's total exports.

As for exports to South Africa, Israel sold \$69 million in goods to Pretoria in 1983. Compare that to the \$2.2 billion in U.S. exports to South Africa; West Germany's \$2 billion; Japan's, \$1.8 billion; France's \$554 million; and Black Africa's \$288 million.

In short, it is impossible to make a serious case that Israel's trade with South Africa (0.4% of South Africa's imports and 0.7% of its imports) is of great significance to either country. It need hardly be added that a total Israeli boycott of Pretoria would hurt Israel only marginally and South Africa not at all.

The same cannot be said about the Arab states which supply the oil to fuel the apartheid economy. According to the Shipping Research Bureau, an anti-apartheid research organization in Holland, 76% of South Africa's petroleum comes from Saudi Arabia, Oman, and the United Arab Em-

irates. An Arab boycott of South Africa could bring the apartheid system to its knees. No one should hold their breath waiting for that to happen.

The CRS report also examines Israel's military relationship with South Africa. It says that the "Israeli arms connections with South Africa appear to be a great deal smaller than those of France and Italy." It adds that "since 1977 weapons transfers have mostly ceased. . . ." As for Israel's alleged nuclear cooperation with South Africa, the CRS report finds no evidence that it even exists.

The CRS report does not stop with a mere examination of what Israel does and does not do with South Africa. It also offers an explanation of the "minimal" relationship. It points out that prior to the 1973 Yom Kippur War, Israel had economic, military, technical-training, and diplomatic relations with most Black African states. However, faced with Arab oil blackmail after the war, those states broke their ties with Israel and expelled Israeli technicians, doctors, engineers, and diplomats. It was only then that Israel began to look toward Pretoria. As the CRS report notes: "Although Israel had a relationship with South Africa prior to 1973, it was a low-level one, and the much closer relations that exist now are said to have resulted from African rejection of Israel as a friend in 1973."

The report concludes that a move by Black Africa toward Israel might produce a break in Israel's ties with Pretoria. "This possibility is suggested by the fact that Israel's ties with South Africa did not increase until after 1973 when the African countries chose to break with Israel." In short, it is Black Africa—as much as Israel—which can determine the future course of Israeli-South African relations. □

—M.J.R.

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Mr. Max Green  
The White House  
197 OEB  
Washington DC 20500

# NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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## EDITORIALS

### The Arms Sale

*"If, one day, American planes and American missiles are used to rain destruction on the people of Israel, Americans and surviving Israelis will be asking with great bitterness: Whose acquiescence made it possible? Who failed to fight it with voice and vote? Whose misplaced trust led to tragedy?"—William Safire, 1981*

William Safire's words of four years ago are as appropriate today as they were when they were made at the time of the Saudi AWACS sale. However, the proposed Jordan sale is more dangerous than the Saudi sale of 1981. Israel shares its longest border with Jordan and its population centers are, on average, only 5–10 minutes flying time from Jordan's air bases. It is obvious that Jordan—particularly a Jordan possessing America's finest fighter aircraft—has the potential to inflict heavy damage on Israel's people.

The Administration's seeming response is that Jordan has no intention of ever going to war with Israel again and that King Hussein, in his Sept. 27 United Nations speech, renounced the war option permanently. That is simply not the case. In his speech the King ruled out direct negotiations with Israel. In their place, he agreed to negotiate under "the appropriate auspices" of the United Nations Security Council, including the Soviet Union. Throughout his speech he repeatedly stated his belief that "peace efforts require" the "participation of the PLO in the peace process."

This is no new Jordanian formula for peace but the old formula for stalemate. Both Israel and the United States have rejected negotiations with the PLO and both have rejected Soviet involvement in the peace process. That this did not deter the King is proof that the point of his Sept. 27 speech was not to advance the peace process but to trade rhetoric for U.S. arms. It is worth noting that the King's supposed endorsement of peace with Israel (which came in an insert tucked into the original text) uses the exact formulation of the Smith amendment which bans U.S. arms to Jordan until Jordan accepts direct negotiations with Israel. The King in a word-for-word recapitulation of the amendment accepts Smith's formulation but then backs away by adding language which would bring the PLO and the Soviets into the process. His goal is clear. He wants those arms and he'll say *almost* anything to get them. Almost, but not quite.

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### Dropping the Mask

A top PLO official, Salah Khalaf, also known as Abu Iyad, said the PLO rejected U.S. criteria for joining the peace process because, among other things, they would require the organization to "accept direct

negotiations, prior recognition of Israel, and finally PLO . . . condemnation of terrorism, which we call armed struggle" (*Al-Watan*, Sept. 22).

Khalaf equated meeting the U.S. conditions—or Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres' demand that the PLO become a po-

The King has advanced considerably from his 1967 position when he publicly urged his soldiers to "kill the Jews wherever you find them" and he should be encouraged to continue moving in this direction. But encouragement should come not in weapons of war but in Administration restatement of U.S. policy. There must be no new arms for Jordan until that country recognizes Israel and agrees to direct negotiations, without the PLO and without the Soviets. There is no other way to peace.

### That Double Standard

The Israeli raid on the PLO's headquarters in Tunisia was an inevitable reaction to growing PLO terror against Israelis. On Sept. 25 (Yom Kippur), PLO terrorists attacked and brutally murdered three Israelis on vacation in Cyprus. That murder was only the most recent in a spate of terrorism against Israeli civilians which has taken 16 lives in the past year, mostly in Israel itself.

Yasir Arafat's *Fatah* faction and specifically his "Force 17" elite guard has been implicated in a number of attacks on Israel, most notably in several aborted attacks by sea. The Israeli Navy intercepted the explosive-laden terror ships before they could fulfill their goal: the killing of as many Israelis as possible.

Not surprisingly, Israel has been widely condemned for its actions in Tunisia. Some say that Israel disrupted the peace process by attacking the PLO although, as Shimon Peres retorted, no one said that the PLO disrupted the process by killing Jews on Yom Kippur. Others claim that the Israeli attack was out of proportion to the provocation. More PLO terrorists were killed in Tunis in one day than Israelis were killed in acts of terror all year. These critics ignore all the PLO attacks on Israel that have been aborted by the Israeli Defense Forces. One of the PLO ships intercepted off the Israeli coast carried enough explosives to devastate the heart of Tel Aviv. Moreover, any of the dozens of pipe bombs which have been discovered in Israel's population centers in the past year could have killed hundreds if they had not been detected first. Is Israel supposed to wait until mass carnage takes place before it acts or should it do everything it can to prevent mass killing? The answer is obvious. □

litical organization—with the requirement that "the PLO give up its right to exist . . . . What is the meaning of a political organization? It means the end of armed struggle and the abolishment of all that we believe in; in other words, a total rejection of the

(Continued)

## PERSPECTIVE

## Arms, Peace and Reprisal

King Hussein reportedly made a good impression but did not change many minds in talks last Tuesday on Capitol Hill about the proposed arms sale to Jordan, nor about his participation in an expanded Arab-Israeli peace process. Meeting key Senators and Representatives the same day Israeli jets bombed PLO headquarters in Tunisia, Hussein stressed that his country was no longer in a state of belligerency with Israel. The King asserted he was seeking prompt and direct negotiations with Israel. (U.S. foreign aid legislation requires Presidential certification of such a commitment from Jordan before Congress can approve major arms sales.)

Hussein's appearance before a group of Senators "was a masterful performance," said one observer. "Obviously the King has gone further than he has before . . . but it's still words. In the absence of starting negotiations or fixing a date" for the beginning of talks with Israel, "they are words without substance. . . . I still think there is tremendous opposition to the sale."

A House source also doubted whether the King's visit to the Hill diminished opposition to the arms transfer. "People were impressed by the King's earnestness, but basically he was taking the same positions that we and Israel have objected to in the past." He still maintained that the U.S. should hold preliminary talks with a joint Jordanian-Palestinian Arab delegation including PLO members and that "direct talks" with Israel should be part of an international conference including the Soviet Union and the PLO.

In his meeting with Senators the King reportedly stressed that his desire to move

to peace with Israel meant that Jordan no longer considered itself in a state of belligerency with its western neighbor. However, according to one observer, Jordan had pledged itself to non-belligerent status as far back as the armistice agreement of 1949. Hussein's declaration now that the weapons would be for "defensive" use echoed Jordan's pledge regarding U.S. tanks delivered in 1966—but used against Israel in 1967.

Last Monday, after their meeting at the White House, President Reagan asserted that "Jordan has been moving steadily and courageously forward in a search for a peaceful, negotiated settlement. . . ." He called the arms package "important in meeting Jordan's proven defense needs. . . . Jordan, the United States and Israel share the same realistic objective—direct negotiations under appropriate auspices before the end of this year."

But a senior Administration official could not define the President's phrase "appropriate auspices"—distinct from Hussein's proposed international conference—and noted that the White House still wanted assurances that Hussein's initiative would lead to direct Arab-Israeli talks. The official insisted that "headway had been made" on the matter of "international cover" but refused to cite any examples.

However, he said no headway had been made regarding the possibility of a U.S. meeting with a joint Jordanian-Palestinian Arab delegation which, under Hussein's plan, would include some PLO members. The official called Great Britain's decision to meet with two high-ranking PLO officials "a British solution. And it's an inter-

esting one, but it's a British solution."

On Wednesday the State Department issued a statement regarding Israel's destruction of PLO headquarters in Tunis. It encompassed both Secretary of State George Shultz's comment deploring "the rising pattern of violence in the region including . . . the attack on PLO headquarters in Tunis" and President Reagan's support for the raid, noting "repeated attempts to infiltrate terrorists into Israel and the outrageous murder of three Israeli civilians" in Cyprus on Yom Kippur. "Against this background, the air strike is understandable as an expression of self-defense."

An Israeli official said that Israel had not heard any additional criticism from the United States. He said that although short-term reaction to the raid, including condemnation by Egypt, might affect the peace process, Israel did not think it would derail long-term diplomatic efforts. In fact, he hoped that in the long run the strike against Yasir Arafat's headquarters "will give the Arabs an appropriate message." This is that not "armed struggle" but only negotiations can solve their problems with Israel.

An American analyst said that the raid "could be a convenient scapegoat" for those who charge Israel with disrupting the peace process, but because Prime Minister Shimon Peres clearly wants to begin negotiations with Jordan, the allegation will be difficult to sustain. The analyst said that it might take "the ceiling literally coming down around them" to force the PLO to consider seriously the idea of negotiations.

—E.R.

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## ANALYSIS

# Jordan Arms: The Threat to Israel

On Sept. 27, President Reagan officially notified Congress that he intends to sell Jordan \$1.5 billion to \$1.9 billion in arms. The arms package has six major components.

The first—and most significant—are 40 advanced fighter aircraft. Jordan would receive either the F-16 or the F-20. Either plane would pose significant security problems for Israel.

Both the F-16 and the F-20 are bombers and fighters (interceptors). As bombers, they can attack targets on the ground with laser-guided bombs or with air-to-surface missiles. As interceptors, they can search out other aircraft and shoot them out of the air.

The danger posed to Israel by Jordanian F-16's or F-20's are obvious. Israel's longest border is with Jordan. This 180-mile border is relatively impenetrable by enemy ground forces. However, an air force is not deterred by ground considerations.

Jordan's air bases are close to Israel's population centers. It would take a Jordanian F-16 or F-20 less than 10 minutes to fly from Jordan's King Hussein Air Base in Mafraq to Jerusalem or Tel Aviv. From Jordanian air space, F-16 or F-20 interceptors could even make it impossible for Israeli pilots to operate their own aircraft in defense of their own territory. It is this proximity to Israel that makes Jordan the Arab state best positioned to spearhead a combined Arab attack against Israel.

Jordan's arsenal cannot be viewed in isolation from those of other Arab states. Nor should the 40 additional American-made aircraft be considered alone. Jordan already has 115 combat aircraft while the combined Arab air forces (excluding Egypt) have more than 2,000.

It is not hard to imagine how all this air power could be put to work against Israel. As in 1973, the various Arab states could coordinate a surprise ground and air attack. The Israeli air force—which must protect the country while the army is being mobi-

lized—could be blown out of the air by Arab fighter planes and by Jordan's air defense system (which would also be enhanced by the proposed arms sale). Stripped of its air defense, the existence of Israel itself would be imperiled as Arab air strikes, artillery, and surface-to-surface missiles provided the cover to enable combat troops to advance toward Jerusalem and Tel Aviv.

This is not far-fetched. In 1973, Jordan limited its involvement in the Yom Kippur War (unlike the 1948 and 1967 wars) primarily because it did not have the air power and air defense system to allow it to join the attack except in a minor way. Even without Jordan, Egypt and Syria were able to virtually eliminate Israel's front-line forces in the Sinai and on the Golan and make major advances toward the Negev and the Galilee. The new Jordanian air force—upgraded with U.S. arms—would be capable of not only joining an attack but of leading it.

## Hawks and Stingers

Combat aircraft, in themselves, do not constitute the full threat to Israel's security posed by the Administration's Jordan arms sale. President Reagan also wants to sell Jordan 12 improved HAWK surface-to-air missile firing units, 14 missile fire and command posts, and conversion equipment to make Jordan's existing HAWKs mobile. The improved HAWK is a radar-guided surface-to-air missile with a range of 25 miles which can hit targets flying as high as 60,000 feet. The HAWK missile has proved to be extremely effective. During the 1973 war, Israel fired 75 HAWK missiles and destroyed 25 enemy aircraft.

Jordan already has 14 improved HAWK batteries but—because of U.S.-imposed restrictions at the time of their sale—these are mounted on concrete pads and cannot be moved to areas close to Israel. In contrast, the new units could be moved and

would threaten Israeli aircraft flying over Jordan or Israel. In the event of war, the HAWK batteries could be used to cover the advance of attacking Arab ground forces.

The Administration also wants to sell Jordan 72 Stinger surface-to-air missiles. The Stinger is called the "ideal terrorist weapon" because it is portable and potent. Stingers are fired from a soldier's shoulder and are not much larger than—and even resemble—a video camera. The missiles are guided to their target by a heat-seeking infrared device which can sniff out any airplane flying at under 15,000 feet. The most impressive aspect of the Stinger (in addition to its compactness) is its ability to "lock" on a target. Once the missile has traveled a safe distance from the gunner, its main engine ignites and sends it directly to its target. It can destroy a low-flying aircraft from any angle.

Sale of the Stingers to Jordan raises the possibility that these missiles could fall into the hands of the PLO, which has a strong and growing presence in Jordan. If they did, the U.S.-supplied weapon could threaten civilian aircraft flying to Israel or Jordan. Israel has not yet developed a countermeasure which could neutralize the Stinger. No one else has either.

The proposed sale also includes 32 M-3 Bradley fighting vehicles and 300 AIM-9P Sidewinders. The Sidewinder is an upgraded air-to-air heat-seeking missile. It can be used to shoot down opposing planes from the air—and is compatible with any of Jordan's existing aircraft including U.S.-supplied F-5E's, or the French-supplied Mirage. Either the F-16 or F-20 can be equipped with the AIM-9P Sidewinder.

## Eroding Israel's Edge

In short, the Administration's proposed arms sale to Jordan would—if approved—erode Israel's air superiority over its neighbors, which is the centerpiece of its defense. Military analyst Seth Carus puts it this way, "Israel depends on its air force for the very survival of the state. Air superiority is the shield that protects Israel's concentrated and vulnerable interior from attack by Arab forces. Clearly, a successful effort to neutralize the Israeli Air Force would jeopardize the crucial element of Israel's defense."

Unfortunately, and surely unintentionally, the Reagan Administration is proposing an arms transfer which would jeopardize Israel's air force and ultimately the security of the state itself. That is why it is being opposed by those dedicated to both peace and the survival of Israel. □

—M.J.R.

## VIEWING . . . Continued

PLO's current structure."

Two days later, the PLO claimed responsibility for shelling "the Kiryat Shemona settlement in northern occupied Palestine" (Baghdad Voice of the PLO, Sept. 24). Kiryat Shemona is a town in Israel's Galilee region.

## Tunis Raid

Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres said that Israel's air strike against PLO headquarters in Tunis should not undermine

chances for peace, despite angry criticism from Arab countries. "If this attack must stop the peace process, why doesn't the killing of Jews stop it?" Peres said in the town of Sderot (Associated Press, Oct. 2).

And Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin told a news conference he believed any diplomatic setbacks would be temporary. "We are for continuing talks with Egypt. We are searching for a way to start negotiations with the Jordanians and [non-PLO] Palestinians. Terror is the source of evil" in the area. □

## BACK PAGE

## More on South Africa

The attempt to link the apartheid regime in South Africa to Israel often rests on their alleged similarities. It is argued that Israel, like South Africa, is composed of a population that relocated from Europe to the Third World to exploit Third World land and people.

The case against South Africa is obvious. The country's 20 million blacks, poorly paid and living in government established ghettos, work to provide the wealth that supports the country's four million whites. Black South Africans mine half of the world's gold, harrowing and dangerous work. They are paid less than \$200 a month (white miners earn almost six times as much). Gold mining is typical of South African industry, where blacks do the work and whites take home the money.

It is hard to believe that anyone could seriously contend that the Israeli economy is in any way similar. The Jews who returned to Israel in the last century came to an area that had no natural wealth—mineral or otherwise. Jews did not consider settling in any of the oil-rich territory surrounding Palestine. Instead, they chose their ancient homeland—a homeland without oil and consisting of land that appeared unable to sustain growth. It is true that Palestinian Arabs lived in many parts of Palestine. But the early Zionists made no attempt to use Arab labor. Their aim was—in the old slogan—“to build the land and be rebuilt by it.” They would not hire Arabs to do the work for them. This refusal to employ Arabs was the antithesis of colonialism. The Arabs were left to maintain their farms and way of life and to benefit from Jewish development of the land, schools, and hospitals.

Ironically, the claim has been made that this very refusal to employ Arabs was racist. But that is standing the colonial-imperialist argument on its head. Jews came to Israel to rebuild the Jewish nation but they would not do that on the backs of an Arab working class. Those who criticize Zionists for not letting Arabs develop the country for them must then praise South Africa's whites for making the blacks do just that.

The South African economic and political system is maintained by two forms of apartheid, each reinforcing the other. The first is so-called grand apartheid—the collection of laws which prevent blacks from any participation in the government. Blacks can neither vote nor hold public office. They are not even considered South Africans but are instead considered citizens of black homelands (Bantustans) to which all blacks are assigned. Petty apartheid is the system of racial separation and

discrimination, something akin to—though even more virulent than—segregation in Mississippi or Alabama prior to the 1960's.

Israel, though under assault by native Palestinians and foreign Arabs for a half century, has nothing that remotely resembles either grand or petty apartheid. Israeli Arabs have the full rights of citizenship. They vote and serve in municipal government and in the Knesset. They have all the political rights granted to Israeli Jews. (The only exception is on the West Bank and Gaza where Israel has offered Arabs the right to vote under the Camp David plan but was turned down by local and foreign Arab leaders. The situation—one that was created by Jordan's attack on Israel in 1967—will be resolved in peace negotiations. If the West Bank remains part of Israel, its Arabs will have full rights of citizenship).

As for petty apartheid, it has no counterpart in Israel. There are no separate facilities for Arabs and Jews. Arabs attend Israeli colleges and universities. Arabs can frequent all public facilities—pools, stadiums and theaters. While South Africa's blacks must carry passes giving them special authorization to set foot in white areas, Israeli Arabs can go anywhere. They have the full protection of Israel's laws and its courts. Arabs can and do bring charges—and often win—when their rights as Israelis are trampled upon.

Israel's record on civil rights compares well with any democracy, including the United States. It is especially striking in a country which must guard itself against terrorist attacks and infiltration. It does that—but not at the price of utilizing discrimination against its Arab minority. □

—To Be Continued—  
—M.J.R.

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# NEAR EAST REPORT

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## EDITORIAL

### Hussein: Still Stalling

Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy, in advancing the case for an arms sale to Jordan before a dubious House subcommittee on Sept. 20, said that King Hussein has taken "bold steps" toward peace with Israel. Later he told a Senate subcommittee that the King has undergone a "sea change" in his attitude toward peace. At the same time, however, Murphy could not point to any specific Hussein statement recognizing Israel or agreeing to negotiate with Prime Minister Shimon Peres. As Congressman Larry Smith (D-Fla.) told him, "I don't think they exist."

They certainly cannot be found in the interview with Hussein that appears in the Sept. 30 *Newsweek*. In it, the King admits that the prime goal of his peace initiative is to achieve "U.S. recognition of the PLO as the legitimate, sole representative of the Palestinian people. . . ." Not only that, he says that the "final phase" of his initiative would be—not direct negotiations with Israel—but "an international confer-

ence with the participation of all the parties" including the PLO and the Soviet Union.

It is impossible to detect any "sea changes" there. And as for "bold steps," forget it. Hussein is putting out the same PLO-approved formula for stalemate that he has been enunciating for over a decade.

No one expects Hussein to follow in Anwar Sadat's footsteps. The King is a brave man but somehow just one cannot picture him boarding his helicopter and flying to Jerusalem. If he did, he would meet with an Israeli prime minister eager for negotiations without preconditions. But he doesn't even have to do that to achieve those negotiations. All he has to do is agree to talk to Israel, directly and without the PLO. That would start a process leading to peace through compromise—compromise by both sides. Stalling will achieve nothing. □

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### Jordan-Syria Meeting

Jordan and Syria seem to be seeking *rap-prochement* even as Reagan Administration proponents of an arms sale to Jordan point to the likelihood of a Syrian attack against that country. For instance, the prime ministers of Jordan and Syria—their countries at odds over King Hussein's proposal to have Jordan and the PLO talk with Israel at an international conference—met in Saudi Arabia recently. Saudi Crown Prince Abdallah organized the session as chairman of the "Arab Reconciliation Committee," an outgrowth of the Casablanca Arab League summit (*Al-Itihad*, Sept. 19).

Although the meeting "has partially succeeded in lessening tensions between Syria and Jordan," the two countries continued to differ "on the Iraq-Iran war [Syria is one of the few Arab countries to back non-Arab Iran], the PLO, and Lebanon," the Abu-Dhabi-based newspaper reported. "Jordan rejected a Syrian demand to abandon the agreement that Jordan has signed with the PLO. The sources stated that Jordan proposed expanding this agreement to include Syria. . . ."

### Arafat File

"Israel has transmitted to the United States confidential intelligence proving be-

yond a shadow of a doubt that Yasir Arafat is personally involved in planning terrorist attacks and is lying when he says that he has forsaken the path of terrorism" (*Kol Yisrael*, Sept. 19). The file, reportedly given to President Reagan, "includes details of demonstrative attacks Arafat had planned for Galilee, attempts to infiltrate terrorist squads into Israel by sea to carry out mass attacks, and further confidential information. . . ." Israeli defense sources expect the material to "bolster the positions of Administration officials, including President Reagan, who object to the inclusion of the PLO in the political process."

### Arens Blasts Sale

Acting Foreign Minister Moshe Arens summoned British Ambassador William Squire to express Israel's "very great displeasure" at Britain's sale of more than \$4 billion worth of "advanced weaponry to countries that are in a state of war with Israel, namely Saudi Arabia and Jordan" and at the announcement that Britain's foreign secretary will meet with leading members of the PLO" (*Kol Yisrael*, Sept. 23). Arens said Israel considered the moves "a radical deviation" from both previous positions taken by Britain and other Western democracies and "very injurious to Israel's

best interests." [Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir was in New York to attend the opening session of the U. N. General Assembly.]

He disputed claims that the sales would not affect the Middle East arms balance. Arens, an aircraft engineer, called the Tornado "a good aircraft. . . particularly suited to high-speed, low-level penetration raids, and that is something that clearly is of concern to us." Great Britain has not sold any arms to Israel since the 1960's.

### Oil Price Cuts

Saudi Arabia "should have the same freedom" to cut oil prices as other members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) as long as total output remains under OPEC quotas, King Fahd announced (*N.Y. Times*, Sept. 24). "His remarks . . . left no doubt that Saudi Arabia intends to go ahead with widely reported agreements to increase its oil sales from a 20-year-low" by selling at market-related prices \$2 to \$3 per barrel below official OPEC benchmarks.

In addition to the reported Saudi agreements with major oil companies, the kingdom "is . . . said to have bartered oil as part payment for [48 Tornado] British jet fighters." □

## PERSPECTIVE

# Waiting for King Hussein

Reagan Administration officials will not be the only people listening closely to what Jordan's King Hussein is saying in Washington. So are members of Congress, including the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs. At stake are the Administration's proposed arms sale to Jordan and the U.S.-mediated Arab-Israeli peace process.

Continuing his effort to promote the sale of advanced fighter planes, anti-aircraft missiles and other equipment to Jordan, and reiterating the link between the sale and the peace process, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy testified before the subcommittee on Sept. 20. Murphy encountered deep skepticism among panel members—just as he had two days earlier before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East (NER, Sept. 23).

Subcommittee Chairman Sen. Rudy Boschwitz (R-Minn.) discounted the positive emphasis Murphy gave to a number of developments in the Middle East in the past year. These included the Feb. 11 Arafat-Hussein agreement, declarations by Hussein and by Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak (who met with President Reagan last Monday) that 1985 is "the year of opportunity" for Arab-Israeli negotiations, and the Arab League summit at Casablanca. Boschwitz said that where Murphy found a "sea change" in Arab psychology there were merely "ephemeral" statements. He pointed to the reestablishment of some PLO offices in Jordan and Yasir Arafat's claims of responsibility for terrorist attacks against Israel and argued that "the only solid progress" underlying Administration optimism was the resump-

tion of diplomatic relations between Jordan and Egypt last September.

Noting the PLO's refusal to explicitly accept U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and to recognize Israel, and Hussein's unwillingness to provide any more non-PLO names for a potential joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to meet with Murphy, Boschwitz said, "In the absence of progress, many of us are concerned that these weapons [in the Jordan arms proposal] could be used against Israel." Murphy insisted that Hussein had made a "fundamental change compared to years past" by focusing on direct negotiations with Israel "rather than a guarantee of the outcome."

After Mubarak's meeting with Reagan, a senior Administration official told reporters that the Egyptian leader believes that the Feb. 11 agreement means "the PLO implicitly accepts the U.S. terms already." This is not sufficient for the United States, which continues to require a "plain" announcement by the organization. The senior official said that Mubarak made no attempt "to preview what he's heard from Hussein," but the Egyptian president "made plain he thinks time is wasting" and is anxious that the United States help push for a meeting with a joint delegation and direct Arab-Israeli negotiations "well before the end of the year."

Before the Senate subcommittee Murphy also reiterated the Administration's view that Hussein, threatened by Syrian forces—five times as large and much more modern than Jordan's—needs the weapons both for deterrence and for encouragement to join the peace process. He also urged support of a planned major sale to Saudi

Arabia—but for the moment, at least, without additional aircraft—in view of an Iranian threat to Arab oil states in the Persian Gulf and the Saudis' "long-standing association" with the United States.

The Assistant Secretary reaffirmed the "iron-clad" U.S. pledge "to maintain Israel's qualitative [military] edge over any combination of threats"—but coupled this with the remark that just as Israel "must have the confidence to take risks for peace" so must Jordan. Nevertheless, Boschwitz asked Lt. Gen. Philip Gast, Director of the Defense Assistance and Security Agency, how he would react to the proposed weapons transfer if he were an Israeli planner. "Any country would not want to see an arms buildup on their border where they see a threat," Gast replied. He also said that "in 28 years Syria has challenged Jordan in a major way eight times."

In that case, asked Sen. Alan Cranston, (D-Calif.), "why should we give aid to Saudi Arabia which is bankrolling Syria?" Murphy then modified Gast's statement, asserting that "many of the assassination attempts could be traced to 'radical Palestinian [Arab] elements based in Syria' rather than the regime of Hafez Assad itself. Replying to Cranston's charge that the Saudis also finance Palestinian terrorists, Murphy said that Saudi financial aid "has gone mainly to Fatah" which he called the "mainstream PLO rather than the extremists."

Sen. Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.) expressed the obvious subcommittee consensus when he told Murphy, "I would be much happier if we were not here discussing advanced aircraft before Jordan was sitting down and negotiating with Israel."—E.R.

## HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

### Veil Lifted

Rep. CHARLES SCHUMER (D-N.Y.) criticized the British sale of 48 Tornado strike planes to Saudi Arabia and praised the U.S. policy that prohibits the sale of similar offensive U.S. aircraft.

Noting the Saudi plan to station the sophisticated ground-attack aircraft at the Tabuk airbase, 800 miles from the vulnerable oil fields but only 120 miles from Israel, Schumer declared in a floor speech that "the veil has finally been lifted from the

intentions of the Saudis. . . . Their purpose (is) not defending their own country, but, rather, preparing for an attack on Israel."

### Schizoid Policy

"The United States is pursuing a schizophrenic Middle East policy," Rep. Tom Lantos (D-Cal.) wrote in the *Los Angeles Times*, Sept. 16. "On the one hand, the State Department has made a major effort to initiate a 'peace process' by seeking to draw Jordanian and Palestinian [Arab] representatives into negotiations with Israel.

At the same time, the Defense Department has taken the lead in pushing a major arms sale to Jordan and Saudi Arabia. With so much riding on the renewed hope for peace, it is counterproductive to pursue the arms sale now."

Lantos said the timing of this twin-tracked approach adds unnecessary pressure on Israel's coalition government and contradicts the example of U.S. arms supply to Egypt which began "after Anwar Sadat made the historic breakthrough that led to the Camp David Accords. . . ." □

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

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## HEARD IN WASHINGTON

# Smith on the Smith Amendment

In August, the President signed into law the first foreign assistance authorization bill since 1981 which includes an amendment that will have an important effect upon U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East.

The amendment, which I sponsored, clearly states the opposition of Congress to any sale to Jordan of advanced weapons until there is significant progress in the peace process. It declares that if the President submits to Congress a Jordanian arms sale of advanced aircraft or new air defense systems, he also must certify Jordan's public commitment to the recognition of Israel and its commitment to negotiate promptly and directly with Israel under the basic tenets of U.N. Security Resolutions 242 and 338.

This certification is not like the one for progress in human rights in El Salvador where the Administration had great latitude in detailing compliance with recognized human rights. It does not allow broad generalizations about general progress. It requires Jordan's public commitment to recognize Israel and to enter into prompt and direct negotiations before Congress will consider such a controversial arms sale.

King Hussein must bring Jordan further into the peace process before the President can issue a certification. The call for an

international conference and no concrete timetable for direct negotiations with Israel prevents the President today from being able to certify progress towards peace. In addition, Jordan must openly recognize Israel's right to coexist peacefully, and it must publicly end the state of belligerency.

Furthermore, the King must agree to direct and prompt negotiations with Israel. He cannot call for an international conference while the U.S. and Israel both reject one. In addition, the King's insistence on including the Syrians and Soviets would only hinder progress.

The King's call for an international conference, his continued refusal to renounce the state of war between Jordan and Israel, and the lack of a definite timetable for negotiations will not enable the President to certify a Jordanian arms sale under the new U.S. law.

The State Department openly has viewed my amendment as being a hindrance to further progress in the peace process. Many in Congress, however, view the amendment as being a clear sign to the King and the Administration that we will not force Israel to jeopardize its security until Jordan has fully proven its desire to end the state of war. After all, if Jordan is truly committed to peace and if it is our friend and ally, why would it not talk di-

rectly to Israel. That is truly the only hope for a lasting peace.

The Senate and House have increased foreign aid to Jordan this year, in both the foreign military sales category and in economic support funds. In addition, the recent approval of \$250 million in supplemental economic assistance to Jordan shows our encouragement for Hussein's recent movement in the peace process.

We must send Jordan and the rest of the Arab world the right signal. No progress can be made so long as King Hussein insists on U.S. recognition of the PLO as a prerequisite to any movement on his part. The United States and Israel have made clear their readiness to meet with Palestinians who sincerely want peace, but not with representatives of the world's premier terrorist organization. Since beginning direct negotiations with Israel, Egypt has received the most advanced American arms and has become the second largest recipient of U.S. foreign assistance. If the President and the Congress were to reward King Hussein now, what incentive would he have to take further steps towards peace and recognition of Israel? □

—Larry Smith

*Rep. Smith (D-Fla.) is a member of the House Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East.*

## COMMENTS

### Ex-Hostage Weir on Israel

*Rev. Benjamin Weir, who was released by his Lebanese Shi'ite kidnapers in September, was interviewed on Sept. 20 by John McLaughlin on the television show "One on One." Excerpts follow:*

**MCLAUGHLIN:** I think that a lot of people feel that if we'd resolve the Arab-Israeli problem then that would resolve the whole situation. But you know better than I do that that isn't the case at all. For example, we have a war going on between Iran and Iraq, and if you resolve the Israeli-Arab problem it doesn't do anything to resolve that Iran-Iraq war. We have Baathism in Syria and Iraq, and they're going at each other, and a resolution of the—a revision of the United States policy toward Israel is not going to resolve that problem. You have Shi'ites in Lebanon who are killing Palestinians. And if we revise our relationship towards Israel that problem is not going to be solved. Am I right in this?

**WEIR:** That is true. But I think it still requires us to examine our own acts and see

what it is that we're doing and what are the effects of what we do.

**MCLAUGHLIN:** The people who held you captive are all hardline, rejectionist Arab states. They're in a class with Libya, they're in a class with extreme elements in Iraq and Syria. If the United States were to ally with those, where would that leave King Hussein, who is a moderate, or Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, who is a moderate, or King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, who is a moderate, or King Hassan of Morocco, who is a moderate?

**WEIR:** It seems to me that the United States would do well to support moderate elements . . . rather than simply taking . . . a simplistic view of supporting Israel as kind of the one expression of democratic concern in the Middle East, and I don't think that we can say that Israel really is forwarding a democratic purpose within the Middle East.

**MCLAUGHLIN:** What did you mean when you said that you didn't think Israel

was advancing the cause of democracy in the Middle East?

**WEIR:** Well, I believe the Israeli policy is oppressive and aggressive and that we, as the United States—as the people of the United States—really need to see what is going to forward the long term development within the area.

**MCLAUGHLIN:** You know, I looked at some numbers, and we are now giving Arab nations about a billion dollars more a year in aid than we give Israel—Arab nations all combined. Are you talking in economic terms?

**WEIR:** Yes, but when the pie is divided, Israel by far gets the much larger share.

**MCLAUGHLIN:** But Israel is also a military bastion for us, a national security bastion. We give \$129 billion a year to Western Europe. We give three billion dollars, roughly, to Israel. Don't you think it's worth it? □

## BACK PAGE

## Israel and South Africa?

Mayor Ed Koch of New York was acting like, well, Ed Koch when he went over to the United Nations on Sept. 19. The Mayor, who has been known to refer to the world body as a "cesspool," testified before a U.N. panel on apartheid. Koch compared apartheid to Nazi Germany's racial laws and called on local and national governments to adopt sanctions against Pretoria.

But Koch did not stop with condemnation of apartheid. When Stanislav Menshikov, a Soviet representative who is an adviser to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., asked Koch for details on what New York City is doing to oppose apartheid, Koch responded with a list of the measures New York has implemented. But he followed that with a blast. "I happen to think that the Soviet Union is comparable to the Republic of South Africa. In terms of what it does [to] so many of the people in its own country."

It was a refreshing moment. Koch took on the hypocrites—and scored—and he did it in that hotbed of hypocrisy, the United Nations. Nevertheless, this triumph for honesty will only be a fleeting one. Soviet representatives will continue to attack other human rights violators for their sins and their apologists will let them get away with it. Similarly, Israel will be castigated for its minimal relationship with South Africa while those with far more significant dealings with the apartheid regime (like the Arab states) will be left unmentioned.

It is unfortunate, but Israel's enemies are now using the struggle against apartheid as a pretext for attacks on the Jewish state. On campus, in particular, it is common to hear South Africa and Israel castigated in conjunction. Pro-Israel students are often confused when fellow students tell them that Israel, like South Africa, is a "settler state" and that its form of apartheid is called Zionism.

The comparisons between Zionism and apartheid—and between Israel and South Africa—are as obscene as they are groundless. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to examine some of the charges now being issued with regularity on campus (and elsewhere).

The place to start is the "settler state" charge. One anti-Israel pamphlet distributed on many campuses is called "Internal Control in Israel and South Africa: The Mechanisms of Colonial-Settler Regimes" (by Christopher Mansour and Richard Stevens). In the case of South Africa, the pamphlet correctly points out that white Europeans immigrated to South Africa 300 years ago and that they came to exploit the land and the native population.

It makes no parallel case that Israel is a settler state (other than to state it repeatedly) because the case is impossible to make.

Jews have lived in Palestine or Israel for over 3,000 years. Independent Jewish states existed there from 1200 B.C. to 586 B.C., from 538 B.C. to 332 B.C., from 165 B.C. to 37 B.C., from 37 B.C. to 70 A.D., and since 1948 in our time. Moreover, in the period between 70 A.D. and 1948, there was never a period—or even a day—in which Jews did not live in Israel or Palestine. Moreover, in the years prior to 1948, no people other than the Jews have recognized Israel or Palestine as a separate entity or sought independence there. Throughout history, Palestine's Arab population merely considered it to be just another part of the Arab world—one with no special significance.

There is one simple way of explaining the difference between a "colonial-settler" regime and Israel. In South Africa, any archeologist digging below the 300 year level will find only artifacts of the native black culture. In Israel, archeologists routinely recover items of every sort dating back two and three thousand years. These items often carry inscriptions—inscriptions in Hebrew. Any Israeli child can read the Dead Sea scrolls which date back to the first century B.C. The same Israeli child lives on land which Jews farmed thousands of years ago. In Jerusalem, Israelis can shop on the Cardo, a street which serves as a Jewish-quarter shopping mall today as it did at the time of Jesus. Israel is no colonial implant. It has a historical birth certificate at least as valid as any state in the world. That is the first place where the South Africa analogy collapses.

—To Be Continued—  
—M.J.R. □

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